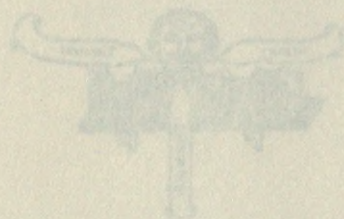




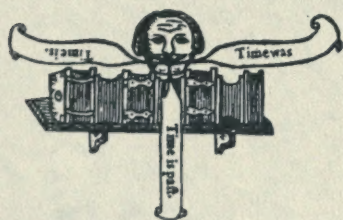
Records of Early Drama

WALES

RECORDS OF EARLY DRAMA



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WALES

EDITED BY DAVID N. KLAUSNER

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Records of Early English Drama

The aim of Records of Early English Drama (REED) is to find, transcribe, and publish external evidence of dramatic, ceremonial, and minstrel activity in Great Britain before 1642. The executive editor would be grateful for comments on and corrections to the present volume and for having any relevant additional material drawn to her attention at REED, 150 Charles St West, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 1K9 or s.maclean@utoronto.ca. Detailed information about the REED series can be found on the internet at <http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/~reed/reed.html>.

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Acknowledgments

The Welsh poets of the sixteenth century often spoke of their profession as based on 'y tri cof' – the three things that must be held in memory. These three 'memorials' are the deeds of kings and princes, the Welsh language, and the genealogies of the nobility; much of the poetry of the period had the explicit purpose of keeping 'y tri cof' in mind. I hope that this volume can be seen in a similar light; the history of drama and the performing arts in pre-Restoration Wales is little known, though not entirely lost, and the present research is a contribution toward keeping that history in memory and recovering what details of its practice still survive.

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Historical Background

Topography

The principality of Wales forms a rough rectangle to the west of England between the Bristol Channel and the Dee estuary, approximately 140 miles from its north to its south coasts, and between 50 and 100 miles from east to west since the broad curve of Cardigan Bay narrows its centre, leaving the two western peninsulas of Pembrokeshire to the south and Llŷn, in Caernarvonshire, to the north. The island of Anglesey lies at the northwest corner, separated by the narrow Menai Strait. Through its earlier history much of Wales was protected by its mountainous terrain; Gerald of Wales noted that it was '*montibus excelsis, vallibus imis, silvis immensis, aquis et paludibus, terra munitissima.*'¹ These mountains vary from the rolling and gentle Clwydian range in the northeast to the formidable peaks of Snowdonia in the northwest, though bleak highland moors predominate, especially across the south where the Black Mountains of Monmouthshire, Mynydd Eppynt, the Brecon Beacons, the Glamorgan Uplands, the Black Mountain of Carmarthenshire, and the Pembrokeshire Preseli Mountains form an almost continuous series of mountainous areas broken only by the valley of the River Tywi. The Cambrian range links the northern and southern highlands so that no more than forty per cent of the principality lies below 500 feet above sea level.²

These extensive highlands, affecting every county except Anglesey, are relieved only by the valleys of the major rivers and by the coastal plains, broad on the two peninsulas and along much of the south coast, narrower in the north. On the eastern watershed lie the Dee, the upper reaches of the Severn and the Wye, and the Usk. Westward, framing the Pembrokeshire peninsula, are the Tywi and the Teifi, with the twin estuaries of the Cleddau at the southwestern tip of the county. In the curve of Cardigan Bay are the Dovey and the Mawddach, while in the north the Conwy drains the eastern slopes of Snowdonia and the Clwyd, the Hiraethog and Clwydian hills. Though all these river systems provide some measure of arable land large areas suitable for cultivation have always been scarce in Wales, and as Gerald of Wales pointed out the Welsh have always relied more on pastoral farming than on the cultivation of crops.³ These two modes of farming, the growing of crops and the pasturing of animals, were always closely interrelated since cultivation depended upon domestic animals both for ploughing and for fertilization.⁴

The eastern border of Wales, its only land border, shifted frequently in its history until it

was given a statutory definition in 1536. Along much of its length runs the earthwork known as Offa's Dyke (and, from its northern terminus, Wat's Dyke). Built by the Anglo-Saxons, probably in the late eighth and mid-ninth centuries respectively, these hill-and-ditch defences may have been designed to protect settlers to the east from Welsh raiders, perhaps cattle-raiders in particular, but they have always presented a more potent symbol of the boundary to the Welsh than to the English.⁵ Much of the history of early Wales is the story of its shifting relationship to England, though this may in part be because most of the records that survive are those of the English administration following the Norman Conquest. Native Wales is less easy to find, living more in its literature than in its historical records.

Moving about the country was never easy. What primary roads there were tended to follow the course of the extensive system of Roman roads, built both to service garrison towns like Caerleon and Caerwent, both in Monmouthshire, and Caersŵs, in Montgomeryshire, and to provide access to sites of economic importance like the gold mines at Dolau Cothi, Carmarthenshire. Entry from the east was provided by major roads through Chester, Cheshire, in the north, Wroxeter, Shropshire, in the centre, and Gloucester in the south with a ferry crossing of the Severn. In the Middle Ages these became the principal east-west routes. The northern route followed the coastline somewhat inland through Caerwys, Flintshire, crossing the Menai Strait either by ferry or, if the tide was low enough, across the Lavan Sands and ending at Holyhead, Anglesey, one of the principal points of embarkation for Ireland. The central route continued west from Caersŵs to Machynlleth, Montgomeryshire, while the southern route followed the coastal plain of Glamorgan through Cardiff and Cowbridge to Kenfig, Margam, and Carmarthen, Carmarthenshire, in the Middle Ages continuing on to Haverfordwest and St David's in Pembrokeshire. North-south Roman roads are less clear, though it is likely that roads from Brecon, Brecknockshire, went north to meet the east-west road at Caersŵs, as well as going west to Llandovery, Carmarthenshire. There was a road up the west coast as well but its course is less clear.⁶ Aside from the remains of Roman roads travel was predominately over the extensive system of drovers' tracks by which cattle were taken to market.⁷

Early Medieval Wales

The small kingdoms that constituted Wales after the departure of the Roman legions in AD 410 resolved themselves over the next 500 years into four recognizable units. Gwynedd in the north was perhaps the most powerful with its defences based on the almost impenetrable region of Snowdonia. In central Wales the large area of Powys had been (like Gwynedd) a political unit from at least the end of the Roman period. The two newer kingdoms, Deheubarth in the southwest and Morgannwg (or Glamorgan) in the southeast, were both formed by accretion as they absorbed their weaker neighbours. The boundaries of all four kingdoms were rarely stable and the pre-Norman period was marked by almost constant dynastic in-fighting; between the middle of the tenth century and the Norman Conquest just over a century later the violent deaths of at least thirty-five Welsh rulers are recorded by *Brut y Tywysogion*.⁸

The demarcation of the Welsh boundary to the east became much clearer in the late eighth

century when Offa of Mercia (or perhaps another Anglo-Saxon chieftain with western interests) constructed the defensive earthwork that still bears his name, but only a very few Welsh rulers were able to bring even a modicum of unity to the area to the west of the dyke. Among these were Hywel Dda of Deheubarth (d. 950), whose name is traditionally associated with the codification of the Welsh legal system, and Gruffudd ap Llywelyn of Gwynedd (d. 1066).

Norman influence in Wales did not begin in 1066. William I's creation by 1071 of the three border earldoms of Chester, Hereford, and Shrewsbury was defensive rather than the first step of a planned invasion. William knew well that Gruffudd ap Llywelyn had formed close ties with the Norse community across the Irish Sea at Dublin, and his first incumbents in the border earldoms were colleagues with extensive experience in policing border areas in Normandy. Although William may not have intended invasion the border earls quickly showed their predatory instincts, as the new earl of Hereford, William fitz Osbern, built several castles along his western border, including one in stone at Strigoil (now Chepstow), and Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, built Montgomery Castle at the far western edge of his territory. Norman incursions into Wales began in earnest with William's death in 1087. Bernard de Neufmarché attacked the small Welsh kingdom of Brycheiniog, long seen as a buffer zone between England and the large Welsh kingdom of Deheubarth. Deheubarth's ruler, the powerful Rhys ap Tewdwr, was killed in the ensuing battle at Brecon. Deheubarth itself fell to a force from Montgomery that pushed west to Cardigan and then south to establish the new town of Pembroke. These sallies, whose sole intention was the acquisition of territory, were the beginning of the formation of the great marcher lordships that were to dominate much of southern and eastern Wales for the next four centuries.⁹

Though these lordships were usually held by men who owed allegiance to the English king, they were not English territory. In many, perhaps most, cases the administration of each area remained much as it had been under its former Welsh rulers with no effort being made toward uniformity of practice in the March. Two changes distinguished the marcher lordships from the native Welsh kingdoms: the building of a castle, a defensive exercise made very difficult if not impossible in England by the king's firm grip on castle-building as a royal prerogative, and the introduction of many of the lord's Breton, English, and Flemish tenants as settlers. These settlers tended to remain in specific areas and to preserve their own customs and laws as did the native Welsh population. As a result many of the marcher lordships were divided into an 'Englishry' and a 'Welshry,' in which custom and law could be very different. A marcher lord would frequently have two administrative households, one for the English and one for the Welsh. During the two centuries after the Norman Conquest over forty marcher lordships were established, of which the largest were Brecon, Glamorgan, Kidwelly, and Pembroke.

Some of this territory was recovered by native Welsh princes following the death of Henry II in 1189, and the next two centuries were a period of unprecedented cultural activity in their courts. Court poets produced an extraordinary body of literature during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, developing a system of Welsh metrics that still influences Welsh poetry today. Their position in the court may be in part described by some of the passages in the Welsh Laws that, despite their traditional association with the tenth-century Hywel Dda, were probably collected and codified in the twelfth century, perhaps under the influence of Rhys

ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth (1131 or 1132–97). Often styled ‘the Lord Rhys,’ Rhys ap Gruffudd’s gathering of poets and bards at Cardigan during the Christmas season of 1176 is commonly seen as the first eisteddfod (see pp 81–3).¹⁰

The End of Independent Wales

By the beginning of the thirteenth century Gwynedd had become the most powerful kingdom in Wales. Welsh tradition favoured partible inheritance in contrast to the English tradition of primogeniture, and after the deaths of the Lord Rhys in Deheubarth and Madog ap Maredudd in Powys (1160) both kingdoms were divided. Gwynedd, too, had been divided following the death of Owain Gwynedd in 1170 but by 1200 had largely been reunited by his grandson Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. Llywelyn shrewdly utilized the weakness of King John, regaining most of the territory in northeast Wales lost during John’s brief invasion of 1211. He clearly had a vision of a united Wales for he made provision for Gwynedd to pass undivided to his younger son, Dafydd. He also attempted to move Henry III toward a treaty recognizing Wales as a political entity, as well as recognizing Llywelyn’s own suzerainty. Though much of this planning did not come to fruition before his death in 1240, Llywelyn is still known as ‘the Great,’ an epithet that seems first to have been used by Matthew Paris.¹¹ Immediately following Llywelyn’s death Henry called all the Welsh princes to Gloucester to do homage individually to him, thus effectively upsetting most of Llywelyn’s plans for Welsh unification. Dafydd attempted to stall on many of the terms of the Treaty of Gloucester (1240), even calling himself ‘prince of Wales,’ but Henry held his brother, Gruffudd, as hostage and until Gruffudd was killed in 1244 attempting to escape from the Tower of London Dafydd had little freedom of movement.

Gruffudd’s son Llywelyn began his rule under the worst possible circumstances. The kingdom was divided between him and his brother Owain, ‘o gygor gwyrd.’¹² In this weakened state the brothers were forced to sign the Treaty of Woodstock (1247), certainly a low point in Welsh fortunes during this chaotic century. By its terms the princes held their lands directly from the Crown through military service, putting them on the same level as the king’s English tenants. However, as Henry became further embroiled in the Barons’ War, Owain and Llywelyn regained and consolidated their hold on North Wales; in 1255 the division of Gwynedd was resolved when Llywelyn defeated Owain and imprisoned him for the following twenty-two years. By 1258 every Welsh ruler with the exception of Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn of Powys had done homage to Llywelyn, and from this time he styled himself ‘prince of Wales.’ By 1263 even Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn had settled his differences with Llywelyn, and the end of civil war in England prompted Henry to seek a new treaty. If the Treaty of Woodstock represented the lowest point of Llywelyn’s career, the Treaty of Montgomery of 1267 represented its high point. Henry agreed to recognize him and his successors as princes of Wales and overlords of all other Welsh princes, and his hold on territories gained or regained during the previous decade was confirmed. In return Llywelyn agreed to do homage to Henry and to pay the sum of 25,000 marks.

With the accession of Edward I in 1272, Welsh relations with the Crown began to deteriorate rapidly. Edward took exception to Llywelyn’s castle-building in the lordship of Cedewain in

mid-Wales. Llywelyn's brother Dafydd plotted his assassination with Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn and, when the plot was discovered, Edward granted asylum to both of them. Edward abducted and imprisoned the daughter of Simon de Montfort, who had been betrothed to Llywelyn in 1265. Llywelyn, for his part, stopped making his annual appearance to pay homage in 1273 and reneged on the annual payments due under the Treaty of Montgomery. Finally, in 1276, Edward declared war over these issues of money and homage. Hostilities ended temporarily with the Treaty of Aberconwy of 1277, by the terms of which Llywelyn's lands were reduced to those specified by the Treaty of Woodstock, homage would be paid to him only by the five remaining Welsh lords, moneys owing under the Treaty of Montgomery would be paid (though in fact Edward withdrew this claim), and he would retain the title 'prince of Wales' for his lifetime only. Llywelyn finally did homage to Edward and in October 1278 he was allowed to marry Eleanor de Montfort in Worcester Cathedral. Edward not only gave away the bride but paid for the feast.

The final conflict was precipitated not by Llywelyn but by his brother Dafydd. Dafydd was lord over two of the so-called Four Cantrefs, which lay between the Rivers Conwy and Dee along the northern coast; the other two were in royal hands. Tension was clearly high in this area and on 21 March 1281/2 Dafydd attacked Edward's castle at Hawarden, just west of Chester, and the revolt spread rapidly. Edward acted quickly, marching west along the coast and crushing the rebellion as far as Rhuddlan, now in Flintshire. A minor victory led Llywelyn to move into Powys where he was killed on 11 December 1282, under circumstances that remain unclear. Dafydd was captured the following spring and was executed at Shrewsbury. The brief war, and with it Welsh independence, ended on 9 July 1283 though two rebellions were to follow, the first in 1287 and the second, more serious one, in 1294. Edward crushed both of them though he was forced to spend Christmas of 1294 under siege in Conwy Castle.

The Statute of Wales, promulgated at Rhuddlan on 19 March 1283/4 (commonly known as the Statute of Rhuddlan), created three new English counties out of the principality of Gwynedd: Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, and Merioneth.¹³ The county of Flintshire was created as a Welsh extension of the earldom of Chester. The counties of Cardiganshire and Carmarthen-shire were confirmed though they had existed since 1241. Each county was to have a sheriff; the new principalities of North and South Wales would be under the administration of a pair of justiciars, based at Caernarvon and Carmarthen, with two chamberlains controlling financial matters. Edward also aimed to bring Welsh law into closer conformity with the norms of English practice. He did not, however, eliminate Welsh practice entirely. Criminal law was changed considerably; Welsh tradition had made the kindred of the offender responsible for compensating the victim, if alive, or the kindred of the victim according to a highly organized scale of honour prices, as a means of preventing blood-feuds. Under the new statute crimes of this nature were to be dealt with as offences against the king's peace, as in England, and were to be brought before the sheriff and his court. Civil matters, on the other hand, especially those dealing with land tenure, were left much as they had been and, if English custom eventually prevailed, this was a process that took at least two centuries. The statute did not apply to the marcher lordships, many of which had both Englishries and Welshries with differing legal systems.

The statute did not make Wales a part of England.¹⁴ Henry III had recognized the principality by the Treaty of Montgomery in 1267, and this recognition remained in force although with Edward himself as ruler. The title of prince was transferred to his son Edward in 1301 and henceforth became the usual title of the (male) heir to the throne. At the same time as the statute was promulgated, though not under it, six new marcher lordships were created, in part to pay some of the debts of the war. These were Bromfield and Yale, Cedewain, Ceri, Chirk, Denbigh, and Ruthin.

The governing structure of late medieval Wales was especially complex, divided as it was between the principality itself and the lordships of the March. The principality was further divided into North Wales, which included the counties of Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, and Merioneth, and South Wales, which included the counties of Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire. Each of these was governed by a justice and a chamberlain under the direct authority of the Crown. Although many of the marcher lordships had by the early sixteenth century reverted to the Crown, their holdings remained relatively unchanged until the Acts of Union.

Wales in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

The Statute of Rhuddlan defined the constitutional relationship between Wales and England for the succeeding two centuries and more, although through the early fourteenth century it was the marcher lords who typified the relationship in practical terms. They were especially prominent in the baronial opposition to Edward II, whose favourite, Hugh Despenser the younger, had been given the rich marcher lordship of Glamorgan and whose wife, Isabella, took the marcher lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore as her lover. After the accession of Edward III in 1327 the Welsh economic situation deteriorated, for Edward saw the principality primarily as a source of money and men for his French wars. Seven thousand Welshmen were sent to Crécy in 1346.¹⁵ Nonetheless it was possible for a man to assemble a considerable holding in land, and the decades after the Edwardian conquest saw the rise of a new class of wealthy landowners, the 'uchelwyr.' These men also filled the void left by the demise of the princes by patronizing poets and bards, though it may in part have been their relative lack of interest in the highly formal panegyric of the previous two centuries that led to the adoption in the fourteenth century of freer and less elaborate metrical forms, less complex diction, and a wider range of subject matter. Their patronage supported the new generation of Welsh poets.

Although the economy of medieval Wales was almost entirely agricultural, the poor soil of much of the principality meant that the raising of livestock outweighed the growing of crops in importance although there was a substantial amount of mixed farming. Sheep and cattle farming were the mainstays. The method of raising sheep in Wales had been significantly improved by the Cistercian monasteries in the twelfth century, and by the fourteenth century many landowners had moved into large-scale sheep farming as well. Many of the cattle raised in Wales were driven to England to market, and the rough drovers' roads remained the principal routes of land transport until the middle of the nineteenth century. Through the fourteenth century the export of raw wool decreased in favour of the production of native cloth, and many of the boroughs of early Wales record the existence of occupations associated with the

production of cloth – dyers, fullers, and weavers. Coal was mined in South Wales from at least the middle of the thirteenth century, and other minerals (especially lead and copper) were mined in North Wales. An extensive foreign trade developed between such ports as Carmarthen, Chepstow, Haverfordwest, Milford, and Tenby, which sent hides, slate, timber, and wool to continental Europe and imported a variety of goods, especially wine.¹⁶

The population of Wales, particularly North Wales, was very seriously reduced by the Black Death of 1348–9. The effects it had on Welsh society mirrored those in the rest of Europe: a major reduction in the workforce, a breakdown of the family-based system of land tenure, a reduction of income to the landholders, and extensive migration of population. Many of the tensions that produced the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 were felt in Wales as well, along with such specifically Welsh problems as the threatened invasion from France in 1372 by Owain ap Thomas ap Rhodri (Owen of Wales), great-nephew of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd.¹⁷ In the context of this atmosphere of social and political unrest the revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr comes as no great surprise.

Owain was the obvious candidate to lead a revolt. Descended on both sides from the royal dynasties of thirteenth-century Wales, Powys on his father's side and Deheubarth on his mother's, he was the only member of the native Welsh aristocracy to retain a substantial fortune.¹⁸ The immediate cause of his revolt is not clear. It is traditionally given as a boundary dispute with Reynold Grey, lord of Dyffryn Clwyd, but the early stages of the revolt were sufficiently well organized that much of it must have been planned in advance. At Glyndyfrdwy, Merioneth, Owain was proclaimed prince of Wales on 16 September 1400 and the ensuing hostilities lasted a full ten years. An early defeat for the rebels in 1401 hinted that the fighting might be over; many of the participants were pardoned and parliament enacted a series of statutory punishments. Hostilities resumed in the following year, and a series of abortive attacks by the English in which bad luck and bad weather played no small role led many to believe that Owain was a magician. This was part of his attraction since Owain drew heavily on the prophetic tradition of Welsh poetry and was thought by many Welshmen to be the 'mab darogan,' the 'son of prophecy,' who would lead them out of English bondage. Owain continued his raids on the border counties and on the more English of the Welsh boroughs, especially through 1404 and 1405. They did not end completely until 1410 when three of his principal followers were defeated and executed. Owain himself disappeared and though he may have lived a further five years nothing more is heard of him. Owain Glyn Dŵr's revolt was a failure though it certainly had major consequences for Wales.¹⁹ Many of his attacks on Welsh boroughs were devastating, leaving damage that was often not repaired until well into the sixteenth century. John Leland regularly made note of the remains of Owain's destructive path; thus he wrote of the abbey of Cwm-hir, Radnorshire, 'Al the howse was spoiled and defacid be Owen Glindour.'²⁰

Another effect of the rebellion was a serious decline in public order and respect for the law. The weak government of Henry VI added to the problems by appointing absentee justiciars, leaving extraordinary power in the hands of local landowners. An egregious example is Gruffudd ap Nicolas of Dinefwr, Carmarthenshire, who was appointed deputy justiciar in 1437 and over the course of the next decade turned the office into what A.D. Carr calls 'his own private lordship.'²¹ By the middle of the century most marcher lords were also non-resident, leaving

effective power in the hands of their deputies. The March also became increasingly important to the Crown as marcher lords succeeded to the throne, bringing their Welsh lands under the Crown's direct control. Kidwelly, in Carmarthenshire, and Monmouth came to the Crown with the duchy of Lancaster estates on the accession of Henry IV in 1399, while the extensive Mortimer holdings devolved to Richard, duke of York, in 1425. When Richard's son Edward ascended the throne in 1461 as Edward IV, Wales became a vital playing card in the Wars of the Roses. Henry Tudor, son of Edmund Tudor, Henry VI's half-brother, landed at Milford Haven in August of 1485, and his Welsh blood was sufficient for him to be hailed as another 'mab darogan.' Although the Welsh gentry did not rush to join him important local figures such as Rhys ap Thomas, Gruffudd ap Nicolas' grandson, quietly pledged their support (see pp 256–67).

Tudor and Stuart Wales

Although Henry VIII did not take much interest in Wales until the mid-1530s, at that point he and his ministers acted quickly and decisively to erase the administrative differences between England and the principality, which he saw as causing Wales' continued lawlessness and disorder. Henry's principal instruments for bringing Wales fully into the English fold were the two Acts of Union. The first act (27 Hen VIII, chapter 26) was passed by the Reformation parliament meeting between 4 February 1535/6 and 14 April 1536. In its preamble the act noted that the king intended, out of the 'singuler zeale love and favour that he beareth' the Welsh people, that Wales should be 'for ever fromehensforthe incorporated united and annexed' to England. Although at the time Welsh subjects were subject to 'dyvers rightes usages lawes and customes ... farre discrepant frome the Lawes and Customes of this Realme,' in future they were to enjoy the same rights and freedoms as those of England and be subject to the same laws.²² The marcher lordships were abolished and the powers of the lords reduced to the holding of minor courts. Out of the lordships five new shires were created – Brecknockshire (Breckonshire), Denbighshire, Monmouthshire, Montgomeryshire, and Radnorshire – while other lordships were attached to the existing counties of Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, Flintshire, and Merioneth. The lordships of Glamorgan and Pembroke, which had already gained some elements of county status such as a county court and sheriff, were enlarged with some of the adjacent lordships. Anglesey and Caernarvonshire retained their traditional boundaries. Monmouthshire was placed in an anomalous situation, annexed to England through its placement under the jurisdiction of the courts of Chancery and Exchequer at Westminster, and was therefore permitted two knights of the shire like the other English counties, in contrast to the single knight allowed the Welsh counties.²³

Since the Welsh 'do daily use a speche nothing like ne consonant to the naturall mother tonge used within this Realme,' all judicial and administrative proceedings were to be conducted in English.²⁴ Henceforth no 'personne or personnes that use the Welshe speche or langage shall have or enjoy any manner office or fees within the Realme of Englonde Wales or other the Kinges Dominions, upon Peyn of forfaiting the same offices or fees, onles he or they use and exercise the speche or langage of Englishe.'²⁵ A second and supplementary act was passed by the parliament of 1543 (34–5 Hen VIII, chapter 26). Although it contained only two major –

though lengthy – provisions their effects were sweeping. The act provided for a court of Great Sessions, comparable to the English assizes, to meet twice each year for a week on fifteen days' notice. It further gave a statutory mandate to the Council in the Marches and called for each Welsh county to send its representative to parliament.

It is easy to over-emphasize the importance of this legislation, and the Acts of Union can best be seen as the culmination of a lengthy period of cultural and political integration that began early in the previous century, if not with the events of 1282. From a social point of view the primary effect of the Acts of Union was to provide a wealth of opportunities for the ambitious Welsh gentleman to build a strong local power base.²⁶

The new offices of justice of the peace, as well as membership in parliament or the Council in the Marches, could form the basis for local power; the introduction of a consistent English legal system offered vast opportunities for those with legal training, and by the end of the century the Welsh gentry were regularly sending their sons to the Inns of Court.

Religious houses had long been a prominent feature of the medieval Welsh landscape. With the bulk of foundations dating from the twelfth century the monastic orders were a significant part of the life and economy of medieval Wales. Among the orders of medieval Europe it was the Cistercians whose ascetic program appealed most to the Welsh. Although houses of all the major orders were founded in Wales none achieved the success of the white monks. Of about fifteen Benedictine houses founded during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, for example, only eight remained at the Dissolution. At that time the two largest of these, Abergavenny and Brecon, housed five and six monks respectively and showed annual incomes on the level of such small English houses as Totnes in Devon and St Bees in Cumberland. Eight Augustinian houses included three relatively large establishments at Carmarthen, Haverfordwest, and Llanthony, of which the most substantial at Carmarthen was about twice the size of Abergavenny or Brecon. Lesser orders were represented by small numbers of houses: the Tironians by three; the Cluniacs, two; and the Premonstratensians, one. Leland's claim of a house of Bonhommes at Ruthin is contradicted by a papal petition of 1479, which indicates that it was Augustinian.²⁷

The Cistercians, on the other hand, flourished. Of about eighteen early foundations thirteen were still in existence at the Dissolution, with major establishments in every county except Anglesey, Brecknockshire, and Pembrokeshire. Although this included such major foundations as Conwy in Caernarvonshire, Strata Florida in Cardiganshire, Whitland in Carmarthenshire, Valle Crucis in Denbighshire, Basingwerk in Flintshire, Margam and Neath in Glamorgan, Llantarnam and Tintern in Monmouthshire, Strata Marcella in Montgomeryshire, and Cwm-hir in Radnorshire, few of these houses were large and none was wealthy. The largest, Margam, housed thirty-eight monks and forty lay brothers in 1336; its temporal income in 1291 was £255, falling to £181 at the Dissolution. This latter figure represents an income about half that of an English Cistercian house of similar size, such as Bordesley in Worcestershire.²⁸

The principal event of Henry's reign, the separation of the English Church from Rome, perhaps affected Wales less than the political, administrative, and judicial changes of the Acts of Union. Contemporary sources leave little doubt that Wales was ready for the Reformation. Many of the Welsh monasteries, never wealthy by English standards, were by the 1530s in a state of

serious poverty. John Vaughan, one of the commissioners of visitation, wrote to Cromwell in 1536 concerning the state of Monmouth Priory: 'I dyd see the sayd howse and ther ys nor pott nor panne nor bed nor bedstyd nor no monke in the sayd howse but one the which dothe goo to borde in the towne.'²⁹ The Welsh seem to have greeted the Reformation with a large measure of indifference, much as they did the Marian reinstatement of the old religion.

The Elizabethan Settlement produced stronger feelings for it affected the people more directly. Elements of the prayer book had been translated into Welsh and published by Sir John Prise in 1546, but it was the translation of the Bible into Welsh, mandated by statute in 1563, which had the most profound effect.³⁰ William Salusbury's translation of the New Testament, published in 1567, Bishop William Morgan's superb translation of the Old Testament (as well as his revision of Salusbury's New Testament), and his printing of the whole text of the Scriptures in 1588 became the models for Welsh prose for centuries to come.³¹ For the most part Wales adopted the new religion with equanimity. This is not to say that recusancy was not a problem; a significant number of important Welsh families retained their Catholic connections and local officials complained regularly to the Council in the Marches about 'problems with recusants, but these problems were smaller than in many areas of England. The figures for prosecutions for recusancy suggest that the small number of Catholics at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign increased considerably by the end of the century, but improved methods of reporting – and increased zeal of those reporting – may have affected these numbers.³² The figures for 1603 suggest that recusants amounted to little more than about 0.3 per cent of the population.³³

Sixteenth-century Wales was distinguished by two large-scale changes in society: the rise to power of a new class of gentry and the expansion of urban centres. Local families had been the cornerstone of Welsh society since the earliest records, and pride in family and blood were a key to this importance; Gerald of Wales, writing in the early 1190s, had noted that the Welsh valued gentle birth and the nobility of their families above all other things.³⁴ The Act for the Making of Justices of the Peace in Wales of 1535–6, however, provided the opportunity, in its provisions for local administration through the English system of justices of the peace, for families of local importance to increase greatly their wealth and influence.³⁵ On 12 March 1535/6 the formidable Bishop Rowland Lee, lord president of the Council in the Marches, wrote to Thomas Cromwell objecting to the new plan to place control over law and order in the hands of local justices. Lee pointed out that English jps were required to possess land to a value of £20 per year, but 'there be ffew welshemen in wales above Breknock that maye dispende ten pounds lande/ and to saye truthe their discretion lesse then their landes/'.³⁶ Lee's reservations were, for once, ignored and the problem was resolved by the simple expedient of waiving the property requirement for Wales. By the end of the century George Owen of Henllys was able to note proudly the wealth of the Welsh gentry, 'nowe theare is no sheere in wales butt is able to yealde suffisyent numbere of gentlemen that may dispend 100li a yeare good land, to be sheriffs and Justices of the peace in the sheere.'³⁷ Owen was speaking in local terms and probably exaggerating; even the most wealthy Welsh families barely approached the holdings of the middle level of English gentry, but they had nonetheless become the most important power in the land. The 'uchelwyr,' or 'boneddigion,' also replaced the marcher lords, native

princes, and monasteries as patrons of the professional poets – the bards – and a very large proportion of the body of poetry surviving from Tudor Wales consists of poems in their honour. The sponsorship of the gentry was also essential to the two documented eisteddfodau of the sixteenth century, held at Caerwys, Flintshire, in 1523 and 1567 (see pp 159–81). These bardic meetings were held specifically to establish the requirements for bardic training and licensing, as well as to codify the norms of bardic practice. The Mostyn family of Mostyn, Flintshire, was instrumental in organizing these meetings, and Caerwys may have been chosen as their venue because of its proximity to the Mostyn estates.

Although many of the towns of medieval Wales dated from the period of the Norman Conquest, both these and the new towns of the late thirteenth century were seen by the native Welsh population as predominately English.³⁸ This explains why the native population did not flock to the new towns, as well as making clear the animus felt toward the urban centres by Owain Glyn Dŵr and his followers. The stagnation of town life in the fifteenth century was in part a product of the extensive damage done by Glyn Dŵr's forces, much of which was still noticeable to John Leland over a century later, as well as of the more widespread contraction of urban centres that followed on the plague epidemics of the previous century. The sixteenth century, especially after the Acts of Union, saw the Welsh boroughs rise again in importance as centres of commerce and industry. Between the mid-sixteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries many Welsh boroughs roughly doubled in size, among them Caernarfon, Montgomery, Pembroke, Swansea, and Wrexham.³⁹ So Humphrey Llwyd noted of his fellow Welshmen that 'of late they haue very commendably begun to inhabite Townes, to learne occupations, to exercise merchandise, to till the ground well, and to doo all other kindes of publique, and necessary functions, as wel as Englishmen.'⁴⁰

It is possible to estimate the population of Wales in the mid-sixteenth century with the help of two sets of documents. The first of these includes the episcopal returns of 1563, in which the bishops were instructed to record the number of households in each parish of their diocese.

COUNTY	HOUSEHOLDS	POPULATION
Anglesey	1,954	8,800
Brecknockshire	4,238	19,100
Caernarvonshire	2,984	13,400
Cardiganshire	3,464	15,600
Carmarthenshire	6,875	31,000
Denbighshire	4,733	21,300
Flintshire	2,405	10,800
Glamorgan	5,530	24,900
Merioneth	2,104	9,500
Montgomeryshire	3,450	15,500
Pembrokeshire	4,225	19,000
Radnorshire	2,837	12,800
TOTAL	44,799	201,700

Figure 1 Estimated population of Wales in the mid-sixteenth century

These returns (though not complete) survive extensively for the dioceses of Bangor and St David's. They must be supplemented by the (also incomplete) information in the surviving lay subsidy rolls of 1543, which cover many of the areas missing in the bishops' records.⁴¹

Monmouthshire was not included in either the subsidy or episcopal returns, but adding an estimated 21,000 for its population would bring the mid-sixteenth-century total to about 222,700. This population was likely as much as ninety per cent rural and the Welsh towns were, for the most part, relatively small. Only four urban centres had a population in the range of 1,500 to 2,000 inhabitants: Brecon, Brecknockshire; Carmarthen, Carmarthenshire; Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire; and Wrexham, Denbighshire. The largest of these, Carmarthen, is the only one whose population was without question above 2,000. In addition seven other towns had populations of around 1,000 – Caernarfon, Caernarvonshire; Cardiff, Glamorgan; Denbigh, Denbighshire; Kidwelly, Carmarthenshire; Monmouth, Monmouthshire; Swansea, Glamorgan; and Tenby, Pembrokeshire. The rest of the towns in Wales had populations of no more than a few hundred.⁴²

Wales in the Seventeenth Century

The accession of James I in 1603 brought few changes to Wales. James was, after all, the great-great-grandson of a Welshman, Henry VII. Perhaps more important the Welsh gentry, especially those of recent establishment, clearly saw the continuation of the Elizabethan order under the new king as the best means to preserve and consolidate their estates. Jacobean Wales saw significant increases in the number of Welshmen involved in both education and the law. The foundation of Jesus College, Oxford, by Hugh Price in 1571 had increased the number of Welsh students at the university and that increase now accelerated. So too did the number of Welsh students at the 'third university,' the Inns of Court. Fewer Welsh students went to Cambridge; those who did tended to go to St John's College. Despite these educational and social advances Welsh gentlemen continued to pursue quarrels among themselves, using both direct violence and the law courts to further their ambitions.

The reign of Charles I began calmly enough. Serious problems in Wales only started to arise during the period of Charles' personal reign from 1629 to 1640, with the king's repeated demands for ship-money. Welsh attitudes to this taxation can be seen in the returns. In 1635 only two counties defaulted in their payments; in 1639 all the Welsh counties except two defaulted in some measure. Nonetheless the majority of Welshmen took the royalist side in the ensuing Civil War since the threat to established authority was generally also seen as a threat to the local gentry's power. A number of minor battles in the war were fought on Welsh soil, but even with the sequestrations imposed on royalist sympathizers following the king's defeat, few of the Welsh gentry co-operated actively with Cromwell's government.

One of the earliest statutes passed by the Commonwealth parliament of 1649 was the *Act for the better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales, and redress of some Grievances* (London, 1650; Wing: E1099), the intention of which was to complete the Puritan conquest of the Welsh. Although a commission of seventy-one was set up to oversee the terms of the act it was not a great success. Its negative provisions, primarily the ejection of clergymen

who did not meet the standards of the act, were very successful but the reverse – their replacement by appropriate Puritan preachers or lecturers – foundered on the lack of suitable candidates. The act was allowed to lapse in 1653 but did have one potentially important effect, however, in its provision for setting up free schools. Under the act some sixty schools were established, generally in towns and boroughs that were not already served by a grammar school. These schools should have been the most important legacy of the so-called Propagation Act, but in fact they had little lasting success since only one of them survived the Restoration. Though it was, on the whole, not a success the act did create a national interest in fundamental issues of religion and thus, along with its system of schools, paved the way for the far more extensive religious changes of the following century. In addition to the terms of the act local Welsh officials were also made responsible for the enforcement of a Protestant moral code. Many of its terms were familiar from the sabbatarian regulations promulgated by Elizabeth's and James' bishops in their visitation instructions (see pp 37–9). Some were new, however, including prohibitions on revels, bowling, dancing around maypoles, and bearbaiting.⁴³

The Council in the Marches of Wales

The Council in the Marches was formally established in 1493 or 1494 to act as an advisory body to Arthur, prince of Wales, reviving a similar council that had been set up in 1471 for Edward, the son of Edward IV. After Arthur's death in 1502 the Council continued to meet as a commission of the peace for the Welsh borders, although the real power in the border area was held by the earldom of March (in royal hands since the death of Richard III in 1485).⁴⁴ The Council rose to importance in 1534 when Rowland Lee, the redoubtable bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, was appointed to its head with a mandate to bring law and order to the Welsh borders. Under Lee's guidance the Council and its head, the lord president, became a power almost equal to the Council in the North, with extensive administrative and judicial powers in the counties on the English side of the border as well as in Wales. The second Act of Union made these powers statutory in 1543. The Council was based at Ludlow, Shropshire, but also met at Shrewsbury, Shropshire, and Bewdley and Worcester, Worcestershire. Its precise powers and procedures remained vague, perhaps intentionally so; the Council held a commission of oyer and terminer and was empowered to hear private suits. It acted as an informal court of appeal for the quarter sessions courts of the Welsh counties and supervised justices of the peace. Under Elizabeth the Council's influence waned, although this change was not steady and the strength of the Council depended largely on the strength of its president.⁴⁵

With the death of Henry Herbert, earl of Pembroke, in 1601 the Council lost its last Welsh lord president, and a succession of largely absentee presidents, as well as a related increase in its bureaucracy, led to attacks on the Council's practices and its impartiality (see pp 83–6). Though many of these charges may have been self-serving they marked a change in the Council's reputation, though it continued to deal with an extremely large case-load. The criminal jurisdiction of the Council was abolished in 1641.⁴⁶

The Court of Great Sessions

The court of Great Sessions was formally established by the second Act of Union of 1543, although some of its provisions had been anticipated following the first act of 1536 and had already been put in place in 1541. Wales was to be divided into four judicial circuits each comprising three counties, one in the northwest (Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, and Merioneth), one in the northeast (Denbighshire, Flintshire, and Montgomeryshire), one in the southwest (Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire), and one in the southeast (Brecknockshire, Glamorgan, and Radnorshire). Anomalous since its creation by the first Act of Union Monmouthshire was not included in the Welsh jurisdiction; the county was to be dealt with through the courts at Westminster and after the Restoration it was attached to the Oxford assize circuit.⁴⁷ These regional courts of Great Session were to be unique to Wales and were to have jurisdiction over the range of cases heard by the courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and the assizes in England, establishing the rule of English common law in place of the equity law of the marcher lords, and furthering the anglicization of Welsh culture.

The Great Sessions courts quickly became an important part of Welsh life and remained so until their suppression in 1830. Perhaps most important the courts brought a measure of uniformity to the administration of justice in Wales, where there had previously been the widest possible deviation under the various authorities of the Crown and the marcher lords. Courts were to be held twice annually for six days, with at least fifteen days' notice being given of a session. The courts were relatively efficient and, unlike the courts of the marcher lords, could not be bought off, and they thus became very popular. Elizabeth was successfully petitioned in 1576 for the doubling of the number of justices. The courts were required to be held in English but their success implies that the problems of language and interpreters were overcome.⁴⁸ George Owen had a particularly rosy (and likely unjustified) view of the courts and their justices; a character in one of his dialogues describes having seen 'the Judges deale with such care of Justice ioyned with mercye as J wowlde wish to see in all places; Theare sawe J the guiltye condemned with pittye, and the Jnnocent delyuered by Justice, rich and poore, the like care and paynes was vsed for both....'⁴⁹

The Welsh Dioceses

The ecclesiastical administration of Wales was based on four dioceses. The largest of these was governed from the isolated cathedral of St David's at the far western tip of Pembrokeshire, at least until the bishop's palace was relocated to Carmarthen in 1550. The diocese of St David's comprised the whole of Brecknockshire, Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, and Radnorshire and included the cantref of Gower in Glamorgan, as well as the commotes of Ceri in Montgomeryshire and Ewias in Monmouthshire. There was considerable dispute over these boundaries, with the adjoining cantrefs of Kidwelly, Gower, and Cantref Bychan, as well as the Brecon commotes of Ystrad Yw and Crucywel, contested by the diocese of Llandaff.⁵⁰

Llandaff, in the southeast with its seat just north of Cardiff, Glamorgan, consisted of the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire with the exceptions noted above. In the northwest

of Wales the diocese of Bangor encompassed the counties of Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, and the western portion of Merioneth, with outliers in the southern part of the Clwyd valley in Denbighshire and the commote of Arwystli in the southern part of Montgomeryshire. The diocese of St Asaph in the northeast took in the counties of Denbighshire (minus the deanery of Dyffryn Clwyd), eastern Merioneth, the rest of Montgomeryshire, and all of Flintshire with the exception of the peculiar of Hawarden. The eastern boundary of the Welsh dioceses did not correspond exactly to the political boundary of the principality and thus several Radnorshire parishes lay in the diocese of Hereford, while a few Flintshire parishes and one Denbighshire parish lay in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield (after 1541, the diocese of Chester). A small number of Shropshire parishes around Oswestry were included in the diocese of St Asaph.

A tendency in the fourteenth century to exclude Welshmen from the Welsh sees expanded to become normal practice in the fifteenth and thus no Welsh bishops served the diocese of St David's between 1389 and 1496, Llandaff between 1323 and 1566, Bangor between 1408 and 1500, and St Asaph between 1376 and 1500 (with the exception of Reginald Pecock, St Asaph, 1444–9). Not surprisingly very few of the foreign bishops were resident.

Recusancy returns from the four dioceses show a strong differentiation between them with significantly higher numbers in the border areas. Of the 808 recusants reported in Wales in 1603 forty-seven per cent were from the diocese of Llandaff, thirty-one per cent from St Asaph, eighteen per cent from St David's, and a mere four per cent from Bangor.⁵¹

A number of Welsh border parishes lay in the diocese of Hereford, and records from these parishes are therefore included in the consistory court records of the diocese. Eight Welsh parishes were in the Hereford Archdeaconry: two in the Archenfield Deanery (Dixton Newton and Monmouth, both in Monmouthshire), five in the Leominster Deanery (Disgoed, Norton, New Radnor, Old Radnor, and Presteigne, all in Radnorshire), and one in the Weobley Deanery (Michaelchurch-on-Arrow, Radnorshire). Knighton, Radnorshire, lay in the Ludlow Archdeaconry, Clun Deanery, and six Welsh parishes were in the Pontesbury Deanery (Buttington, Churchstoke, Forden, Hyssington, Montgomery, and Snead, all in Montgomeryshire).

Anglesey/Môn

The island of Anglesey, separated from the mainland of Caernarvonshire by the Menai Strait, contains the most low-lying land in Wales, rising nowhere more than 720 feet above sea level. At least some of the island's acreage is arable and the marshland areas that are unsuitable for cultivation are acceptable for grazing. In the seventeenth century the county's agricultural reputation was high; Speed noted that

[t]he commodities that commend, (or rather beautifie) this Country, are in Corne and Cattle, wherewith it not onely enricheth it selfe exceedingly, but sendeth out great prouision thereof to others to supply their defects, and although the ground may seeme drie and stony, or vnpleasant and nothing sightly, wherein for the outward quality, it resembleth some other parts of Wales, that are not so fruitfull, yet for the inward bounties of nature, it is farre vnlike.⁵²

There is a measure of hyperbole here; today eleven per cent of the county's land is classed as marginal while for the principality as a whole the figure is thirty-one per cent.⁵³

In the earlier Middle Ages Aberffraw in the southwest was an important site, serving as principal court for the rulers of Gwynedd. The island was of considerable strategic importance, not least as the principal route to Ireland, and was given county status through the Statute of Rhuddlan in 1284. The creation through the statute of three new counties out of the kingdom of Gwynedd brought a measure of English administration to these areas, especially through the introduction of the new office of sheriff. The changing attitude of royal administration to the Welsh counties over the next two centuries can be seen in the persons who held this office. Through the fourteenth century Anglesey's sheriffs were Welsh approximately thirty per cent of the time, though the Welsh sheriffs were concentrated in the first half of the century. In the fifteenth century the count fell to zero. The immediate cause was Henry IV's punitive anti-Welsh laws of 1402 but the trend had clearly been developing through the previous century. Simultaneously with Owain Glyn Dŵr's rebellion a revolt arose in Anglesey led by Gwilym and Rhys ap Tudur. This was quickly crushed by Henry VI who ravaged the eastern side of the island, killing the remaining friars at Llan-faes and burning the friary.

In addition to its livestock and grain crops Anglesey also had from the late fifteenth century some limited mining of coal in the commote of Menai. The county was also known for the high quality of its millstones, which were exported from the eastern tip of the island throughout England and Ireland.⁵⁴ None of these industries was sufficient to keep Anglesey's population much above the poverty level and the island was served by only two major markets at the island's two boroughs, Beaumaris and Newborough.

Beaumaris attained some prosperity as a fishing port; the cattle market at Newborough was never really successful at bringing the borough similar status. In 1507 Newborough was made county town for a time but the honour reverted to Beaumaris again in 1549.⁵⁵ In addition to these major markets small fairs were also held at Aberffraw and Llannerch-y-medd, though it is likely that these were no longer held by the sixteenth century.⁵⁶ All four of these locations supported annual fairs: Beaumaris on Ascension Day (forty days after Easter) and 8 September; Newborough on 29 June and 11 November.⁵⁷ Anglesey's roads were poorly kept and access from the mainland was by ferry. A single bridge connected the island to its harbour at Holyhead and in many ways its connections by ship to Ireland, Lancashire, and Pembrokeshire were more important than its connections to the mainland.

Although agriculture remained the basis of the island's economy weaving had become common by the mid-fourteenth century. Anglesey also had a thriving fishing industry, and its several ports conducted trade with other Welsh and English ports from the fourteenth century on. Wine was a principal commodity, with wine-bearing ships coming from Bristol, Plymouth, and St Ives. Foreign trade was limited to Beaumaris with the majority of ships arriving from home ports in Brittany, including Le Conquet, Le Croisic, Paimpol, St Malo, and St Pol de Leon, as well as from Honfleur and Lisbon.⁵⁸ The port books of the sixteenth century show a far wider range of home ports, including Ireland, Scotland, Spain, and a variety of English ports.⁵⁹ Although Anglesey's economy remained predominately based on agriculture and sea trade Mynydd Parys, just south of Amlwch, had been a source of copper

since Roman times, and this was expanded in 1579 into a minor industry, which lasted until the early nineteenth century.⁶⁰

BEAUMARIS

Situated at the northern entrance to the strategically vital Menai Strait, Beaumaris first attained importance as the site of Edward I's last castle in Wales. It seems likely that Edward did not initially intend to fortify this side of the Strait, well protected as it was by castles at both Caernarfon and Conwy in Caernarvonshire, but in 1294 Madog, son of Llywelyn ap Maredudd, lord of Meirionydd, attracted a host of disaffected Welshmen and proclaimed himself prince of Wales. He continued to harass Edward throughout the winter of 1294/5 until March, when he was drawn into Powys and defeated. The experience seems to have convinced Edward of the wisdom of further fortification of the northwest. In order to deal with economic competition from the nearby Welsh town of Llan-faes, which the survey of 1294 had described as a thriving centre of commerce, Edward simply had the inhabitants moved to a new site at Rhosyr, twelve miles to the west, where it was renamed Newborough and in 1303 given its own charter. Only the friary was left behind.⁶¹

Though Beaumaris Castle was never finished its presence and its garrison formed the basis for a thriving community. The borough's first charter was granted in 1296 with provision for annual fairs at Llan-faes on Ascension Day (forty days after Easter) and the Nativity of St Mary (8 September).⁶² Throughout the fourteenth century Beaumaris was one of the primary trading centres of North Wales, although its burgesses regularly complained that other ports and markets were being used to the town's detriment. After 1379 the evidence of vacant burgages and, in 1389, a release for a year from the payment of burgage rents suggest that the town was in economic decline. During the Glyn Dŵr rebellion the castle may have fallen into rebel hands in 1404–5 but the evidence is unclear.⁶³ The town was not originally walled but work began on walls in 1414, perhaps in response to Glyn Dŵr's occupation. This work continued through the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries with a number of burgages destroyed to make space for them. The walls were never needed for defensive purposes and the burgages lost to them were replaced by substantial extramural development. The Free School of Beaumaris was founded in 1603 by David Hughes (see pp 43–5).⁶⁴ Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Beaumaris remained a quietly prosperous market town; even its capture by parliamentary forces in 1646 did not lead to the destruction usually visited upon royalist sites.

Not all the population of Anglesey was happy with Beaumaris' pre-eminent position on the island; in 1657 a petition was sent to the lord protector signed by forty-two residents of the county and endorsed by a further fifty-two, requesting that because of the awkward position of Beaumaris' market 'scituate vpon the most remote confines of the same,' a further market be allowed at the more central town of Llannerch-y-medd.⁶⁵

HOUSEHOLDS

Originally from Cheadle, Cheshire, by the early seventeenth century the Bulkeleys of Beaumaris

and Baron Hill had become the most important family in Anglesey and the name appears with great frequency in the records of the period. The senior branch of the family settled in Anglesey before 1450 and the family's fortunes grew rapidly through the purchase of lands in both Anglesey and Caernarvonshire. 'Richard' was a traditional family name and in virtually every generation was given to the eldest son. Richard Bulkeley I was born c 1507 and died in 1547. He served as chamberlain of North Wales, as high sheriff of Caernarvonshire from 22 November 1542 to 22 November 1543, and of Anglesey from 23 November 1546 to 15 November 1547; he was knighted around 1534. The second Sir Richard Bulkeley (d. 1572) served as member of parliament for Anglesey in 1547, 1554, and 1571, as well as sheriff for the county in 1547, 1552, 1561, and 1570 and for Caernarvonshire in 1550 and 1558. His influence was important in obtaining a charter of incorporation for Beaumaris in 1562. According to his son Richard he was poisoned by his second wife, Agnes, who had committed adultery with William Kenericke. Although poison was found in her room she was acquitted. The family appears to have had strong Catholic connections.⁶⁶

The family's influence peaked with the third Sir Richard Bulkeley (1533–1621), whose friendship with Queen Elizabeth involved him in bitter opposition to the earl of Leicester's schemes in Wales, by which as chief ranger of Snowdon he tried to bring freehold lands in the counties of Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, and Merioneth into his sphere of control.⁶⁷ In revenge Leicester attempted to link Bulkeley to the Babington Plot of 1585 but the queen refused to believe the charge. In 1561 he was appointed constable of Beaumaris Castle and he served as member of parliament for the county in 1563 (through his father's influence), 1604, and 1614. Sir Richard Bulkeley III built the Baron Hill estate just north-west of Beaumaris in 1618. The tenure in the estate of his son Sir Richard Bulkeley IV represented a substantial decrease in the family's influence. After his death in 1630 his wife and Thomas Cheadle were tried twice on the charge of poisoning him, the second trial justified by a charge that unfair influence had been used to sway the outcome of the first. In the second trial they were again acquitted on grounds of insufficient evidence; she later married Cheadle. The estate passed to Bulkeley's son, Richard Bulkeley V, who died on 15 March 1639/40, at which time the estate passed to his uncle Thomas Bulkeley, who was created Lord Viscount Bulkeley on 6 January 1643/4 and died in 1659. His son, Colonel Richard Bulkeley, born in 1626, was killed in a duel with Richard Cheadle, Thomas' son, on Lavan Sands near Beaumaris on 19 February 1649/50. Cheadle was executed at Conwy for Bulkeley's murder.

The gentleman farmer who kept a journal for a good part of the 1630s did not identify himself specifically as a member of the Bulkeley family but there is little doubt of his identity.⁶⁸ In late 1621 or early 1622 Robert Bulkeley, a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford, returned to his family home, Dronwy, in the parish of Llanfachreth near the west coast of the island not far from Holyhead.⁶⁹ His father had died some time earlier and his mother, as far as we can tell, called him home to run the estate. Bulkeley appears to have remained in Anglesey for the rest of his life. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of Rhys ap Huw of Tan-yr-allt, Llanfachreth, whom he refers to often in the journal as 'Besse,' and they had at least seven children.⁷⁰ Bulkeley served as justice of the peace and the journal notes his attendance at petty sessions in Bodedern

and at quarter sessions, as well as at the assizes at Beaumaris. It also records his payments to be relieved of jury and inquest duties.

The Lewis family of Prysaeddfed in the parish of Bodedern was prominent in the affairs of the county during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. William Lewis (c 1526–1601 or later) served as sheriff of the county on three occasions, in 1549, 1558, and 1572, and as member of two parliaments, in 1553 and 1555.⁷¹ His parliamentary career began with difficulties. In 1548 he had brought a suit in Star Chamber against Thomas and Robert Bulkeley, involving also the second Sir Richard Bulkeley (c 1524–72), one of the most powerful men in the county, who challenged Lewis' election to Mary's first parliament in 1553 on the grounds that Lewis' return by the sheriff was corrupt and that he, Bulkeley, had in fact received the larger number of votes. The case dragged on until the session was virtually over but the ill feeling it generated was so widespread that in 1560 the poet Siôn Brwynog wrote that it had 'poisoned' the atmosphere of the county ('A wna'n ynys yn wenwyn').⁷² In 1573 Lewis was appointed high collector for the subsidy but he seems to have retired from public life after that.

Brecknockshire/Sir Frycheiniog

The county of Brecknockshire or Breconshire was created by Henry VIII's first Act of Union in 1536, amalgamating the ancient kingdom of Brycheiniog and the cantref of Buellt to the north. The county is divided quite spectacularly between its mountains and valleys. 'This County is full of hils and vneuen for trauel,' wrote Speed. The Brecon Beacons in the south form the highest land mass outside of Snowdonia, rising to above 3,000 feet. To the east the Black Mountains form a natural border with Herefordshire and Monmouthshire, while the north is dominated by the barren dome of Mynydd Eppynt. 'Among which,' continued Speed, 'ariseth and runneth so many fruitfull springs, that their vallies are thereby made most fertile, yeelding in plenty both corne and grasse.'⁷³ Principal among these valleys is that of the River Usk, running west to east across the centre of the county, while the north is drained by several tributaries of the Wye, which forms the county's northern border with Radnorshire.

Most of the area was in Norman hands by 1092, the large lordship of Brecknock held by Bernard de Neufmarché and the smaller cantref of Buellt by William de Briouze. After Bernard's death c 1125 the whole county came into the hands of the Briouze family where it remained until 1241, when it passed to the Bohuns, with part of the eastern cantref of Talgarth split off into the separate lordship of Blaenllyfni. At the end of the fourteenth century the Bohun lands passed by marriage to Henry Bolingbroke and, with the coup d'état that established him on the throne as Henry IV, the lands came under direct royal control. The lordship was granted to the Stafford dukes of Buckingham but reverted to the Crown following the execution of Henry Stafford in 1483. It was restored to his son Edward in 1485 where it remained until his execution in 1521.

The county had four market towns, Brecon, Builth Wells, Crickhowell, and Hay.⁷⁴ Of these Brecon was by far the most prosperous; the others in contrast remained small market towns. All were severely damaged during the Glyn Dŵr rebellion but Brecon was the only one with a sufficiently prosperous economy to rebuild quickly.

Through the sixteenth century the county remained agricultural; the severest problem it faced, along with Merioneth, Montgomeryshire, and Radnorshire, was the encroachment and enclosure of common pasturage, a process that dealt a severe blow to the ancient system of transhumance grazing, in which sheep and cattle were pastured during the winter season in the valleys and lowlands, near to the principal farmhouse ('hendre'), and moved to uplands pasturage during the summer near a less permanent dwelling for the herders ('hafod'). This mode of agriculture predominated in hilly areas and enclosure in lowland areas proceeded with relatively little disruption. Acting on a petition from the freeholders of Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire the Council in the Marches recommended in 1573 that measures be taken against encroachment in Brecknockshire and Merioneth as well.⁷⁵ Brecknockshire's total reliance upon agriculture was briefly set aside in the early seventeenth century when the Hanbury family extended their iron-smelting into the county, but mining and smelting never became a major part of the county's economy.⁷⁶

The county remained a quiet place through the seventeenth century, its calm broken only by the antics of a few men like John Games of Aberbrân, who travelled around the county's markets and fairs with a gang of toughs extorting money (see pp 55–7).⁷⁷ Even during the Civil War the county remained relatively quiet; no battles were fought on its soil and no castles or buildings were destroyed.⁷⁸

BRECON/ABERHONDDU

The borough of Brecon, at the confluence of the Rivers Honddu and Usk, grew up around the Norman castle built at the end of the eleventh century by Bernard de Neufmarché, following his victory in 1093 over Rhys ap Tewdwr, king of Deheubarth. Through the Middle Ages, indeed until 1521, Brecon remained a seigneurial borough under the direct control of the marcher lords of Brecon. Although the borough clearly existed by 1106 and had a charter of rights and liberties from 1270 (expanded before 1282), the power of the lord was of paramount importance, and several times during the borough's history its charter was abrogated and the town was placed under the direct control of the lord.⁷⁹ First, from 1340 to 1365 Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, took direct control apparently for financial reasons, since his annual income from the borough quickly increased by about forty per cent. Bohun granted the town a generous charter in 1365, including the right to sixteen fair days a year, thus making it one of the most important market towns in Wales. Second, Henry IV took control of the town during the Glyn Dŵr rebellion, this time for reasons of security, and finally Anne, dowager countess of Stafford, revoked the charter in 1429 on the grounds that the burgesses had abused their privileges. The charter was restored after her death by her son Humphrey, duke of Buckingham.⁸⁰

Throughout the Middle Ages Brecon remained a town of considerable commercial importance, its charter providing for two weekly markets, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and for three (originally two) annual fairs of eight days at the feasts of the Nativity of John the Baptist (24 June), the Beheading of John the Baptist (29 August), and St Leonard (6 November).⁸¹ The Gough map of c 1360 makes it clear that Brecon also lay on the major east-west road leading from Hereford along the valleys to Carmarthen and St David's.⁸² The relative wealth of the

borough can be seen in the substantial loan of £53 6s 8d made toward Henry v's French wars in 1417 by two of its burgesses, Walter Bace and Thomas ap David.⁸³

Brecon was also a religious centre of some note. Its Benedictine priory had been founded by Bernard de Neufmarché in the early days of the borough and became relatively wealthy, with the second-largest endowment of any house in Wales. It remained small, however, housing fewer than six monks for most of its history. Outside the town walls on the west side of the River Usk stood the largest Dominican friary in Wales, founded in the late thirteenth century. Several local shrines, including the rood of Brecon and the shrine of St Elined, brought pilgrims to the town (see pp 53–4).

R.R. Davies has shown that the story of Brecon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reflects a slow but consistent increase in prosperity, although the Glyn Dŵr rebellion took a particularly hard toll on the town. By the end of the century Davies estimates that Brecon had a population of about 800.⁸⁴ With the creation of the county of Brecknockshire in 1536 the borough became the county town. In 1556 a new charter gave the town its seal and specified the duties of its civic officers and common council. Even the dissolution of its priory and friary cannot be said to have been a complete loss, since the friary was converted into Christ's College under a royal charter from Henry VIII. The chancel of the friary's church survives as the school's chapel. A considerable portion of the priory church also survives, though much restored, as the cathedral of the modern (1923) diocese of Swansea and Brecon. Despite the borough's relative prosperity the Pembrokeshire writer and antiquary George Owen claimed in 1602 that it was 'evill for intertayzmente.'⁸⁵

Caernarvonshire/Sir Gaernarfon

The county of Caernarvonshire came into being through the Statute of Rhuddlan in 1284, forming along with Anglesey and Merioneth the principality of North Wales. The county is divided topographically into two very different halves. To the west the Llŷn peninsula offers a limited amount of arable land with good grazing. To the east the mountains of Snowdonia provide only the most basic grazing, though they long proved a haven for the Welsh in their battles with Edward I. Speed understood the two halves' strategic importance: 'but for the hart of this Shire, it is altogether mountainous, as if Nature had a purpose heere, by rearing vp these craggy hils so thicke together, strongly to compact the ioyns of this our lland, and to frame the Inland part thereof for a fit place of refuge to the Britaines, against those times of aduersitie which afterward did fall vpon them.'⁸⁶ Leland described the county's agriculture: 'Cairarvonshire aboute the shore hath reasonable good corne, as about a myle upland from the shore onto Cairarvon. Then more upwarde be Eryri Hilles, and in them ys very litle corne, except otes in sum places, and a litle barle, but scanty rye. If ther were the deere wold destroye it. But in Lleene and Hiuiionith⁸⁷ is good corne, both by shore and almost thorough upland.'⁸⁸ Over the course of the later Middle Ages landholding in the county tended to change from a large number of widely dispersed small farms to a smaller number of large estates, mainly through enclosure and consolidation by purchase and marriage.⁸⁹

The county was dominated by its four major castles: Cricieth at the base of the Llŷn

peninsula, one of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's castles refurbished by Edward after the conquest; the two castles built by Edward for his new towns at Caernarfon and Conwy, the former the most splendid of his new buildings; and the old mountain fortress of Dolbadarn on the slopes of Snowdon.⁹⁰ With its limited agricultural resources Caernarvonshire's people depended largely on weaving for their livelihood. Relatively little of the county's livestock was kept for wool, which was imported from other parts of Wales.

Transportation would have been particularly difficult in the mountainous areas of the county, for its roads were especially bad, even by Welsh standards, and were often made impassable by snow. The lower-lying areas of the Llŷn peninsula were only approachable from the east by the north coast road through Conwy and along the Menai Strait, by the road across the Traeth Mawr from Harlech, Merioneth, or (the most sensible route) by boat. In addition to Edward's new towns several other sites had markets, generally of modest proportions, including Bangor, the seat of one of Wales' four bishoprics, the old town of Degannwy, and Nefyn on the north coast of the Llŷn peninsula. By 1303 Edward had given charters to seven new royal boroughs in the county, all modelled on Hereford's charter.⁹¹ The charters generally provided for civic government by a mayor and burgesses, except in the cases of incastellated towns where the castellan was to be mayor by patent.

CONWY

After his victory over Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Edward I chose to fortify the entrance to north-west Wales not at the ancient site of Degannwy, on the west side of the Conwy estuary, but at a new site on the west bank, giving the new borough its charter in 1284 and building one of his most severely impressive castles to guard the approach both by land and by sea.⁹² The site had originally been occupied by the Cistercian abbey of Aberconwy, which Edward moved up the valley to Maenan, leaving the old abbey church to become the parish church of the new town. The charter allowed for annual fairs on St Bartholemew's Day (24 August) and the feast of St Simon and St Jude (28 October), as well as a weekly Friday market, whose fees would pay for the upkeep of the town walls with their twenty-one half-round towers.⁹³ Although during the early fourteenth century the borough was populous (about twice the size of Caernarfon in 1312), it never became an important port and in the late sixteenth century Camden took note that it was not replenished with inhabitants.⁹⁴ There is some evidence that a serious depletion of Conwy's population occurred in the 1607 plague.⁹⁵ It is unlikely that the grammar school provided for in Robert Wynn's will was ever built; it was not known to L. Stanley Knight in his survey of Welsh schools and no references to it survive in municipal documents.⁹⁶

DEGANNWY

Described by Speed as 'an ancient City ... which many yeeres agoe was consumed by lightning, & so made vtterly desolate,' Degannwy was in the earlier Middle Ages a major site controlling the north coast road.⁹⁷ It may have been the seat of power of the early princes of North Wales, for as Leland noted, '...a mile up ynto the land appere greate ruines of Hegannoye Castel

stonding on an hille, wher, as sum say, Mailgo Guined dwellid and Lleulen Prince of North Wales.⁹⁸ A castle had been built on the site at least by 1210 by the earls of Chester, enlarged and garrisoned by Henry III in 1245. When Degannwy fell securely into royal hands with the Treaty of Woodstock in 1247, Henry proceeded with the construction of a substantial stone castle costing over £10,000 and created the town a free borough, clearly intending it to be a permanent settlement. Its economy was largely dependent upon its castle and declined rapidly when the castle was abandoned by Edward I in 1277.⁹⁹

HOUSEHOLDS

Although the Griffith family had been associated with the area at the tip of the Llŷn peninsula since the early fourteenth century, its first clear connection with the estate of Cefnamwlch dates from 1481. For our purposes the principal member of the family was John Griffith the younger, who provided the major challenge to Sir John Wynn of Gwydir as head of the most influential Caernarvonshire family. His father, John Griffith the elder, served as MP for the county from 1604 until his death in 1609. John the younger graduated from Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1609 and studied for a legal career at Lincoln's Inn. Through his wife, Margaret Trevor, he had close connections with the lord president of the Council in the Marches, the earl of Northampton, who furthered his career significantly. His long-standing feud with the Wynn family came to a head in 1620 when he defeated Sir John's son Richard in the county election. In 1622 he received his patent as constable of Caernarfon Castle, prompting a concerted attempt on the part of the Wynns, with the assistance of the keeper of the records, to prove his ineligibility. Sir John, who called Griffith a prying, industrious, and malicious fellow, suggested at the time that it might be necessary to request a new charter in order to keep him from the position of mayor.¹⁰⁰

The large estate of Clenennau (also on the Llŷn peninsula) came into the hands of Sir William Maurice (1542–1622) in 1575 on the death of his father, Moris ab Elise. The estate, with its large manor house built about 1550, made him along with Sir John Wynn of Gwydir one of the principal landowners of the county.¹⁰¹ Maurice, the first of his family to adopt the English spelling of his name, served as MP for Caernarvonshire in 1593 and 1604, and for Beaumaris, Anglesey, in 1601, as well as deputy lieutenant for Caernarvonshire. Maurice was well known for his substantial patronage of poets writing in the bardic tradition.¹⁰²

The Wynn family estate at Gwydir on the Caernarvonshire-Denbighshire border was purchased by Maredudd ab Ieuan about 1500. His son John Wyn ap Maredudd rebuilt the house in 1555 and served both as MP and high sheriff for Caernarvonshire. His son Morris, the first to use the epithet Wynn as a surname, served in the same offices. It is Morris' son Sir John Wynn, born in 1553, who is of particular interest. Two major sources survive for the history of the family: Sir John's own account of his ancestors, *The History of the Gwydir Family* written in the 1580s and intended to establish the antiquity of the family, and a large collection (2,891 items) of private papers, largely letters, covering most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰³

Sir John matriculated at All Souls, Oxford, in 1570 and continued his legal training in London at Furnival's Inn in 1572 and the Inner Temple in 1576. Upon his father's death in

1580 he returned to Wales where he entered with gusto into the complex political life of North Wales. He repeated the offices of his father and grandfather, serving also as a member of the Council in the Marches from about 1603, and in 1611 he became a baronet. Sir John was a colourful figure whom Glyn Roberts has described as unscrupulous, acquisitive, litigious, and hot-tempered. Although his primary income was from the rental of his extensive landholdings, Sir John was very interested in the expansion of industry in North Wales, mining lead in the vicinity of the Gwydir estate and discussing with Sir Thomas Myddelton the possibility of mining copperas and alum as well.¹⁰⁴ Much of Sir John's energy was expended in a series of political battles with the family of Griffith of Cefnamwlch.

Sir John was a signatory to the petition to hold an eisteddfod in 1594 (see pp 31–3). Although this petition was not successful a further competition and grading of poets may have taken place at Gwydir on 2 August 1596 at the wedding of his eldest daughter, Mary, to Sir Roger Mostyn. Nine poets were invited to the feast; one of them, Owain Gwynedd, suggested – though not clearly – that such a grading may have taken place.¹⁰⁵

Cardiganshire/Sir Geredigion

The county of Cardiganshire existed by 1240, consisting of the area immediately north of Cardigan. Under the Statute of Rhuddlan in 1284 the county was confirmed and extended to the south, forming with Carmarthenshire the principality of South Wales. Much of the county is hilly, with the Cambrian Mountains forming part of its eastern border with Brecknockshire and Radnorshire, and the massif of Plynlimon marking its northeastern extent. On Plynlimon's boggy slopes both the Severn and the Wye flow, as well as the Rheidol whose estuary provides Aberystwyth with its harbour. The northern boundary is partly the Dovey estuary and partly the hills that look toward Cadair Idris. Most of the county is more suitable for grazing than for cultivation though some crops were grown on the margins of the uplands.¹⁰⁶ Both the county's thin population and its relative poverty are reflected in the plainness of its surviving churches. About the county's commerce Speed wrote, 'The commodities of this Shire chiefly consist in cattle, sea-fowle, and fish; corne sufficient, but of woods some scarcitie: and at the head of Istwydh are certaine veines of lead, a merchandize of no meane regard or wealth.'¹⁰⁷

Through the sixteenth century the county was dominated by its largest landowner, the Devereux family. In 1526 Walter Devereux (c 1489–1558) became chamberlain for South Wales and the counties of Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire; he had already been made justiciar of South Wales in 1525 and steward and receiver of Builth Wells for life, making him one of the wealthiest landowners in west Wales, a position consolidated by his son Richard (d. 1548) who also acquired the episcopal manor of Lamphey, Pembrokeshire, which became the family's principal seat. The family also acquired virtually all the holdings of the Cistercian abbey of Strata Florida. Richard's son Walter (1539–76) acquired further monastic lands and in 1559 succeeded his grandfather as Viscount Hereford. In 1572 he was made earl of Essex. He served as steward of the court of Great Sessions in Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire and, from about 1594, on the Council in the Marches. His son Robert (1567–1601), favourite of Queen Elizabeth, spent much of his early childhood at Lamphey but left for Cambridge at

the age of twelve and from the age of twenty resided at court. The family's influence in the county remained strong even after Robert's rebellion and execution in 1601.

Though the county was largely agricultural mining also played an important part in its economy. From at least the early fourteenth century lead was mined near Llanbadarn though the industry declined at the end of the following century. In the later part of the sixteenth century the county's mines again became active; most of the 800 tons of silver sent to the mint in 1590 came from Cardiganshire, and by 1592 over thirty per cent of the lead exports from Britain came from Wales.¹⁰⁸ Leland had noted that there was 'a greate mine digging for leade in Comeustwith,' and the discovery that there was a significant quantity of silver in the lead veins prompted speculators to bring in German miners to reopen the mines. Disputes over ownership and jurisdiction led to Elizabeth's formation of the Society for the Mines Royal, which leased the mines while keeping them under royal control. The mine mentioned by Leland, at Cwmystwyth about fifteen miles inland from Aberystwyth, was leased by Sir Hugh Myddelton for £400 a year. By the early 1620s he was turning an annual profit of £24,000.¹⁰⁹ Little of this money of course went into the hands of the Cardiganshire population and George Owen noted in 1602 that 'all townes in the Shire Are ruynous, poore & decayed.'¹¹⁰

As was frequently the case in Wales the family most prominent in the patronage of Welsh poetry and music, the Pryse family of Gogerddan in the north of the county, left no records of patronage beyond the poetry that they commissioned from Huw Arwystli, Lewis Trefnant, Lewys Môn, and Siôn Ceri.

CARDIGAN/ABERTEIFI

Cardigan was from its earliest history a Norman town. The first castle construction at the estuary of the Teifi was a motte built by Roger de Montgomery in 1093. This site was abandoned in the twelfth century and a castle built about a mile upstream at the present site of the town by Gilbert de Clare, who likely also built the church of St Mary and founded the Benedictine priory. In 1165 the castle fell to Rhys ap Gruffudd and the English and Anglo-Norman monks were driven from the priory; English townspeople may have suffered a similar fate. Recognizing its strategic importance at the mouth of the River Teifi and on the main coast road, Rhys promptly fortified the site, rebuilding the castle in stone. The town changed hands frequently until the middle of the thirteenth century from which time it remained in English hands. In the same period the town walls were constructed along with further improvements to the castle.

Although the town had been given the privilege of a guild merchant in 1249, it was granted its first charter in 1284, modelled on that of Carmarthen. It is likely that this charter was a recognition of existing privileges since Cardigan was already by this time a major urban centre and had had a weekly market for well over a century.¹¹¹ But like many Welsh towns a high level of growth in the period after the conquest was followed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by a slow decline. By the late 1530s Leland noted that Cardigan's market was inferior to that of Aberystwyth. The bishop's returns of 1563 list a total of fifty-two households in the town for a total population of perhaps 225, and by 1566 the report to the queen on havens and creeks took occasion to comment on the dilapidation of the borough,

'the towne beinge enhabited (<..> the number of fyfti & five houtholdes and as many & more (<..> decaye....'¹¹²

Carmarthenshire/Sir Gaerfyrddin

Carmarthenshire is the largest county in Wales, comprising approximately 920 square miles. Its northern boundary with Cardiganshire is the River Teifi while its topography is largely defined by the central valley of the Tywi, which flows south to Carmarthen Bay. The northern part of the county is mountainous with part of the Preseli Mountains to the west and the Brecon Beacons to the east. Speed wrote approvingly, 'This Shire is not altogether so pested with hilles as her bordering neighbours are: and those that she hath, neither so high nor so thicke, and therefore is better for Corne and Pasturage, yea and in Woods also, so that for victuals this Country is very well stored, which the stomacke doth as well digest, the aire being wholesome, temperate, and pleasing.'¹¹³ From at least the eighth century the areas of Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire formed the kingdom of Seisyllwg, which by the tenth century had become amalgamated with the kingdoms of Dyfed (now Pembrokeshire) and Brycheiniog (Brecon) to form the principal South Welsh kingdom of Deheubarth, with its royal seat at Dinefwr in the Tywi valley roughly midway between Carmarthen and Llandovery.

Between 910 and 950 Deheubarth was ruled by Hywel Dda ('the Good'). Hywel is traditionally held responsible for the codification of native tribal laws that still bear his name, although the earliest surviving texts of the laws, in both Latin and Welsh, date from the middle of the thirteenth century (see pp 4–7, 11–28). As R.R. Davies points out it is unlikely that the association is historical; more likely the surviving legal texts 'are to be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to manufacture an ideology of national unity.'¹¹⁴

Deheubarth remained in Welsh hands briefly following the Norman Conquest when in 1081 Rhys ap Tewdwr was allowed to retain control of the kingdom for an annual tribute of £40. At Rhys' death in 1093 the power vacuum was filled by both Welsh and Norman claimants. By the accession of Henry I in 1100 Carmarthen itself had become a royal lordship and had begun its 250-year career as the administrative centre of Norman Wales. The reasons for Carmarthen's selection had largely to do with transportation; it was at the major cross-roads of trade into both west and southwest Wales and it was the furthest inland point to which the Tywi was navigable from the Bristol Channel. The southern part of the Tywi estuary was protected by the lordship of Kidwelly on its eastern bank. From 1155 until his death in 1197 Deheubarth was ruled by the charismatic Rhys ap Gruffudd, whom Henry II recognized in 1171 as ruler of the native Welsh kingdom, then consisting of Cantref Mawr, the whole of Ceredigion and Cantref Bychan, both of which Rhys had recovered from Norman hands, and two small commotes west of Carmarthen itself. In 1172 he was appointed royal justiciar for South Wales and from this time he was known as 'yr Arglwydd Rhys,' the Lord Rhys. In 1188 he entertained Archbishop Baldwin and Gerald of Wales on their preaching tour. His last years, from 1194 until his death in 1197, were marked by disputes with (and between) his sons, which were only settled after his death by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth in 1216. At the Treaty of Woodstock in 1247 the commotes of Elfed and Gwidigada around Carmarthen borough

were regained by the Crown, leaving the northern half of the county in Welsh hands while the southern half remained as a series of marcher lordships.

Reconstituted and enlarged under the Statute of Rhuddlan in 1284, the county of Carmarthenshire formed along with Cardiganshire the principality of South Wales, with its administrative seat remaining at Carmarthen. The county itself consisted of the northern part of its present area (primarily Cantref Mawr), with Cantref Bychan added in 1287 with the dispossession of Rhys ap Maredudd after his abortive revolt. The coastal lordships of Kidwelly, Laugharne, and St Clears remained in marcher hands but were administratively subject to Carmarthen.

The principal boroughs of the county, Carmarthen, Kidwelly, and Laugharne, all lie along the Tywi and reflect its importance as a trade route. Extensive sea trade with both Ireland and the continent added to the flourishing agriculture of medieval Carmarthenshire, where the quality of the land encouraged the cultivation of crops as well as the raising of sheep. The importance of sea trade can be seen in the decline of Kidwelly in the fifteenth century after its harbour in the estuary of the Gwendraeth silted up.

Fifteenth-century Carmarthenshire was strongly Lancastrian, perhaps influenced by Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke and uncle to the future Henry VII. He was also lord of Llanstephan and his castle there controlled the entrance to the Tywi estuary from Carmarthen Bay. The county's most important figure was Sir Rhys ap Thomas (c 1449–1525), lord of Dinefwr and Carew. Knighted in 1485 Rhys became chief justice for South Wales in 1495 and a Garter Knight and member of the privy council in 1505, largely for services rendered in the capture of the imposter Perkin Warbeck. A seventeenth-century life of Rhys describes in detail the celebrations staged around his elevation to the Garter (see pp 256–67).¹¹⁵ Although his lordship established a long period of peace in the county Rhys' death in 1525 brought this to an end and a riot in Carmarthen in 1529 was one of the events that made clear to Henry VIII that more judicial control of Wales was necessary, a recognition that led ultimately to the Acts of Union and the establishment of the court of Great Sessions.

CARMARTHEN/CAERFYRDDIN

Carmarthen had long been an important site for the ford it provided over the Tywi. At least four Roman roads had converged at the town and its importance had increased by 1220 with the building of a bridge. A licence for the building of city walls was issued in 1233. The medieval town lay on or near the site of the important Roman garrison of Moridunum and thus, when the borough received its first charter from Edward, son of Henry III, in about 1256 or 1257, the site overlooking the River Tywi had been inhabited for well over a millennium. The Norman castle, built downstream of the Roman town, was of timber and was burnt by the Welsh at least eight times in its first century, before a stone structure was erected, likely in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.¹¹⁶ Initially, the new town that grew up around the castle had a separate existence from the old town on the site of the Roman settlement, the former holding its charter of 1256–7 from Edward I, while the latter had been granted to the Augustinian (originally Benedictine) priory just northeast of the Roman site by Henry II. Like many Welsh civic charters of the thirteenth century Carmarthen's was based on that of

Hereford; according to an undated reference in Hereford's Great Black Book a delegation of burgesses from Carmarthen visited Hereford to obtain a copy of its customary.¹¹⁷ By 1284 a Franciscan friary had been established to the west of the new town as far as possible from the priory. For the rest of the thirteenth century Carmarthen remained a seigneurial borough under the lordship of the king; after the Statute of Rhuddlan in 1284 it also became the administrative centre of the new principality of South Wales. The new town's charter allowed it a reeve though he was primarily the agent of the king, nominated from among the burgesses by the constable of the castle. A further charter of July 1386 granted the town its own government by mayor, bailiffs, and coroner. The separation of the two towns, 'old' and 'new' Carmarthen, created almost continual political friction and the two were finally joined constitutionally by a charter of incorporation in 1546, which was expanded in 1604.¹¹⁸

The borough was also the principal market for much of southwest Wales. Its charter initially provided for a weekly market on Saturday and a fair at the feast of St Peter (1 August), and by 1299 a second fair had been acquired at the feast of St George (23 April). By the end of the fourteenth century the town had acquired another fair on the Beheading of John the Baptist (29 August).¹¹⁹ Carmarthen also had great strategic importance as a port. Ships came up the Tywi estuary from Bristol, Gloucestershire, and Bridgwater and Dunster, Somerset, carrying men and military supplies initially. After 1282 this traffic became commercial, especially in the exporting of wool and animal hides and the importing of goods of all kinds. As a Norman stronghold and the centre of English government in South Wales it is hardly surprising that until the latter part of the fourteenth century the burgesses of Carmarthen were predominately English. However, over the next century and a half the admission of burgesses with Welsh names increased markedly and by the 1540s, as R.A. Griffiths notes, 'the borough appear[ed] decidedly Welsh in character.'¹²⁰

Though the town was successfully stormed twice during the Glyn Dŵr rebellion, in 1403 and 1405, its history through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reflects a gradual increase in prosperity. The silting-up of the Tywi required a new anchorage to be provided downstream by the 1430s; as Speed noted, '...before times was a conuenient Hauen for Ships arriuage, but now is sore pestred with Sands and Shelves: notwithstanding some small Vessels ascend vp the Riuer, euen vnto the Bridge of this Towne.'¹²¹

The episcopal census of 1563 indicates that Carmarthen was the largest town in Wales, with 430 households, for a total population of around 1,950 persons. By the end of the sixteenth century the town had eight guilds: Cordwainers, Glovers, Saddlers, Tailors, Tanners, Tuckers, Weavers, and a guild of Hammermen that included cutlers, goldsmiths, ironsmiths, metallars, pewterers, plumbers, and tinkers.¹²²

LLANELLI

Llanelli was an Anglo-Norman settlement, its small castle acting as administrative centre of the lordship of Carnwyllion, which in the later Middle Ages became a part of the vast Welsh holdings of the duchy of Lancaster. The castle was certainly in existence by 1190 when it was ruined, but little documentary evidence survives of early Llanelli. No borough charter has

come down to us and it is very possible that none was ever granted, Llanelli having borough status 'by prescription only.'¹²³

Leland described Llanelli as a 'village,' and its small size is corroborated by the duchy of Lancaster's survey of 1609–13, which identified only fifty-nine freeholders.¹²⁴ The church of St Elli antedates the Norman settlement for there is a reference to it in the Book of Llandaff dating from the mid-twelfth century, almost certainly indicating an earlier settlement.¹²⁵ The church has been much rebuilt since the seventeenth century, the latest extensive work having been completed in 1907. Although little information remains about the original thirteenth-century structure the rebuilding was done on the old foundations, so at least the approximate dimensions of the medieval church are traceable, showing a cruciform building of modest size, built around a square central tower whose interior measurements were 26.5 feet on each side.

Denbighshire/Sir Ddinbych

Denbighshire, especially the Vale of Clwyd, contains some of the most fertile land in Wales, though the upland cantrefs of Rhos and Rhufoniog in the west were suitable only for grazing, as the Domesday surveyors noted: '*Omnia alia terra. est in Siluis & moris. nec potest arari.*'¹²⁶ Speed's comments covered the whole of the county: 'The soile is but barren towards the West part: yet the middle, where it lieth flat in a valley, is most fertile.'¹²⁷

The Statute of Rhuddlan created four lordships out of the ancient western cantrefs of Rhos and Rhufoniog. The lordship of Denbigh, consisting of the western half of the county, went to Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln; the lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd to Reynold Grey; Bromfield and Yale (the commote of Maelor Gymraeg) to John de Warenne, earl of Surrey; and Chirkland to Roger Mortimer of Chirk. Denbigh became closely involved with the fortunes of Edward II after the death of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln and lord of Denbigh, in 1311, as it passed to Thomas of Lancaster (executed 1322), Hugh Despenser (executed 1326), and Roger Mortimer (executed 1330). In 1330/1 the lordship was granted to William Montagu but by the end of the century it was back in Mortimer hands.¹²⁸

Edward I's policy of establishing English settlements in conquered areas of Wales was more successful in Denbighshire than in most other areas. The survey of Denbigh undertaken in 1334 clearly shows the influx of a large number of English settlers, coming both from the border counties and from the English lands of the new marcher lords.¹²⁹ Denbighshire's economy was based principally on the wool trade and the county boasted the largest number of fulling-mills in North Wales.¹³⁰ Some coal was also mined in the county though less extensively than in Flintshire or Glamorgan.

The county's most prominent family were the Salusburys of Lleweni. Although as a family the Salusburys were orthodox Protestant, Thomas, the younger son of John Salusbury (d. 1566) and grandson of Sir John Salusbury (d. 1578), was executed for his participation in the Babington Plot in 1586. Thomas' involvement with the Catholic conspiracy weakened the family's influence for the next decade, until his brother John's appointment as squire of the body to Queen Elizabeth in 1595. Denbighshire, along with Flintshire, formed a strongly Catholic area and levels of recusancy were higher there than in any other part of Wales except Monmouthshire.¹³¹

Through much of the sixteenth century an uneasy balance of power was maintained between the western part of the county, which was dominated by a small number of powerful families who had held their estates since the late thirteenth century (including the Salusburys), and a larger number of Welsh families in the east. The situation came to a head in 1588 with the county's first contested parliamentary election, in which the upstart John Edwards of Chirkland on the Shropshire border successfully challenged Llewelyn's dominance. The election led to an elaborate Star Chamber case in which much emphasis was placed on Edwards' use of the recusant vote.¹³²

DENBIGH

The township and surrounding area of Denbigh had become a site of some importance during the thirteenth century. Strategically placed on a hill the area was ceded to the Crown by the Treaty of Woodstock in 1247, reconquered by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1256, and given by Edward to Llywelyn's brother Dafydd in 1277. Dafydd's use of the township as the staging post for his raids on lands under royal control may have influenced its choice as the administrative site of the lordship of Denbigh, created after Llywelyn's defeat in 1282. The first lord, Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, quickly set about building a castle and town walls, which were likely finished by his death in 1311 though the building program was stalled by the uprising of 1294. Lacy established Denbigh as a borough, granting it two charters, one on 1 October 1285 and one undated but somewhat later.¹³³ A royal charter of 1290 granted further privileges to the new borough and these were confirmed in 1379 when a guild merchant was also established.

The early charters did not make provisions for the borough's self-administration, since the burgages were held in fee-farm from the lord of Denbigh. By 1334, however, the burgesses were choosing a bailiff from among their number and at some time before 1461 they were electing aldermen.¹³⁴ The town expanded rapidly outside the walls, which had made defensive but not commercial sense; by 1305 the duchy of Lancaster survey counted 183 burgages outside the walled precinct and fifty-two burgages within.¹³⁵

Denbigh quickly developed into a prosperous trading centre populated almost entirely by English settlers. By 1311 an annual fair was being held, later expanded to twice a year on the feasts of Crouchmas (14 September) and St Alexander (3 May). Tax returns show that by the later fourteenth century the lordship of Denbigh had become one of the most prosperous areas of Wales.¹³⁶ A weekly market was held on Wednesday. By the sixteenth century there were individual guilds for Cordwainers, Glovers (for which trade the borough was especially known), Mercers, and Weavers.

The town suffered considerable damage during the Wars of the Roses. The lordship of Denbigh had been granted to Roger Mortimer in 1327 and was closely associated with the family after that, becoming one of the principal strongholds of Yorkist activity in Wales. Seventy years later John Leland could still see the signs: 'The new toun of Denbigh was clere defacid with fier by hostileite, a^o.D.1468. Sum say that this was doone by the Erle of Penbroke [Jasper Tudor].'¹³⁷ The 1563 episcopal survey gives the number of households as 189, for a total population of around 800. A number of early surveys of Denbigh survive and, as D.H. Owen

has shown, the names of burgesses recorded in them make it clear that even during the reign of Henry VIII it was rare for a native Welshman to hold a burgage in Denbigh. That change would come slowly over the following century.¹³⁸

RUTHIN

Just as Denbigh was the administrative centre of the lordship of Denbigh, Ruthin served as the centre of the lordship of Ruthin consisting of a large part of the fertile Vale of Clwyd. The new lordship was granted in 1282 to Reynold Grey, lord of Wilton and justice of Chester. It remained in the Grey family until the estate of the spendthrift Richard Grey, earl of Kent, reverted to the Crown in 1507. In 1281 Reynold Grey may have issued a charter to the burgesses of Ruthin (without doubt confirmed in 1295), which included provisions for a weekly Monday market and three annual fairs at Pentecost, 20 September, and 31 October.¹³⁹ Henry VII granted the borough a new charter in 1508 (confirmed by James I) after the lordship had reverted to the Crown. The new charter provided for a civic government of two aldermen and sixteen councilmen under the authority of the lord, whose steward was empowered to set elections and summon the court.

The most notable difference between the boroughs of Denbigh and Ruthin was that while Denbigh remained until well into the sixteenth century a settlers' town, with very little native Welsh participation in its affairs and administration, in Ruthin Welsh burgesses lived and worked side by side with the new English population. In the first surviving Ruthin survey of 1324 forty of the seventy burgesses listed were Welsh; in 1496 this figure rose to sixty out of ninety.¹⁴⁰

Situated on the River Clwyd Ruthin's principal monument was its castle of the local red sandstone. The structure had been begun by Edward I but was abandoned in 1277 when the terms of the Treaty of Aberconwy returned the Vale of Clwyd to Dafydd, brother of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. The castle was completed after Llywelyn and Dafydd's defeat in 1283. To the north of the castle at the top of the hill leading up from the river lay the market square and the church of St Peter. In 1310 John Grey endowed the church, converting it into a collegiate institution, and it remained much in this form until its dissolution. The town does not appear to have been walled.

Besides the local agriculture centred around the borough's market and fairs, Ruthin's economy was especially driven by the production of shoes and cloth. As the county's major centre for the distribution of wool cloth Ruthin's wool craft guilds were particularly successful in integrating their work with the town's regular fairs. The Walkers and Weavers entered their guild ordinances on the borough court rolls in 1447 and a Cordwainers' guild was in existence by 1496.¹⁴¹

WREXHAM

The marcher lordship of Maelor (later Bromfield and Yale), in which Wrexham was situated, lay along the Welsh-English border and the shifting status of the border in the early Middle Ages put Wrexham under English control for significant periods of time. In 1282 as part of

the lordship of Bromfield and Yale Wrexham was granted to John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, and remained under English lordship from that time on.

The town does not appear to have been a strategic site since it was centred around the large church of St Giles rather than around a castle or earthwork. Wrexham enjoyed some borough-like privileges from at least the early fourteenth century although it did not achieve borough status until the mid-nineteenth century. A Sunday market was held from before 1331, for in that year the *Brut y Tywysogion* notes that the day was changed to Thursday.¹⁴² These privileges were consolidated in a grant from Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel and lord of Bromfield and Yale, in 1380.¹⁴³ The 1620 survey indicates market days on Monday and Thursday as well as three annual fairs on 12 March, 5 June, and 8 September.

The Bromfield and Yale survey of 1315 showed a population of forty householders, only eight of whom were English. The 1563 episcopal survey lists 319 householders in the town, for a population of perhaps 1,450. Local industry included brewers, bucklers (relying, no doubt, on the local small deposits of iron), button and comb makers, curriers, dyers, fullers, gloves, parchment makers, skimmers, tanners, and weavers. Wrexham remained an important trading centre throughout the period, its flourishing commerce and large 'beast market' creating such a sufficiently wealthy citizenry that a group of players from the town could appear in Shrewsbury in 1540–1. The circumstances under which the payment 'in Regardo quibusdam interluseribus de wrexham ludentibus coram Balliuis' ('as a reward to some interluders of Wrexham while playing before the bailiffs') was made are not clear, but it seems quite likely that they would have been parish players.¹⁴⁴ Wrexham's superb parish church of St Giles is ample evidence of the town's wealth. It was largely built between 1463 and 1472 after its predecessor was destroyed by fire. The magnificent tower was added in the early sixteenth century.

HOUSEHOLDS

The Brereton family of Borrass Hall, a branch of the important Brereton family of Brereton, Cheshire, furnished several prominent members of Denbighshire society in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Owen Brereton (d. c 1595) was county sheriff in 1581 and 1588, after a career in the household of Sir Francis Knollys, knight of the shire for Oxfordshire, during which he served as MP for Banbury in 1563. His son Edward Brereton filled the office of sheriff in 1598.¹⁴⁵ Edward and his son Owen appear prominently in the Great Sessions case for Llwyn-on, Denbighshire, in 1597 (see pp 121–6).

The estate of Kimmel Park was a part of the honour of Denbigh and was included in the survey made in 1334. By the end of the fifteenth century it was in the hands of a branch of the extensive Holland family, whose principal base was at Berw, Anglesey, through the marriage of Pyrs Holland (d. 1552), son of John Holland of Faerdref, Denbighshire, to the heiress of the Kimmel estate. The large adjacent manor of Dinorben Fawr was leased from the Crown in 1534/5 and then sold to David Holland in 1614 for £512 13s 4d. David Holland (the fourth of that name) had served as high sheriff for the county in 1596 and died in 1616.¹⁴⁶

The Myddeltons of Chirk were a Welsh family who adopted an English surname following the marriage of Rhirid ap David to the daughter of Sir Alexander Myddelton of Middleton,

Shropshire, in about 1393–4. The first Sir Thomas Myddelton (b between 1549 and 1556–1631) spent much of his career in London as an entrepreneur, holding shares in the East India Company and the Virginia Company. In 1603 he became an alderman of the city, then sheriff; he was knighted in the same year. In 1613 he became lord mayor. He left his Welsh estates including his principal Welsh residence, Chirk Castle along the Shropshire border, to his son Thomas (1586–1666/7), who had been educated at Queen's College, Oxford, and Gray's Inn. The account book kept at the time of his marriage in 1612 survives among the Chirk Castle documents in the National Library of Wales.

Thomas the younger's interests remained primarily in Wales; in 1632 he bought Ruthin Castle and shortly after became steward of the lordship of Ruthin. First elected to parliament in 1624 he was a moderate Puritan, taking charge in 1643 (and again in 1648) of the defence of North Wales. He spoke against the trial of Charles I and was expelled from parliament, retiring to Chirk Castle. His loyalty to the Commonwealth was held in question and the castle was garrisoned until Myddelton presented sureties in 1656. He joined in proclaiming Charles II in 1659/60, was declared a traitor, and his lands were sequestered, but before the orders were fully carried out he was recalled to parliament along with other expelled members in February of 1659/60 and the sequestration was lifted. Enough of the orders for dismantling Chirk had already been carried out to make it uninhabitable until restorations in 1672.

Though their origin is obscure the Salusburys were unlikely to have been a family of Welsh origin, coming perhaps from Herefordshire. They had however acquired the estate of Lleweni in the Vale of Clwyd by 1334. By the end of the fifteenth century the family had become thoroughly Welsh and Lleweni had grown to be one of the most extensive estates in Denbighshire. The first of the family to gain strong royal support was Sir Thomas Salusbury (d. 1505), who was knighted following the Battle of Blackheath in 1497. His fourth son, John, served in Henry VIII's household and was steward of the lordship of Denbigh, constable of Denbigh Castle, and the first chamberlain of the county. The first John Salusbury to be knighted (d. 1578) was the son of Sir Thomas' heir, Sir Roger Salusbury (d. 1530); Sir John achieved considerable standing at court early in his life, serving as well in a variety of offices, including county sheriff in 1542 and 1575, MP on several occasions, and chamberlain of North Wales. He was made a Knight of the Carpet at Edward VI's coronation.

His son John was the first husband of Katheryn of Berain but died before his father in 1566. His son John Salusbury, the second to be knighted, was born shortly after the death of his father in 1566 or 1566/7. He entered Jesus College, Oxford, in 1581 at the early age of fourteen and became heir to Lleweni on the execution of his elder brother, Thomas, for his part in the Babington Plot in 1586. Though Thomas maintained his Catholic beliefs on the scaffold there is no evidence that John held them as well. John was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1594 and in the following year was appointed one of the queen's Esquires of the Body. By about 1602 he had been appointed deputy lieutenant for Denbighshire. He stood for parliament in 1601 but opposition from local enemies created a riot at the election in Wrexham. He left London for Lleweni and never returned. Many of the Welsh poets of the period wrote poems in his honour and Sir John wrote poetry himself.¹⁴⁷ Ironically, however, Sir John's poetry was in English not Welsh. This is unlikely to derive from the language provisions of the Acts of

Union but from the social and political realities of closer ties to England, especially to London. Sir John's wife was Ursula Stanley, illegitimate daughter of Henry Stanley, thirteenth earl of Derby, and through the Stanley family Salusbury would have had close connections with the theatrical world. Both Stanley and his son Ferdinando (Lord Strange, Ursula's half-brother) had their own theatrical companies and Salusbury was likely acquainted with Ben Jonson and perhaps Shakespeare as well.¹⁴⁸ Sir John died in 1612.

In that same year Sir John's grandson, Thomas Salusbury, was born. He attended both Jesus College and the Inner Temple but completed neither course of study, returning to Lleweni on his father Henry's death in 1632. He was involved in local politics in Denbigh borough through the 1630s and was MP for the county for the short parliament of 1640. He achieved some renown as a poet publishing his *History of Ioseph: a poem* in 1636 (STC: 21620). He also wrote several plays that survive in NLW: NLW MS 5390D but there is no evidence that they were ever performed. Several occasional masques in the same volume, however, have a clear performance history, including one for a Chirk Castle wedding on 30 December 1641 (see pp 146–50).¹⁴⁹

The Lleweni mansion, of which only a small section of wall survives today, lay on the London-Holyhead road and appears on the maps of both Christopher Saxton (1577) and John Speed (1611). A water-colour painting of the great hall existed early in the last century and, although it has not survived, a photograph does. This is reproduced as Figure 3, p lxxiv; the dimensions of the hall were given as 40' x 28' in a brief description by Samuel Johnson who toured the estate with Mrs Thrale in July of 1774.¹⁵⁰

A branch of the Salusbury family was established at Bachymbyd, between Denbigh and Ruthin, in the late fifteenth century by John Salusbury, son of Thomas Salusbury of Lleweni. Thomas is reputed to have been killed at the Battle of Barnet (1471) but evidence in poetry of the period suggests that he may have lived until 1490. From the early sixteenth century the Bachymbyd branch consistently adopted the 'Salesbury' variant spelling of their name. William Salesbury was the younger brother of Sir Robert Salesbury (d. 1599), succeeding to the estate on the death of their brother, Captain John, in 1611. William served as MP for Merioneth between 1620 and 1622. He was a firm royalist and defended Denbigh Castle during a six month siege in 1646. Captain John Salesbury was involved in the Wrexham election riot of 1601 in the opposition to Sir John Salusbury of Lleweni. The Rûg (Merioneth) estate, the larger part of the family's lands, became part of the estate on the marriage of Piers, the eldest son of John Salusbury (son of Thomas Salusbury of Lleweni).

Flintshire/Sir Fflint

The county of Flintshire lies principally between the estuaries of the Clwyd and the Dee, most of it low-lying land except for the Clwydian Mountains in the southwest along the Clwyd valley. Speed approved of both the county's topography and its climate: 'This Country is nothing mountainous, as other parts of Wales are, but rising gently all along the Riuer of Dee, makes a faire shew and prospect of her selfe to euery eie that beholds her.... The Aire is healthful and temperate, without any foggie clouds or fenny vapors....'¹⁵¹ The eastern border of the county follows the original bed of the Dee although the canalization of the river in the

eighteenth century has altered its course. The bulk of the county is the ancient cantref of Tegeingl (Englefield), with a large outlier, Maelor Saesneg, along the Shropshire border and a small one between Gresford and Rossett, Denbighshire, in the Dee valley. The importance of these two outliers is their fertility since they include some of the best arable land in Wales, and during the sixteenth century the county also became known for the high quality of its livestock.¹⁵²

The broad coastal plain that forms the county's northern border has from at least Roman times been one of the principal access routes to North Wales, though extensive marshes around both estuaries have made fording places of particular strategic importance. The major fording place along this route was Rhuddlan, at the mouth of the Clwyd, site of one of the royal palaces of North Wales. When Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester and nephew of William I, sent his cousin Robert de Tilleul (or Robert of Rhuddlan, as he came to be known) to subdue the lordships of North Wales, one of Robert's first acts, c 1073, was to build a castle to defend the Rhuddlan crossing.¹⁵³ The region changed hands with some frequency. Gruffudd ap Cynan (1054 or 1055–1137), an exiled member of the royal house of Gwynedd born in Ireland to a Welsh father and an Irish mother, joined forces with Robert to take control of Gwynedd, bringing a Viking force from Dublin with him. This was hardly an alliance; no sooner had he secured his position in Gwynedd but he laid siege to Rhuddlan. His exciting career is the subject of a near-contemporary Welsh-language life (translated from a Latin original that has recently been rediscovered in the National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 434E).¹⁵⁴ Captured by the Normans after killing his Gwynedd rival he spent several years in the Chester prison before being rescued dramatically. In 1099 he captured Rhuddlan and from 1101 to 1114 he ruled all of the Flintshire area. He gave up Tegeingl to Henry I in 1114 in return for a peaceful reign in Gwynedd from the Clwyd estuary to Anglesey. He died in 1137 but the struggle to wrest Tegeingl again from Norman hands returned under his son Owain.

The Statute of Rhuddlan established the new county of Flintshire but it was rather a balkan affair composed of the three ancient cantrefws of Tegeingl, Hope, and Maelor Saesneg. The first two were separated by the marcher lordship of Mold, already in the hands of the Montalt family, while the second and third were separated by the lordship of Bromfield and Yale. Edward's conquest was further confirmed by the establishment of a series of boroughs with royal charters: Rhuddlan (1278, expanded in 1284), Flint (1284), Caerwys (1290), Overton (1292), and Hope (1351).¹⁵⁵ Of these all but Caerwys were exclusively English with prohibitions against Welsh burgesses. The county's boundaries were not settled until Henry VIII's Acts of Union and remained anomalous until the twentieth century.

During the early fourteenth century the county flourished. While remaining, like all of Wales, predominately agricultural an active mining industry emerged as well. Lead was the major product and the burgesses of Flint were given exclusive rights to its smelting. As with all industry the Black Death almost succeeded in stopping it at mid-century, at which time the total miners' payments in Tegeingl to the earl of Chester fell from an annual 100s to 4s.¹⁵⁶

The most popular pilgrimage site in Wales was also located in Flintshire. St Winefride's well at Holywell on the Dee estuary attracted large numbers of pilgrims. Its fame is suggested by its appearance in the romance *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* as the point at which Gawain crosses the Dee into the forest of Wirral (ll.700–1). The site remained popular even after

the Reformation; orders for its destruction were issued on 17 April 1637 but were not carried out.¹⁵⁷

Two groups dominated the county during the Wars of the Roses. The Lancashire-based Stanleys, lords of Hawarden and Mold, performed for over forty years one of the most spectacular balancing acts of British history. From Thomas Stanley, justice of Chester, who failed to bring his 2,000 troops into the Battle of Bloreheath in 1459, to the better-known William Stanley who at the last minute entered into the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1485 on the side of Henry Tudor, the family succeeded not only in siding with the victors but in keeping peace with both Yorkist and Lancastrian factions (though these machinations did not prevent William's execution for treason in 1495).¹⁵⁸ In contrast the Hanmer and Puleston families of Maelor Saesneg and Ieuan Fychan of Mostyn, the ancestor of the prominent Mostyn family, and his son Hywel were staunch Lancastrians. Mostyn Hall became one of the hiding places of Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, during his forays out of exile in France.¹⁵⁹

The historical county of Flintshire was a creation of Henry VIII's Acts of Union but the arrangements proved more complex than with most Welsh counties. With the first act in 1536 the lordship of Hawarden and Mold, which had separated the Flintshire cantrefs of Tegeingl and Hope, as well as part of Hope itself, were made a part of Denbighshire, as were the lands around St Asaph controlled by the bishop of St Asaph. This arrangement, a continuation of the medieval division of Flintshire into three separated areas, was soon found to be administratively unworkable and in 1541 these areas were made a part of Flintshire. The commote of Maelor Saesneg remained separated since the intervening lordship of Bromfield and Yale (the old commote of Maelor Gymraeg) was made a part of Denbighshire.¹⁶⁰

As in Denbighshire the sixteenth century saw principally the consolidation of power in the hands of a small number of county families, the Mostyns in the north and west, and the Hanmers, Pulestons, and Trevors in the eastern part of the county. Through the century parliamentary representation was regularly dominated by these families and serious political challenge to their power did not arise until well into James' reign, when the relatively new Salusburys of Bâch-y-graig (a cadet branch of the Lleweli family) were successful over the Hanmers in a parliamentary election.¹⁶¹

CAERWYS

Although references to Caerwys as an inhabited place antedate the conquest of 1282, the borough was established at that time as one of the settlements intended by Edward I to form a ring around the territories of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. The new borough received its charter in 1290 (but with no provision for a mayor or the election of officials) though it remained a predominately Welsh town. There is no evidence of either a castle or town walls and it is likely that Caerwys was throughout the period primarily a trading centre. For the next century it remained a prosperous commercial town with a weekly market (the only one in Flintshire) and annual fair, as well as providing an occasional venue for the Rhuddlan hundred court.¹⁶² Through the fifteenth century its importance gradually declined in favour of Rhuddlan, twenty-three miles to the northwest, and through the sixteenth century it remained a quiet

market town. The reasons that Caerwys was adopted as the site of the two sixteenth-century eisteddfodau are not clear, though it may simply be that Caerwys was one of the few boroughs that did not come heavily under the influence of one of the major North Wales families and was thus an acceptable compromise for all parties. Conversely, the site may have been chosen because of its proximity to Mostyn Hall, the seat of the Mostyn family.

OVERTON

The manor of Overton, close to the English border in Maelor Saesneg, had existed since the Norman Conquest, for it appears in the Cheshire section of the Domesday Book. There is no evidence of a castle and the borough of Overton was probably one of Edward I's English plantations. A market was established in 1279 and along with the rest of Maelor Saesneg the manor was granted to Queen Eleanor in 1286, where she had already endowed a chapel. A royal charter was issued in 1292 though the new borough was badly damaged in Madog ap Llywelyn's revolt of 1294. The town was again burnt by Owain Glyn Dŵr in 1403 and remained very small. When Leland saw it in 1539 he commented that 'the toune of Oureton hath had burgesses, but now there is not 20. houses.'¹⁶³

RHUDDLAN

The site of Rhuddlan, at a strategic ford over the River Clwyd, was inhabited from before the Roman occupation. From 796 it was in English hands for about a century as part of the lordship of Tegeingl under the control of the Mercian dynasty. Remains of defensive building survive from the Anglo-Saxon, Welsh, Norman, and Edwardian periods, attesting to the site's importance.

During the eleventh century Rhuddlan became the seat of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn and it was sacked by Harold II in 1063. The Norman castle was built c 1073 under the direction of Robert of Rhuddlan. The small borough he included in his plans for the site appears in the Domesday survey. Edward I intended to make Rhuddlan the principal town of North Wales and began construction of its elaborate castle and borough in 1277, giving the borough a charter in 1278 based on that of Hereford. Construction of the borough was completed by 1280. The castle and defences, however, were never entirely finished since Llywelyn's defeat in 1282 reduced their level of urgency. Both Edward and his queen took an interest in the borough; in 1278 the king gave financial support toward the construction of municipal alms-houses and in 1284 Eleanor contributed toward the building of a church dedicated to St John.¹⁶⁴ The site's strategic importance was of course the reason for this interest and Rhuddlan became the first of Edward's great defensive castles, as well as his headquarters in Wales. He spent most of 1282–4 there, joined by Queen Eleanor, calling parliament to meet (probably in his new castle) in 1284 for the promulgation of the Statute of Rhuddlan.

After the conquest, however, the site's strategic importance declined rapidly. Rhuddlan remained a small borough with some importance as a port. The town was heavily damaged

in 1400 by Owain Glyn Dŵr's forces. It regained some of its importance briefly in the sixteenth century as a lead mining centre.

HOUSEHOLDS

The Mostyn family was Welsh to its core, deriving neither from Norman stock nor from English settlers; following Welsh tradition the surname does not appear consistently until well into the sixteenth century. The first Thomas Mostyn (d. 1558) extended his patronage to at least seven Welsh poets. His son William (1521–76) continued his interest in strict-metre poetry as one of the commissioners for the 1567 *Caerwys eisteddfod*. William served as MP for Flintshire in 1554 and 1572, three times as sheriff of Flintshire (1561, 1566, and 1571), and once as sheriff of Caernarvonshire (1568).¹⁶⁵ Although no poetry survives addressed to William Mostyn during his lifetime, six elegies were written at his death. When over Easter 1599 his son Thomas (c 1542–1618) entertained the earl of Essex, forced by wind and fog to delay his journey to take up his new position of lord lieutenant of Ireland, five poets celebrated the splendour of the occasion and Mostyn was knighted on the spot.¹⁶⁶

Sir Thomas Mostyn served as sheriff of Anglesey (1575, 1588), Caernarvonshire (1584), and Flintshire (1578, 1587) and was a member of the Council in the Marches from 1602 until his death.¹⁶⁷ His second son, Roger (1567 or 1568–1642), was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. He served in similar offices to his father, as sheriff of Anglesey and Flintshire, and also as MP for Flintshire. He was knighted in 1606. He became heir to the Mostyn estate on the death of his father in 1618, his elder brother, William, having predeceased their father around 1586.¹⁶⁸

Glamorgan/Sir Forgannwg

The ancient Welsh kingdom of Morgannwg was one of the first areas to be taken under Norman control, becoming the lordship of Glamorgan by about 1090. The western part of the county, the cantref of Gower (Gŵyr), also came under Norman control early in the twelfth century though much of it was briefly taken back into Welsh hands under the Lord Rhys in the second half of the century. The county is clearly divided in its topography into the upland plateau creased by deep valleys and the lowland Vale of Glamorgan (Bro Morgannwg) along the coast. A hilly transitional area divides the two. The Glamorgan uplands are suitable only for the raising of cattle and sheep but the coastal plain and the Gower peninsula contain some of Wales' most fertile land. All early commentaries on the county recognize the distinction; Speed, for example, wrote, 'towards the Sea-coasts, the Country becommeth somewhat plaine, which part is the best both for plenty of Graine, and populous Inhabitants. The rest all Mountaine, is replenished with Cattell, which is the best meanes vnto wealth that this Shire doth afford; vpon whose Hills you may behold whole Heards of them feeding...' ¹⁶⁹

From the early twelfth century the lordship of Glamorgan had acquired some of the trappings of county status, such as a county court and a sheriff, and thus at this early period 'a portion of the medieval lordship of Glamorgan was already organized as a county.'¹⁷⁰ Through most

of the thirteenth century the central lordship was in the hands of the Clare family; from 1317 until its dissolution it was held by the Despensers.

Speed noted the large population of the Glamorgan coastal plain, marked by a large number of boroughs from Caerphilly, Cardiff, Cowbridge, and Llantrisant in the east, through Aberafan, Kenfig, and Neath toward the centre of the county, to the large borough of Swansea in the west. The prosperous boroughs of Glamorgan became a major focus of Owain Glyn Dŵr's attacks in the early years of the fifteenth century, and what economic evidence survives shows that for most places it took more than thirty years to recover from the depredations. The 1428 rental of the lordship of Ogmore, for example, shows that more than half the messuages, cottages, and acreage of the lordship remained untenanted and rents had fallen since 1395 by a similar amount.¹⁷¹

A considerable range of industry had grown in medieval Glamorgan and most aspects of it persisted and grew through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, giving the county the most diverse economy of any in the principality. Some of these industries, like the weaving of woollen cloth and the tanning and working of leather, were adjuncts to the raising of sheep and cattle but mining was also exploited on a substantial scale. Although the massive coal deposits of the county had been known from Roman times the industry really only began to operate on a sufficient scale for export from the middle of the sixteenth century. Given the difficulties of overland transport the export of coal was entirely dependent upon the existence of deposits near or at the surface in regions close to the sea – a situation that existed nowhere but in Glamorgan, especially in the western parts of the county around Neath and Swansea. Iron and copper were also mined, the latter after 1568 under the auspices of the Mines Royal company, though never on a large scale.¹⁷² Most of Glamorgan's trade was carried by sea, the terrible state of its roads mitigated by its excellent harbours. Trade with England (via Bristol) and France (via Brittany) was extensive with exports primarily of foodstuffs, particularly butter, grain, and meat, as well as cloth, coal, and leather. Imports included salt and wine from France and a wide range of foodstuffs, goods, and luxury items from England, Holland, Ireland, Portugal, and the New World. The first recorded cargo of tobacco to the British Isles – a substantial 1,000 pounds – landed at Swansea in March 1603 and the small port of Aberthaw became famous for its direct importation of tobacco from St Kitts.¹⁷³

CARDIFF/CAERDYDD

The borough of Cardiff occupies the site of a Roman fort established by the end of the first century AD. Soon after the Norman Conquest the area of southern Glamorgan came under the control of Robert fitz Haimon; the borough received its first charter from his grandson William, earl of Gloucester, during the second half of the twelfth century. By the end of the thirteenth century Cardiff was the largest town in Wales, with approximately 400 burgesses. Town walls were built before 1315.

The borough was laid out along a broad High Street parallel to the River Taff, with the castle at the north end and St Mary's Church at the south end. St John's Church lay in the centre of the borough, to the east of the High Street. After the middle of the fourteenth century, however, the population of the borough declined though it is not entirely clear how much

of this decline can be attributed to the plague of 1348–9 and how much to the devastation caused by Owain Glyn Dŵr's forces, who burned most of the town.

Cardiff never really recovered until the industrial revolution and many of the reports of the court of Augmentations in the sixteenth century speak of decayed buildings.¹⁷⁴ At the end of the century Cardiff's population was little over 1,000; by the beginning of the nineteenth century it had still not reached 2,000.¹⁷⁵

SWANSEA/ABERTAWE

The derivation of 'Swansea' from the Old Norse name 'Sveinn' suggests strongly that the site was inhabited long before the Normans established it as the administrative centre of the lordship of Gower.¹⁷⁶ Certainly Swansea's position on the estuary of the River Tawe and its natural harbour made it a site of considerable strategic importance. *Brut y Tywysogion* noted that the Norman castle of Swansea was attacked in 1116 by the forces of Gruffudd ap Rhys, son of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the last king of Deheubarth.¹⁷⁷ The garrison under the lord of Gower, Henry de Beaumont, earl of Warwick, repelled the attack and only the outer walls of the castle were burnt.

The borough's first charter was granted by Henry's grandson William de Beaumont at some point between 1153 and 1184 (the period of William's tenure as lord of Gower). This seigniorial charter laid the basis for Swansea's economy for well over a century and provided for a hundred court presided over by the lord or his deputy. A new charter was granted in 1306 by William de Briouze but many of its provisions seem to have been concessions on Briouze's part, likely through royal intervention, limiting the taxation the lord of Gower could impose and providing a system for complaints against the lord's officers through the hundred court. The charter goes so far as to specify a fine of 500 marks each to the king and the men of Gower to be paid by the lord and his heirs for offences against its terms. Briouze's charter provided for three fairs to be held on the feasts of the Translation of St Thomas the Martyr (7 July), the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August), and St Martin (11 November).¹⁷⁸ Separate sessions of the hundred court for the English and Welsh communities, as well as the provision that no one of the borough should be indicted by a Welshman (or by a member of the lord's household), suggest that the integration of the Welshry and Englishry found in some Welsh boroughs was not the case in Swansea. The principal officials of borough government were the portreeve and the aldermen. The portreeve was chosen from two candidates by the steward of the lord, the earl of Worcester; the twelve aldermen were elected for life by the burgesses. The borough's financial affairs were overseen by two appointed officials, the common attorneys.

Though little of medieval Swansea remains except the ruins of the castle provisions for the payment of murage in the 1306 charter imply that it was walled and recent research has located part of the course of these defences.¹⁷⁹ Much of Swansea's economy was likely based on sea trade though the evidence is unclear. A toll-collector is mentioned as early as the twelfth-century charter and may have been the predecessor of the portreeve. The exportation of wool certainly provided a major part of the borough's income though regulations for tanning imply that trades associated with leatherwork were also important. The borough's documents show no

reference to a guild merchant before Cromwell's charter of 1650 though the burgesses may have had similar privileges without the existence of a formal guild system.¹⁸⁰

The Welsh population of Swansea, judging from the names recorded in the extent survey of 1400, was relatively small and increased gradually to about fifty per cent by the time of the 1543 subsidy assessment.¹⁸¹ Two sets of ordinances survive from the sixteenth century: the first set from 1548 was made with the consent of the lord's steward, the second set from 1569 makes no mention of such permission. The borough's population at this time was likely somewhat less than 1,000 people, rising to about 1,400 by 1631.¹⁸²

HOUSEHOLDS

Although the Stradlings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries claimed descent from the earliest Normans in South Wales, the family in fact derives from one John de Estratlinges, a soldier from Strättligen, Switzerland, in the retinue of Otto de Grandson, whose son Peter married the heiress to the St Donat's estate toward the end of the thirteenth century. The members of the family of most relevance here are Sir Edward Stradling (c 1529–1609) and his heir, Sir John (1563–1637). Educated at Oxford Edward spent several years on the continent, including two years in Rome as companion to Sir Thomas Hoby. He was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1552. His father, Thomas, was a staunch Catholic; during Mary's reign he served in a variety of administrative and political offices and as member of parliament for East Grinstead, Sussex, in 1553 and for Arundel, Sussex, in 1554. Edward's sympathies lay with the Protestants but his family background counted against him and his name appeared in Elizabeth's pardon roll for 1559. Only after his father's death in 1571 was he fully in favour. Knighted in 1573 he served three terms as sheriff of Glamorgan (1574, 1583, and 1596) and from 1595 was deputy lieutenant for both Glamorgan and Pembrokeshire. He was member of parliament for Steyning, Sussex, in 1554 and for Arundel, Sussex, in 1558, both through the influence of Henry Fitzalan, earl of Arundel.¹⁸³

Edward Stradling was a highly cultured man, underwriting the cost of publication in 1592 of Siôn Dafydd Rhys' Welsh grammar, *Cambrobrytannica Cymraecave Linguae Institutiones et Rudimenta* (London, 1592; *src*: 20966). He was a notable book collector; his library at St Donat's was likely the most extensive in Wales. The collection was broken up and sold in the eighteenth century. A collection of 267 letters to and from Stradling was published in 1840. At that time they were in the hands of Charles G. Young, York herald, but their present whereabouts are unknown.¹⁸⁴

Sir Edward and his wife were childless so he chose as his heir John Stradling, grandson of the younger son of Edward's great-grandfather Thomas Stradling, who died in 1480. John was born in 1563, entered Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1580, and graduated from Magdalen Hall in 1584. He was a fellow of All Soul's College and attended the Inns of Court, most probably the Middle Temple. After Sir Edward's death in 1609 Sir John (who had been knighted the previous year) continued his predecessor's plans to build a grammar school in Cowbridge, where the first master was his relative Walter Stradling.

Sir John continued the tradition of public service. He was justice of the peace from 1607

and served as sheriff in 1607, 1609, and 1620. One of the first baronets created by James I in 1611 he became knight of the shire in 1625 and served as MP for Glamorgan in 1625–6. After 1626 Stradling increasingly withdrew from public life in favour of scholarship. He had already published two translations of Lipsius in the 1590s and on 6 April 1598 he wrote a brief outline of the dispute between Sir Edward and his neighbour Griffith Williams concerning the ownership of the marshy shore, or lower burrows, at Merthyr Mawr, near St Donat's.¹⁸⁵ John dedicated the work to Edward, both for his delight and as a memorial for posterity and signed it 'from my studie in your castle at St Donats.' At the time of his withdrawal from public life Sir John was turning increasingly to the writing of English verse. He had previously published his *Beati Pacifici a Diuine Poem. Written to the Kings most excellent Maiestie* (London, 1623; *src*: 23352). This was followed with his large-scaled *Diuine Poemes In Seu en Seu erall Classes. Written to his most excellent Maiestie Charles* (London, 1625; *src*: 23353). He died at the age of seventy-four in 1637.¹⁸⁶

Merioneth/Sir Feirionnydd

Poor soil and rocky terrain made Merioneth the poorest and least productive county in Wales, 'the roughest and most vnpleasant to see to ... in all Wales,' as Speed put it. Small amounts of arable land in the valleys did little to alleviate the general poverty and the economy depended upon the sheep that grazed the county's uplands, 'wherein the onely riches of this Shire doth consist.'¹⁸⁷ Fishing, both fresh and saltwater, was an important part of the population's subsistence despite the lack of good harbours for sea-fishing.

The territory of Merioneth had never been in Norman hands because of its great difficulty of approach. Guarded by mountains the county could only be reached by two routes: the first a long coastal trek from Rhuddlan through Caernarvonshire across the base of the Llŷn peninsula and the Traeth Mawr estuary, well protected by the imposing dome of Harlech, the county's only urban centre; the second directly from the east through the Bala cleft. Invasion via this latter route had been attempted in 1096 with singular lack of success. Most of the county remained a part of the native kingdom of Gwynedd until 1282, though the eastern cantref of Penllyn had long been a part of Powys Wenwynwyn and was thus for much of the thirteenth century strongly Norman in its outlook. Merioneth became a county through the Statute of Rhuddlan in 1284.

A surviving lay subsidy roll for the county dating from 1292–3 gives a good picture of the local economy aside from its agriculture. The principal occupations were blacksmith, carpenter, and weaver, with the carpenters assessed at the highest rate. The single goldsmith and painter who appear would suggest that, as Sir Glanmor Williams proposes, they were 'exotic figures.'¹⁸⁸ As in Caernarvonshire landholding through the mid-fifteenth century was dominated by the system of 'gafael,' through which scattered holdings throughout a township were held as a unit, intermingled with the holdings of others. From the mid-fifteenth century on, however, these dispersed holdings tended to be consolidated into large estates, often under absentee landlords.¹⁸⁹

Though the county's urban life was minimal the area was severely damaged by the Glyn Dŵr rebellion in another way. Much of the agriculture of the county was in the hands of

bonded tenants, many of whom fled their homes in the face of the rebellion. Descendants of bondsmen who had left at the beginning of the century were still being sought during the reign of Henry VII.

Through the later part of the period the most prominent family in the county was the Nannau family of Nannau in the parish of Llanfachreth. Although the early history of the family is obscure and they have left relatively few records they were patrons of several important poets, including Gruffudd Llwyd ap Dafydd ab Einion Lygliw around 1400, Guto'r Glyn in the later fifteenth century, and Wiliam Llŷn in the following century. Before the Nannau family rose to power the county was dominated by the Prices of Rhiwlas and the Owens of Peniarth, both of whom furnished the county with several sheriffs and MPs. By the end of the sixteenth century these families and several others became so involved in competition for social dominance that the county's public life was seriously undermined.¹⁹⁰

HOUSEHOLDS

The Lloyds of Rhiwedog in the parish of Llanfor, just southeast of Bala, were among the most notable patrons of Welsh poets in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Virtually all the major poets of the period from about 1550 to 1625 visited Rhiwedog and wrote poetry to the family, a tradition that continued, if weakly, almost to the end of the eighteenth century. The poets Richard Cynwal and Rhisiart Phylip even held a formal bardic contest for the position of Rhiwedog household bard.¹⁹¹ Elisau ap Wiliam Lloyd, whose son's wedding was commemorated in a poetic 'roast' of the bard Gruffudd Hiraethog, served as sheriff of the county in 1565 (see pp 210–14).

Monmouthshire/Sir Fynwy

Monmouthshire, the most easterly of the Welsh counties, was derived from the native Welsh kingdom of Gwent, which consisted of the cantrefws of Gwent Is Coed, Gwent Uwch Coed, and Gwynllŵg. Because of its proximity to the powerful earldom of Hereford, as well as the high quality of the land between the Usk and the Wye valleys, by 1086 close to half the kingdom was in Norman hands. By the end of the twelfth century only the most westerly cantref of Gwynllŵg and the two adjoining commotes of Edeligion and Llebenydd remained under Welsh control. Norman rule in Monmouthshire was based in particular on a series of border castle defences, including the lordship of Three Castles (Grosmont, Skenfrith, and Whitecastle), and the lordship of Strigoil (renamed Chepstow after the thirteenth century). These lands remained in marcher hands until the sixteenth century and thus Monmouthshire was much less affected by the Edwardian conquest than other areas of Wales.

However, the strongly English character of many of the county's boroughs (Abergavenny, Caerleon, Newport, and Usk) meant that they were an early target of Owain Glyn Dŵr's rebellion in August 1402. Although much of Monmouthshire remained agricultural throughout the period Chepstow in particular became a major centre of foreign trade. Since it was outside the full jurisdiction of the Crown until the abolition of its lordship, the borough was not

subject to Exchequer duties on foreign imports and a large trade built up at the Wye estuary, with extensive importation of salt and wine and exportation of grain and timber.¹⁹² The county's agriculture was of recognized quality. Speed was particularly lavish in his praise: 'The aire is temperate, healthfull and cleare, the soile is hilly, wooddy, and rich, all places fruitfull, but no place barren. The hilles are grased vpon by Cattle and sheepe, the vallies are laden with corne & grasse, neuer vngratefull of the Husbandmans pains, nor makes frustrate his hope of expected increase; whose springs abundantly rising in this County with many streames, doe fatten the soile euen from side to side.'¹⁹³

Monmouthshire became a new county with Henry VIII's Acts of Union though it did not retain all the territory of the previous marcher lordships. The eastern part of the lordship of Chepstow, between Chepstow bridge and Gloucestershire, became part of that county. Further differences created for the county a somewhat anomalous position. Monmouthshire was not given a place within the organization of the Welsh court of Great Sessions created by the second Act of Union; its judicial affairs were to be handled from Westminster, and at the Restoration were added to the existing Oxford assize circuit. The county was also granted two parliamentary representatives, in line with the English counties and in contrast to the 'Welsh' counties whose representation was restricted to a single knight of the shire. Monmouthshire's position between England and Wales was long recognized in a legal sense in that legislation referring to the principality was since the sixteenth century directed to 'Wales and Monmouthshire,' a situation only corrected by Harold Wilson's second Labour government in the late 1960s. So Francis Tate, a judge on the South Wales circuit of Great Sessions in the early seventeenth century and one of the founders of the Society of Antiquaries, wrote in his notebook that 'Monmouthshire is none of the twelve shires of Wales and yet it is *parte* of the principalltie of Wales.'¹⁹⁴ Similarly the Elizabethan register of the Council in the Marches (Bodl.: ms. Bodl. 904, covering the years 1569–91) regularly refers to 'the 12 shires of Wales,' citing Monmouthshire along with the English border counties.¹⁹⁵ Its position in Wales is, however, clear in other ways. The county lay largely within the diocese of Llandaff although a few parishes on its eastern border were in the diocese of Hereford and a few to the north were part of the large diocese of St David's. In spite of the early Norman influence Monmouthshire had throughout the period a predominately Welsh-speaking population outside the English boroughs. The county has always been popularly understood to be part of Wales; Camden, for example, is just one of the many early topographical writers who refer to 'the thirteen counties of Wales.'¹⁹⁶

Like Glamorgan to the west Monmouthshire enjoyed extensive sea-borne trade through its primary port of Newport, which also served as one of the principal routes from Bristol to the west. A second route from Bristol took the traveller north via ferry to Chepstow, then by road to Monmouth. Ogilby was unimpressed by the quality of the county's roads, finding them '[a]ffording no pleasant way to Monmouth nor indeed throughout, being generally rough hard and uneasy even to the very end...'¹⁹⁷

Monmouthshire had probably the strongest recusant tradition in Wales, led in particular by William Somerset, earl of Worcester, and his family at Raglan, and the Morgan family at Llantarnam, a branch of the Morgans of Pen-coed. In 1609 Lord Eure, president of the Council in the Marches, described the county as 'wholy devided almost into factions, by

reason the number of those who being addicted, and misled with Poperie, are so powerfull, and they so daring to professe, and show themselves as that few causes arise in the Shire which is not made a Question betwixt the Protestant, and the Recusant.¹⁹⁸

ABERGAVENNY/Y FENNI

Abergavenny occupies an important position at the confluence of the Rivers Gafenni and Usk and was the site of the Roman fort of Gobannium. Under the Normans it remained a town of military importance and also became the administrative centre of the Vale of Gwent. The earliest castle was built in the late eleventh century by Hamelin de Ballon, who also established the important Benedictine priory to the east of the town. As a centre of Norman administration Abergavenny was the object of regular attacks by the Welsh and was certainly walled by the middle of the thirteenth century if not earlier.

The borough was very heavily damaged by Owain Glyn Dŵr's siege of 1404 and seems to have remained in this state for the next century, for Henry VIII demanded in 1544 that the bailiffs repair the fabric of the town.¹⁹⁹ Although much of the stone for this rebuilding came from the walls enough was left for Leland to note that 'Abergeveney yt self is a faire waulled town, meately welle inhabited...'²⁰⁰ During the sixteenth century it again became an important commercial site, known especially for its boots and for the manufacture of flannel of high quality.²⁰¹

The priory was founded in the late eleventh century as a cell of St Vincent's, Le Mans, and was refounded as an independent house in 1415. Some parts of the monastic buildings, including the tithe barn, survive, and the priory church (rebuilt in the fourteenth century) also served as the parish church and stands today.²⁰²

HOUSEHOLDS

The Morgans of Pen-coed were a branch of the larger Morgan family of Tredegar. Sir William Morgan the elder (d. 1542) served as Princess Mary's vice-chamberlain in Ludlow, while his son Sir Thomas Morgan (c 1509–65) served as MP in the first parliament to include members from the newly created shires in 1547.²⁰³ His son Sir William Morgan the younger (1541–83) spent most of his life after 1569 as a soldier in France, Ireland, and the Netherlands. He distinguished himself in the earl of Essex's Irish service and was knighted in 1574, probably at Essex's request, and was elected MP that year for Monmouth borough in a by-election. His Welsh lands seem to have come to him highly encumbered and in 1577 he was forced to sell part of them. He spent most of the rest of his life in Ireland though he petitioned several times for recall on the basis of ill-health in 1580–1. He was at length recalled in 1582 and died shortly after his return on 9 October 1583. The Pen-coed estate was seized by the Exchequer to pay his debt of 2,000 marks.²⁰⁴

The Powell family of Llan-pill in the parish of Llan-soe was closely connected with the Morgans. On 20 June 1576 William Powell married Florence Morgan, Sir William Morgan's sister.²⁰⁵ Powell was one of four children of Dafydd ap Philip, for whom Dafydd Benwyn wrote

a 'marwnad' or elegy, as well as a praise poem to William Powell.²⁰⁶ Powell was knighted on 7 January 1607/8 and died in 1611.²⁰⁷

Montgomeryshire/Sir Drefaldywyn

The county of Montgomeryshire was created by the Act of Union in 1536 out of the marcher lordship of Montgomery, which as a part of the duchy of York was in royal hands. The county lies on a westward extension of the Shropshire plain up the Severn valley and is thus far more fertile than Radnorshire to the south. As Speed noted, 'This Riuer maketh the East part of this shire for fruitfulness to be compared with most of the Land, and to exceed any other Shire in Wales....'²⁰⁸

The present county is roughly equivalent to the kingdom of Powys Wenwynwyn, with the addition of the commote of Ceri in the southeast. Under Gwenwynwyn of Powys and his son Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn the area had a long history of collaboration with the Normans and was in almost constant feud with the kingdom of Gwynedd to the northwest. However, their English leanings meant that Gruffudd was allowed to keep his lands as a marcher lord after 1282. His grand-daughter married into the Charlton family, who remained lords of Powys until the death of Edward Charlton in 1421.

Montgomeryshire had long been a major centre of wool production, aided by the proximity of the borough of Montgomery to the border, though its towns were severely damaged in the Glyn Dŵr rebellion.

HOUSEHOLDS

From the sixteenth century on the most important family in the county were the Herberts, who were granted Montgomery Castle in 1520. After the Reformation a second branch of the family at Powys Castle remained staunchly Catholic while the Montgomery/Chirbury branch became just as devoutly Anglican.

Edward Herbert was born in 1582/3 into a family of extraordinary accomplishments. His three brothers included the poet George Herbert and Sir Henry Herbert, master of the revels under both Charles I and Charles II. Edward married early but travelled extensively on the Continent between 1608 and 1617; two years later he was sent to Paris as ambassador to the court of Louis XIII, but a difference of opinion forced his abrupt dismissal in 1624. A series of attempts to obtain favour at court were unsuccessful though he was eventually given a minor position as first Baron Herbert of Chirbury in 1629. During the early 1630s he wrote a biography of Henry VIII in the hope of advancement at court but was ignored. In 1642 he retired to Montgomery to write. Montgomery Castle was occupied by parliamentary forces during the Civil War despite Lord Herbert's attempts to remain neutral. Forced out of his home in 1644 he went to London, receiving a grant of £20 a week from parliament, where he remained until his death in 1648.

During his ambassadorship Herbert wrote a philosophical treatise, *De veritate*, which he published in Paris in 1624. In the last decade of his life he again devoted himself to writing,

producing three treatises on deistic philosophy, *De causis errorum* (published in 1645), *De religione laici*, and *De religione gentilium* (published posthumously).²⁰⁹ From about 1643 on he was also engaged in writing the charming autobiography that chronicles his life up to 1624.²¹⁰ Lord Herbert had a keen interest in music all his life and nine short instrumental pieces by him survive. Far more important is the large collection of lute music he assembled from about 1600 until the end of his life, now Ms. M.3.1956 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.²¹¹

Pembrokeshire/Sir Benfro

Lying at the southwest corner of Wales Pembrokeshire is divided both topographically and culturally. The northern part of the county is dominated by the windswept mass of the Preseli Mountains, whose bleak slopes provided grazing land but little else beyond extensive stone quarries. The southern part, dominated by the estuaries of the two Cleddau rivers, contained excellent pasturage and some good arable land.²¹² Though the county's sea-coast is extensive much of it is made up of rocky cliffs and until more recent times the bulk of the county's sea trade above the local level was pursued out of the Cleddau estuary, through the ports of Pembroke, Milford Haven, and Haverfordwest, which marked the northern navigable point of the river's larger west branch, as well as its first and principal bridge. Speed recognized the importance of shipping to the county, noting that 'the Hauens being so commodious for Ships arriuage: such is that at Tenby, and Milford, an Hauen of such capacitie, that sixteene Creekes, fiue Bayes, and thirteene Roades, knowne all by seuerall names, are therein contained.'²¹³

Pembrokeshire's shipping ties were not only with Bristol but also with Brittany, Ireland, and North Wales. Locally produced wool was sent either to Bristol or to Caernarfon for spinning, though some was retained for local use, producing a rough cloth called 'cotton' or 'frieze.'

Pembrokeshire was divided more clearly than any other Welsh county into linguistic and cultural groups, with its Welshry concentrated in the northern part of the county and its Englishry in the south. The division was so pronounced that the southern part came to be known as 'Little England beyond Wales,' as Camden called it.²¹⁴ Norman forces had pressed into the county following the death in 1093 of Rhys ap Tewdwr, whose son Gruffudd ap Rhys remained in exile in Ireland until about 1113. Over the next half century major castles were built at Haverfordwest and Pembroke, with a strategic line of smaller defences marking the boundary between what would later become the Englishry to the south and the Welshry to the north. English settlers came largely by sea, as did a number of Flemish settlers invited, according to Gerald of Wales, by Henry I.²¹⁵

At the furthest point west of the county lies the isolated cathedral of St David's. Speed noted its unpromising site: 'neither clad with Woods, nor garnished with Riuers, nor beautified with Fields, nor adorned with Meadows, but lieth alwaies open both to winde and stormes. Yet hath it beene a Nurserie to holy men....'²¹⁶

For the Englishry Pembroke Castle became the major outpost, giving its name to the county palatinate on its establishment in 1138. Pembroke and its earls were to dominate the county through much of the Middle Ages. At the close of the period it was the birthplace of Henry Tudor in 1456/7. The county also was the site of one of the principal concluding symbolic

acts of the Middle Ages, the great tournament staged at Carew Castle by Sir Rhys ap Thomas in 1507.

The excellent harbour of the Cleddau estuaries at Milford Haven figures largely in the county's history. It was from Milford that Richard II embarked for Ireland in 1395 and in August of 1405 it was the site of an abortive French invasion. From the harbour the county had had a thriving sea trade in wool and cloth since the early Middle Ages and after 1543 that trade expanded with the development of coal mining and the export of coal to France and Ireland. Wool remained a major export but cloth production declined seriously through the sixteenth century.

HAVERFORDWEST/HWLFORDD

Like most towns in South Wales Haverfordwest grew up around its Norman castle. From the late twelfth century it was a seigneurial borough under the lord of Haverfordwest, its population consisting largely of English settlers. For most of the period the lordship was in the hands of the Crown though it was held by the Bohuns and Mortimers between 1245 and 1289, and by the Valences, earls of Pembroke, between 1308 and 1324. In 1479 the borough was granted an extensive charter with its own civic government of mayor, sheriff, two bailiffs, and a common council of twenty-four. This charter was confirmed and extended in 1610. Unusually in Wales the earlier charter conferred county status on the borough and the town became effectively independent of the lord, except that borough officials took their oaths of office before his chancellor. This provision was confirmed in the second Act of Union (1543) and the town retained county status until 1888.²¹⁷ The 1479 charter had provided for a Saturday market and an annual fair on the feast of the Translation of St Thomas (7 July); to these the 1610 charter added a further weekly market on Tuesday and two fairs, one on May Day and one on the feast of St Bartholemew (24 August).²¹⁸

The western Cleddau was navigable by ships as large as forty tons as far up as Haverfordwest and the town quay was the locus of intensive trading, especially with Bristol but also with Barnstaple, Devon. The town was also relatively well served by road, lying on the principal route between London and St David's, which passed through Cardiff, Swansea, and Carmarthen.

The making of coarse woollen frieze was one of Haverfordwest's principal industries through the sixteenth century, although a borough ordinance of 1557 makes it clear that the industry was in difficulty as early as mid-century, since '*dyuerse of the burgesses and inhabitantes of the sayd town dothe convey sell and delyuer woulle and woullen yearne owte of this towne to dyuers straungers and forreners.*'²¹⁹

The social standing of frieze was not high; responding to his mother's offer to send enough frieze for a jerkin Robert Wynn (then a student at St John's College, Cambridge) of Gwydir, Caernarvonshire, refused, noting that it would be inappropriate for a St John's student to wear it.²²⁰

Haverfordwest had a particularly elaborate system of trade guilds; charters for eight of them still survive among the borough records: Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Felt-makers, Glovers, Gunsmiths and Shoemakers, Saddlers, and Tailors.²²¹ The town had a weekly market about

which George Owen waxed poetical: 'namely for beeffe, mutton, porke, bacon, veale, goose, capon kidd, lambe, Conye, turkye, and all sortes of wild fowle in their season, that it is a marveile to manye, where the victuells, that are there to be seene at noone shold be shifted awaye ere night, and for fishe yt passeth all others in Wales, without anie comparison, both for plentie and varietie.'²²² During the late sixteenth century – certainly from 1580 – the town also appears to have supported a company of waits. Tax assessment rolls for 1647 and 1651 show three inhabitants listing their profession as 'musician,' though there is no clear evidence that they were still acting as civic musicians.²²³ Toward the end of the thirteenth century a guildhall was built just to the east of St Mary's parish church; it stood, probably being frequently rebuilt, until the mid-nineteenth century.²²⁴ This building would have been a very likely performance venue for the town's waits as well as the focus of civic ceremony.

Haverfordwest was both prosperous and populous with a population around the middle of the sixteenth century of somewhat under 1,500.²²⁵ The church of St Mary, parish church to two-thirds of the town's inhabitants, also formed its centre. The council chamber was situated over the north porch of the church a short distance from the guildhall. Maintenance of the bridge and the quay was a constant drain on public funds; in 1616 neglect of this maintenance had reduced the quay to such a state that several of the burgesses were presented at the Great Sessions. The quay was rebuilt at a cost of almost £60 and eight years later the debt had not yet been paid off, prompting a reprimand to the mayor from the chief justice of the Great Sessions.²²⁶

HOUSEHOLDS

Rhys ap Thomas was born in 1448 or 1449 and spent part of his early years at the court of Burgundy with his father, returning to Wales about 1467. At his father's death he became lord of Dinefwr, which office his grandfather had leased in 1440 for a period of sixty years. Rhys organized military support in South Wales for Edward IV but after Richard III came to power he contacted Henry Tudor in France and offered his services, becoming the future Henry VII's principal ally in Wales. He was knighted shortly after the Battle of Bosworth in 1485. Rhys was granted various other offices in South Wales and for his services in the arrests of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck he was made a knight of the Garter in 1507; the Carew Castle tournament of that year was held to celebrate his elevation. His later years were largely spent at Carew Castle, about five miles northeast of Pembroke, though he did participate in Henry VIII's invasion of France in 1513. He died in 1525.²²⁷

Contemporary popular tradition, though not based on fact, claimed that Sir John Perrot was the illegitimate son of Henry VIII and one of the court ladies-in-waiting, Mary Berkeley, who married Sir Thomas Perrot.²²⁸ John was born in 1528 and educated at St David's. He joined the household of the marquis of Winchester, gaining great popularity because of his size and physical strength. Preferment came easily; Edward VI made him a knight of the Bath and even Mary seemed to like him in spite of his Protestantism. She could not ignore claims that he was harbouring heretics in his home, however, and after a brief imprisonment in the Fleet, he went to France in the service of the earl of Pembroke.

Under Elizabeth he became a great court favourite and rose to wield considerable power. In 1562 he became vice admiral of the coast in South Wales and he served frequently as member of parliament: in 1547 for Carmarthenshire, in 1553 and 1555 for Sandwich (Cinque Ports, Kent), in 1559 for Wareham, Dorset, in 1563 for Pembrokeshire, and in 1589 for Haverfordwest.²²⁹ He was mayor of Haverfordwest in 1560, 1570, 1575, and 1576. In 1571 he was first sent to Ireland as president of Munster, returning to Wales in 1573. In 1574 he was made a member of the Council in the Marches. As chief commissioner of a parliamentary committee to suppress acts of piracy Perrot spent much of the 1570s in a complex series of disputes and litigations, many of them dealing with piracy along the Pembrokeshire coast. While on an expedition against Spanish shipping in 1579 Perrot's enemies attempted to discredit him at court but failed. In 1584 Perrot was again sent to Ireland, this time as lord deputy, but his sharp tongue and temper made him many enemies and he returned to England in 1588.

Rumours of a treasonous letter to the king of Spain began to surface soon after his return; the privy council investigated and Perrot was imprisoned in the Tower. He was tried for treason in 1592 and sentenced to death but died in the Tower before the sentence could be carried out. It appears to have been well known at court that the charges against Perrot were false but he had made too many enemies. That the charges were understood to be false may be seen in Elizabeth's granting of his estates to his son, Sir Thomas, in spite of his attainder.

Thomas Perrot (1553–94) followed his father to Ireland in the 1579 expedition and was knighted upon arriving at Waterford. His youthful career was eventful; in 1581 he played the part of one of the 'defendants' in a pageant known as the Castle of Beauty that was staged before the queen and the French ambassadors in the Tilt Yard, Whitehall. By this time Perrot had already spent two brief periods in the Fleet prison; the first in order to prevent a duel being fought between him and Sir Walter Raleigh, the second for secretly marrying one of Elizabeth's ladies-in-waiting, Dorothy Devereux, the daughter of the earl of Essex. He may have served as member of parliament for Pembrokeshire in 1572 following the death of John Wogan, and was returned for Cardiganshire in 1586 and for Pembrokeshire in 1593.²³⁰ In 1588 he was commissioned, along with George Owen, the Pembrokeshire antiquary, to supervise preparations for defence against the Armada. After his father's death Sir Thomas was restored in part to his estates through the aid of his brother-in-law, the nineteenth earl of Essex. According to Sir Simonds D'Ewes' parliamentary journal the bill for his restoration passed in three days, 26–8 March 1593, but it was a restoration only in blood, not in name, so although he retained the estate of Haroldston, Carew Castle reverted to the Crown.²³¹

Radnorshire/Sir Faesyfed

The county of Radnorshire was created by the 1536 Act of Union out of the marcher lordship of Radnor. Except in the valley of the Wye, which forms its southern border, Radnorshire has little of the rich and fertile land that characterizes so much of the Herefordshire plain to the east; though well watered the land is rocky and unproductive. Speed's assessment was accurate: 'The soile is hungry, though not barren, and that in the East and South the best: the other

parts are rough and churlish, and hardly bettered by painfull labour; so that the riches of the North and West consisteth chiefly in the brood of Cattle.' The uplands Speed found positively frightening, noting, 'the vnaccessible Mountains, wherwith this Shire is so ouer-pressed and burdened, that many times I feared to looke downe from the hanging Rockes where-vnder I passed, into those deepe and darke dales, seeming to mee an entrance into Limbo.'²³²

Radnorshire became one of the first Norman outposts in Wales, carved from the native Welsh kingdom of Rhwng Gwy a Hafren, and some eastern areas of the county appear in the Herefordshire section of the Domesday Book.²³³ Already before the Conquest, Harold – acting as one of Edward the Confessor's lieutenants – had built a castle at New Radnor with the intention of moving north toward Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's stronghold at Rhuddlan. Soon after 1066 the area around Radnor, the commote of Llythyfnwg, became the territory of the powerful Briouze family, who also held the cantref of Buellt in Brecknockshire. By the end of the twelfth century, after the death of the Lord Rhys, the whole county except for the western commote of Deuddwr was in marcher hands, split between the families of Briouze and Mortimer. In 1233 when the Briouze line came to an end the lands of southern Radnorshire passed to the Mortimer family through Maud, the daughter of William de Briouze who married Roger Mortimer, the first of many to bear the family's traditional name. Except for the lordship of Radnor these lands were returned to the control of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd by the Treaty of Montgomery in 1267, returning to marcher hands with his defeat in 1282. Most of the county remained in the Mortimer family until the lordships were abolished with the Act of Union in 1536.

The first significant victory of Owain Glyn Dŵr's rebellion was fought just east of Radnor at Pilleth against Edmund Mortimer in June 1402. The English boroughs that had been established in the county were not prosperous however, and did not receive the damage that Glyn Dŵr inflicted in other counties. The Mortimer influence meant that most of the county remained staunchly Yorkist through the Wars of the Roses. The relative poverty of its boroughs remained the norm and its indifferent agriculture kept Radnorshire one of Wales' poorest counties. Though many of the drovers' routes to England passed through the county its roads were among the worst. A late eighteenth-century local historian described them as 'mere gullies worn by torrents.'²³⁴

PRESTEIGNE/LLANANDRAS

Presteigne's site was an ancient crossing place for the River Lugg, which at this point marks the Welsh-English border; there had been an early Anglo-Saxon settlement at the ford. Ogilby's 1675 maps show clearly that Presteigne was the principal gateway to central Wales. The town was the first to be reached past Hereford on the main road from London, which then branched into a central route to Aberystwyth, Cardiganshire, via Rhaeadr, and a more southerly route to Carmarthen via Llandovery. It also lay on an important north-south route leading up to Montgomery via Knighton.²³⁵

In 1225 the town was granted an annual fair and a Wednesday market, which was changed later in the century to Saturday.²³⁶ Despite these privileges there is no record of a charter and

Presteigne appears to have been a borough by prescription only.²³⁷ As with so many Welsh towns a period of economic growth in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was matched by a decline in the fifteenth after the Glyn Dŵr rebellion. Even Presteigne's weekly market was no longer held, likely because of competition with the nearby markets at Knighton to the north and Kington, Herefordshire, to the south. Toward the end of the century, however, the town found a champion in one of its native sons, Richard Martyn, bishop of St David's, through whose assistance the town's commercial life began to recover and the market to be held again. Camden described the process by which 'a very little village within the memorie of our grand fathers, is by the means of Richard Martin Bishop of Saint Davids, growne now to be so great a mercate towne and faire withall, that at this day it dammereth and dimmeth the light in some sort of Radnor.'²³⁸ Speed too made note of these changes, describing Presteigne as 'a Towne of Commerce, wonderfully frequented, and that very lately.'²³⁹

Drama, Music, and Popular Customs

The culture of medieval and early modern Wales was distinct from that of England in ways that profoundly affect this collection. Despite the language rules introduced with the Acts of Union, which instituted English as the language of the court of Great Sessions and prevented non-English speakers from holding office, most of the principality remained Welsh-speaking throughout the period of these records.¹ Although it is an oversimplification it is generally true that the Welsh-speaking population remained predominately rural while the towns were more likely to be English-speaking; many towns show clear signs of having been organized around a division between Englishry and Welshry. A corollary to the distinctiveness of Wales is that many of the modes of performance that appeared with great frequency in English towns were rare or unknown in Wales. Few Welsh towns were wealthy enough to mount elaborate civic ceremonies that included paid performers, and there is no evidence that any Welsh town had a tradition of civic biblical drama associated with a religious observance like Corpus Christi or Whitsun.

Royal progresses generally ignored the principality and many of the nobility with estates in Wales were absentee landlords with primary residences in London or elsewhere in England. Robin Hood plays seem to have been unknown in Wales and lords of misrule were extremely rare; Beaumaris, a strongly anglicized borough, was an exception (see p 42, ll.26–7). Though Wales had its own traditions of dancing there is little evidence of morris dancing other than instances of English dancers crossing the border from Herefordshire or Shropshire, such as the group who were involved in an affray in Bwlchycibau, Montgomeryshire, in 1653. For financial or cultural reasons a great many of the institutions under whose auspices mimetic entertainment flourished in England – boroughs, craft guilds, monastic establishments, parishes – did not often support such activities in Wales. The principal exception was the gentry household, especially in the early modern period, where entertainment flourished though records are often scanty.

Having said this, Welsh culture had its own modes of performance and entertainment though they were more often musical and poetic than dramatic. Itinerant musicians were common in the Welsh countryside; they included performers familiar from the English context, such as fiddlers and pipe and tabor players, as well as performers of traditional Welsh instruments, harp and crwth. The large volume of surviving poetry gives ample evidence of the presence of bards, or Welsh-language poets. The importance of the bards in Welsh culture is indicated

by frequent references to the 'bardic order,' though its organization was limited in its effectiveness and, at least until the middle of the fifteenth century, was more a notion than a reality.

The level of representation in this collection varies widely. Extensive documentation survives for some counties, for others very little. There is no single reason for this; while it is true that the volume of surviving material does to a certain extent mirror the population of the county, it also depends on the fortuitous survival of municipal and household records or whether any care was taken with the preservation of the records of the court of Great Sessions at its dissolution in 1830. Very few quarter sessions records survive and virtually no monastic accounts. There are, then, larger gaps in this collection than in those of the English counties due to the distinctive nature of Welsh society.

Other REED collections preserve tantalizing glimpses of cross-border appearances by Welsh entertainers, like the two harpers who played for Elizabeth Berkeley, countess of Warwick, in 1420/1, the cock-fighting collaboration that pitted the 'Cockes of cheshire and lanckashir against the cockes of shropshire and wales' at Shrewsbury in 1598, or the blind Welsh harper who played at New College, Oxford, in 1616.² Welsh performers also appeared at court, including the several Welsh minstrels who attended the feast celebrating the knighting of the future Edward II in 1306, the two Welsh 'histriones' of Henry VII whose payment was recorded in the Shrewsbury bailiffs' accounts in 1502–3, and the Welsh musicians in the employ of James I (see pp 35–6).³

Local Drama

Writing of Montgomery and Welshpool, Montgomeryshire, in 1602, George Owen expressed his feelings about most of the Welsh towns, that they were 'indifferent for intertainemente.'⁴ While it is unlikely that Owen meant the word in quite the sense we would understand, his description does seem to fit. Although the lack of extensive civic and parish records precludes certainty there is no evidence that Wales had an extensive tradition of civic or parish drama such as can be seen in some English towns; indeed the only evidence for civic involvement in drama before 1642 is the appearance of players in Swansea, Glamorgan, between 1617–18 and 1633–4, appearances that were only recorded because of the players' apparent propensity for breaking the windows of the town hall.

It has been assumed that traditions of drama in Wales began with the popular interludes ('anterliwtau') of the eighteenth century and a writer from the early twentieth century went so far as to claim that the Welsh had no strong dramatic tradition because they were so inherently dramatic as to make it unnecessary.⁵ It is important to recognize that the records of play performances that do survive, deriving as they do from both South and North Wales, from both Welsh-speaking and English-speaking areas, and from the late fifteenth to mid-seventeenth century, indicate a tradition of dramatic performance in Welsh and English, both amateur and professional, on a broad social scale. Though likely never as lavish or as widespread as English traditional drama the commonplace that Wales had no drama before the 'anterliwtau' is no longer a tenable position.

Though sparse the present collection of records proves five important points. First, there

is clear evidence of a dramatic tradition from at least the beginning of the sixteenth century. For the early part of our period the evidence includes the Abergavenny parishioners who paid for their bells 'with games and plays' (see pp 218–19) (as well as the existence of two Welsh-language biblical plays for which no documentary evidence survives). For the later part we have a play in the parish church of Llanelli, Carmarthenshire, in 1604; the plays that Robert Bulkeley visited in Anglesey in the 1630s; and the Dolbenmaen, Caernarvonshire, interlude of 1654. These were all public forms of drama; in addition there was a thriving tradition of private plays in the households of the gentry, represented by the Salusbury masques at Llewenni (see pp 153, 155–6) and Chirk (see pp 141–50), as well as school plays in towns like Beaumaris (see pp 42–5). Second, although both the household and school plays were clearly in English, most, if not all, of the public drama must have been in Welsh. There is little likelihood that the rural Anglesey plays and the Dolbenmaen interlude would have found local anglophone audiences in predominately Welsh-speaking areas.⁶ Third, the geographical distribution of these records is not restricted to a single area of the principality or even to areas of English influence. Fourth, both amateur and professional players are represented. The Abergavenny players were undoubtedly amateur as were the Llanelli ruffians and (probably) the performers of the biblical plays, in which the individual roles are of great simplicity, with a relatively large number of very short speaking parts. The Dolbenmaen interluders, described in the deposition as two men and a boy, were very likely professional though their status is not made clear in the records. There is insufficient evidence to speculate on the status of the Anglesey players whom Bulkeley watched. Finally, there is little evidence in the documents that any of these dramatic events were considered extraordinary by either the participants or the spectators. In all cases except for Bulkeley's diary the play was incidental to other more pressing concerns – the ownership of Abergavenny's bells or the affray at Dolbenmaen. Only in Dolbenmaen can the play itself be seen as extraordinary, for there the depositions give a most unusual glimpse of a naive audience's reaction to the common professional practice of doubling: the witnesses were careful to note that the participants changed their clothing during the course of the play, and they expressed their pleasure at having recognized that the same actor returned in a different costume. In contrast to this reaction was an apparently clear understanding of the nature of drama implied in the 1621 Great Sessions case against one Roger Griffes who claimed that the justice, Thomas Inkes, 'was not fytt to examyn his busines but to Play on a stage.'⁷

The surviving dramatic texts in Welsh are limited to the two biblical plays, a morality-like play *Y Gwr Kadarn* ('The Strong Man'), and a Troilus and Cressida play of the early seventeenth century.⁸ The earliest manuscript of the biblical plays dates from about 1552 but it is likely that the plays themselves were written somewhat earlier, perhaps as early as the end of the previous century.⁹ There is no evidence that these plays had any civic connections; in fact if the colophon to the Passion play is correct in claiming that the play was a translation from the Latin, then a monastic source for the composition of the plays is more likely. Gwenan Jones concluded on the basis of the dialects of the surviving manuscripts that the most likely region of origin for the plays is northeast Wales, though the range of dialects represented (Glamorgan to Denbighshire) is wide enough that the verdict must be 'not proven.'¹⁰ The two biblical plays bear very little resemblance to the English biblical plays, including – surprisingly – those of

nearby Chester. They are each self-contained and continuous, not divided into discrete episodes, and there is no evidence that they were intended for any form of processional staging. In this they are closer to the plays of the Cornish *Ordinalia* though much shorter and simpler. The inclusion of a messenger who begins each play speaking to the audience makes their status as performance texts clear, but neither one would have involved a lengthy performance: the Passion play runs less than two hours, the Nativity no more than half an hour. Some manner of re-enactment of the crucifixion seems also to have been performed at Abergavenny Priory in the early fourteenth century, since an episcopal investigation revealed that monks were appearing 'with arms stretched out with rods and tied in the manner of someone crucified, with straw or something else in the manner of a crown put upon their heads' (see Translations, p 378, translated from the Records, p 216). This was far too early to have any direct connection with the surviving Passion play but both might be part of a tradition of staged Easter pageants.

Y Gwr Kadarn shows some close connections to the English moral interludes, especially in its first part in which the Strong Man, a wealthy gentleman, argues with a Priest over the state of his soul and is slowly transformed from an arrogant bully to a repentant Christian ready for death. The briefer second part, in which his widow is seduced by a young man, Siôn the Servant, is less clearly related to the morality tradition. The anonymous *Troelus a Chresyd* is in many ways the Welsh play closest to the English tradition; derived primarily from Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, were it not in Welsh it would have fit quite happily on the London stage of the early seventeenth century.

There is no question that we have lost a significant number of play texts in Welsh. A four-line fragment of the conclusion of an interlude survives in NLW: Peniarth MS 68, p 117, and the latest documents in this volume date from approximately the same time as the earliest example of the 'anterliwt' tradition, a fragmentary play of Argolws and Simoniaw in NLW: NLW MS 5269B, ff 531–4v. The Glamorgan poet Lewis Hopkin (1707 or 1708–71) supposedly claimed to have seen, in the possession of his uncle at Llwyniwrch, Glamorgan, a manuscript full of 'chwareuau Cymreig dan enw Miraglauason' ('Welsh plays called Miracles') that were then 200 or 300 years old. Unfortunately this anecdote only survives in the hand of the notorious Iolo Morganwg and is therefore not reliable.¹¹

In addition to these Welsh-language plays there is also clear evidence of performing traditions in English. The two plays performed at the Free School of Beaumaris, Anglesey, in the 1650s were in English and they represent most of the evidence of school plays in the period, although very few school records survive from the period from anywhere in Wales. The Beaumaris plays were particularly unusual. School drama in England tended to be based on classical models with texts often in Latin; the plays at Beaumaris, with surviving prologues in verse by the schoolmaster, the Rev. William Williams, were both English and contemporary. One was a bloodthirsty political play, *The Rebellion of Naples, or The Tragedy of Massanello*, dealing with events of 1646 and published in 1649, only three years before its Beaumaris performance. Three years later the school presented a comedy, Thomas Randolph's *The Muses' Looking Glass*, licensed in 1630. Though its content is unknown the play at Penley, Flintshire, took place in an area in which English influence was particularly strong and would probably also have been in English. The Penley play may also represent, along with the Abergavenny play(s), an

example from Wales of the parish plays that are now seen as one of the dominant forms of entertainment (and fund-raising) in Tudor England.¹²

The scantiness of the Welsh records, then, probably masks a tradition of amateur and professional drama in both Welsh and English, ranging across the principality. Though it was likely not as extensive or elaborate a tradition as that east of the border, its existence is clear.

Household Entertainment

Throughout the period of this collection most performances recorded in private households were bardic and musical. A substantial body of poetry was composed for performance in the patrons' households, both large and small, but with few exceptions this poetry cannot be dated precisely and does not refer to specific occasions; it is thus beyond the mandate of the collection. References to musical performances appear occasionally in household accounts and the presence of instruments in household inventories implies their use in a household context. Toward the end of the sixteenth century the composition of occasional masques to celebrate family occasions became popular, especially among the closely interrelated families of Salusbury and Myddelton. The Stanley earls of Derby (based in Lancashire) might also be added to this list; they were related by marriage to the Salusburies and Thomas Salusbury wrote at least one entertainment for performance at the Stanley home at Knowsley.¹³ The texts of two masques written for the Myddeltons of Chirk Castle in the 1630s and 1640s survive as do earlier references to brief masques within the Salusbury family (see pp 153, 155–6). It is quite possible that dramatic entertainments were also common in other households, especially those with close English connections (such as the Devereux family in Cardiganshire and the Herberts in Montgomeryshire), but the very limited survival of household records does not allow speculation in this area.

The Salusburies of Lleweni provide a particularly interesting example of a household with a substantial interest in performances of a wide variety. Two members of the Salusbury family were signatories to the abortive 1594 petition for the holding of a further *eisteddfod* (see pp 31–3). Sir John Salusbury, who succeeded to the estate in 1586, was the subject of poetry by a wide range of bards whom he entertained at Lleweni, much of it preserved in a series of household books (see pp cxiv–cxv). Sir John himself was a poet but unlike the verse written in his praise his poetry was in English. The bicultural interests of the household were evident in music as well. At Christmas in 1595 Lleweni was host to thirteen of Wales' finest poets, harpers, and *crwth* players; at about the same time someone in the household (likely a Welsh-speaker judging from his spelling) copied into one of the household books a lengthy list of English ballad tunes (see pp 153–5).

Professional Entertainers

A number of persons with substantial estates in Wales acted as patrons to players and musicians. The exiguous nature of Welsh household and municipal accounts, where the hiring of professional entertainers was most likely to be recorded, limits the conclusions that can be drawn

about their activities. Previous REED research indicates that performers in the employ of the landed gentry in Wales appeared with considerable frequency at border towns like Bewdley, Bristol, Gloucester, Ludlow, and Shrewsbury, but almost no evidence survives for their appearance in Wales. Thus the musicians of Edward Charlton, Richard Grey, and John Grey, all of Powys Castle, Montgomeryshire, appeared on several occasions in Shrewsbury during the fifteenth century, as did those of Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, and (in the sixteenth century) Edward Somerset, earl of Worcester. Ludlow, seat of the Council in the Marches, was well served by entertainers under Welsh patronage and within the last quarter of the sixteenth century saw the players of Henry Neville, Lord Abergavenny; Robert Devereux, earl of Essex; Edward Somerset, earl of Worcester; and Henry Herbert, earl of Pembroke. Essex's musicians, who played at Haverfordwest in 1596–7, also appeared at Chester and Ludlow. It is, of course, likely that such performers made regular appearances at their patrons' estates but without the household records it is not possible to be certain.¹⁴

On rare occasions when entertainers under noble patronage appeared in Wales it was in towns with close connections with the patron concerned. For example Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, acted in a variety of capacities for Haverfordwest: in 1585 the mayor's accounts recorded a payment of £2 for Essex's diet and in 1596 he acted as intermediary between the burgesses and the Council in the Marches of Wales.¹⁵ The appearance of his musicians in the town in 1596–7 (along with a payment to his secretary) may have been connected to his intervention on the town's behalf (see p 251). Robert's uncle, George Devereux, of Lamphey Court, Pembrokeshire, served as MP for the county in 1589 as well as sheriff for Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire, and Carmarthenshire.

Professional players seem to have travelled in Wales rarely. Along with the limited economy, the state of the roads and the difficult terrain may have had a part in this, for the only town showing clear evidence of players' presence is Swansea, Glamorgan, more easily approached by water than by road. (The appearance by the earl of Essex's musicians in Haverfordwest, a town most easily approached from the Bristol Channel, reinforces the water route as a possible mode of travel, likely a significant improvement over the road from Chepstow along the south coast.) Players, very likely professional, appeared at Swansea's town hall regularly between 1617–18 and 1633–4 but evidence from other Welsh boroughs is lacking, perhaps because so few of them preserve municipal records for the period. The two men and a boy who played in a house in Dolbenmaen, Caernarvonshire, in 1654 may provide an example of professional players who performed on a local basis. The bizarre references to the jester ('croesan') in the Welsh Laws indicate that his function was humorous, absurdist, and subversive; the late appearance of Sir John Puckering's jester in Haverfordwest in 1591–2 may imply a similar function. His substantial payment from the city's council indicates that they likely hired him for some civic occasion (see pp 17, 26, and 249).

A wealth of musicians, often without patrons, travelled the Welsh countryside and, although they are mentioned in the poetry of the late Middle Ages, their existence is now primarily seen in two sources. First, names can sometimes be an indication of the presence of musicians, especially when as with 'Crythor' or 'Telynior' (more commonly in their lenited forms, 'Grythor' and 'Delynior') they were likely to indicate a performer. Second, they occasionally appeared in

legal texts. Henry IV's anti-Welsh laws of 1402 (see p 28) included restrictions on minstrels though the court records that survive show little evidence of their having been enforced. The law was still valid after the introduction of the court of Great Sessions in 1543 and musicians occasionally appeared in grand jury presentments after that time (see pp 246–7, for instance). Following the promulgation of Elizabeth's Statute on Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars in 1572, itinerant musicians (especially fiddlers and pipe and tabor players) were often presented to the quarter sessions or Great Sessions as vagabonds or 'masterless men'.¹⁶

Most Welsh boroughs were too poor to keep civic musicians, with two exceptions. Haverfordwest's accounts show payments for the city waits between 1580–1 and 1596–7, who were provided by the borough with their livery of grey frieze faced with green taffeta, decorated with green mockado and buttons (see pp 248–51). In 1582–3 the company numbered two, both surnamed Whyt. The number of waits appears to have increased by 1589 since the fourteen yards of cloth used for their coats that year would have been sufficient for four coats (as the 1591–2 entries indicate). Another reference in 1591–2 indicates that a total of eight coats were made but it is unlikely that they were all for the waits. The waits of Ruthin, Denbighshire, are seen briefly in a note made by a seventeenth-century assize judge for whom they played (see p 130, l.24).

Most of the other entertainers who made their way across the English countryside appear not to have travelled to Wales; there is no sign, for example, of the bearwards. The camel whose appearance attracted a crowd in an alehouse in Newtown, Montgomeryshire, in December 1598 would have been a travelling curiosity, but there is no direct evidence that it travelled under aristocratic or royal patronage; it seems unlikely, however, that a camel would be found in either England or Wales outside the context of the royal menagerie. The appearance of the king's camel in Plymouth in 1520–1 and 1523–4 indicates that at least one camel did exist in the royal collection (earlier in the century of course) and that it was exhibited in a provincial town.¹⁷

BARDS

There is, on the other hand, plenty of evidence for performances in Wales by bards. The bardic tradition in Wales extends back as far as historical sources exist; indeed professional poets and their performances are known to have been a part of Celtic tradition from the earliest records of continental Celtic civilization in the works of the Greek geographers such as Strabo and Diodorus Siculus.¹⁸ Records of bardic performance in Wales date from Gildas' condemnation of the highly secular bards of Maelgwn Gwynedd (see p 60) in the mid-sixth century to the eventual decline of the professional bards toward the end of the sixteenth. The bulk of the surviving material describing bardic performance lies in the poetry of the bards themselves and is thus outside the range of this collection. External records are not lacking however. Two bardic performers were included among the household officers of the Welsh royal court, as described in the legal texts associated with the tenth-century king Hywel Dda of Deheubarth, though likely assembled about two hundred years later. The Welsh Laws describe in detail the position in the household of the 'pencerdd' or chief poet and the 'bardd teulu' or household

poet, as well as indicating clearly their modes of performance. If these descriptions do not tally precisely with the large body of surviving poetry from the same period by the 'Beirdd y Tywysogion,' the 'Poets of the Princes,' that would suggest that the gap between legal definition and actual practice was no less in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries than at any other time.¹⁹

The fall of independent Wales in 1282 brought an end to royal patronage and bards were required to seek new livelihoods in the employ of the gentry, though until well into the fifteenth century a moneyed class of gentry with an interest in Welsh poetry was in short supply. The decline both in status and in ability for these poets was slow but by the early sixteenth century it was obvious. One clear indication of the problem was the number of hack poets and lower-class minstrels calling themselves bards who travelled the country looking for charity and whose existence had already been recognized in Henry iv's anti-Welsh statutes of 1402 (see p 28). The bardic meeting or eisteddfod held in Caerwys, Flintshire, in 1523 under the patronage of the Mostyn family seems to have been an attempt to stem the tide of this decline.

The earliest eisteddfod (literally, 'sitting') of which there is historical record using that name was held in Carmarthen in 1451, though the meeting of poets and musicians held in Cardigan in 1176 under the patronage of the Lord Rhys clearly involved many of the competitive aspects of the later meetings (see pp 81–3). An even earlier meeting in 1135 was recorded in the Aberpergwm text of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, but that text is a forgery by the eighteenth-century antiquary Iolo Morganwg, though it has often been quoted as the earliest evidence of bardic organization (see Appendix 5, pp 300–3). The three historical eisteddfodau of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were all distinguished by their intentions to reform and improve the bardic order.

The principal document that emerged from the 1523 meeting attempted to deal with this situation. Known as the 'Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan,' and thus claiming ancient authority by its association with the eleventh/twelfth-century ruler, it laid down a series of requirements for formal licensing of the bardic 'order.' Defining a series of bardic levels closely akin to the form of apprenticeship familiar from other crafts and trades, the statute outlined clear and specific requirements for each level, as well as presenting a series of regulations governing bardic conduct. The formal poetic requirements were based on the metrics that had been systematized by the poet Dafydd ab Edmwnd in connection with the Carmarthen eisteddfod of 1451, held under the patronage of Gruffudd ap Nicolas of Dinefwr.²⁰ The requirement that each bard carry his own copy of the statute has led to a very large number of surviving texts.²¹ Since the requirements of the statute were based upon the organization of Welsh metrics into twenty-four accepted 'measures,' an organization traditionally associated with the less well-documented Carmarthen eisteddfod, many of the manuscripts of the statute also included a list of these. The statute addressed itself to the performances of harp and crwth players as well, and the manuscripts often included lists of traditional metres – 'tunes' may not be the right word – for these instruments. In addition manuscripts occasionally included a list of the graduates of the 1523 eisteddfod. The statute clearly became a cultural icon in sixteenth-century Wales; Dafydd Bowen points out that emphasizing 'the antiquity of the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan was close to the hearts of Welsh poets, gentlemen, humanists, and historians of the sixteenth

century, although they probably looked no further back than the *Caerwys eisteddfod* of 1523, let alone to the age of the prince himself.²²

The statute stated that further *eisteddfodau* would be held every three years for the purpose of examining and licensing bards, harpers, and *crwth* players but it is clear this did not happen. A second meeting was held in 1567, proclaimed by Elizabeth I, this time under the patronage of a much wider group of North Welsh gentry and again in *Caerwys*, likely because of the extensive involvement of the Mostyn family.²³ Approximately fifty-three poets, harpers, and *crwth* players were awarded degrees according to the regulations of the statute (see pp 176–81), which was reissued with some changes to its requirements. That these meetings were regional rather than principality-wide suggests very strongly that the impetus for them came from the coalition of Flintshire and Denbighshire gentry, all with close ties to each other, who put their names to the surviving documents. A trophy harp of silver was created for the 1523 *eisteddfod* through the patronage of the Mostyns, which remains today in the possession of the family at Mostyn Hall (see Figure 6). A petition for a further *eisteddfod* in 1594 (see pp 31–3) seems to have produced no result; there is no surviving documentation beyond the petition itself and no evidence that it reached royal ears.

Although there were occasional references to other *eisteddfodau*, such as one in 1577 at which Hywel Bangor purportedly sang an *englyn* (see p 158), most of these are too late to be reliable or they derive from untrustworthy sources like Iolo Morganwg (see Appendix 5). Substantive records, then, survive only for three occasions in 1451, 1523, and 1567, and no reliable documentation exists for further *eisteddfodau* until the eighteenth century.²⁴

Though the bardic tradition was in serious difficulty in the late sixteenth century it was not dead, and Rhys Cain, an Oswestry poet, recorded each visit on what was clearly a lengthy travelling circuit of 102 stops, giving a rare detailed account of a bard's personal itinerary for his '*cwrs clera*' (see pp 106–10). Although it is not possible to identify all the persons and places visited by Rhys, those that can be localized form a broad circuit through Flintshire, Denbighshire, and Shropshire with occasional forays into Merioneth and Montgomeryshire.

Performance Places

Evidence survives for a wide range of playing places, both outdoor and indoor. Court records contain references to outdoor playing places like the village greens at Penley and Tallarn Green, both about eight miles southeast of Wrexham, Flintshire, and about four miles apart. Of these Penley provides a far clearer record with the explicit statement of a play performance; Tallarn Green is described as a '*play place*' (see p 199, l.35), a phrase capable of a variety of interpretations. In their position close to the English border it is unlikely that either the Penley play or any performance at Tallarn Green would have been in Welsh.

Indoor sites show an even wider range of possibilities. The relatively small private house of Derwyn Fechan (Derwyn Bach) in Dolbenmaen, Caernarvonshire, was the site of a performance in 1654. The sixteenth-century house still stands. Figure 2a shows the house as it was in the early 1950s, and Figure 2b its ground plan. The house has two storeys (with an unusual spiral staircase built into the fabric); the ground floor consists of two rooms, separated

by a modern stone partition, 'probably on the site of an earlier partition of wood.'²⁵ The larger of these two rooms, roughly 17' x 19', is the space in which the performance must have taken place; the other ground floor room (7' x 19') probably served as the changing space referred to by one of the witnesses (see p 65, l.28).

Although the records of Anglesey refer to performances in two schools, one the Free School of Beaumaris, the other most likely at Holyhead, they do not provide significant information on these playing spaces. Nothing survives of the Holyhead school, and the one surviving wall of the Free School of Beaumaris is now incorporated into a later building. In 1589 the schoolmaster at Churchstoke, Montgomeryshire, was brought before the Hereford consistory court, charged with presenting 'enterludes' on Sunday, but the court record gives no indication of the location of the entertainment.

Some of the most substantial information on playing places derives from the larger private houses. Extensive additions to the seventeenth-century great hall at Chirk where household masques were performed have unfortunately made its original appearance almost unrecoverable; the hall is now the National Trust shop. Extensive rebuilding has changed the space significantly since the wedding masque of 1641 (see pp 146–50) and the original roof line can only be seen from the courtyard. Only a small portion of a brick wall is still standing from the great hall at Lleweni, Denbighshire, where thirteen invited entertainers performed at Christmas 1595 (see p 155). A watercolour of its interior existed in the nineteenth century but has since disappeared.²⁶ However, a photograph of the painting survives, reproduced here as Figure 3. The rubric to the 'Poysie' performed at the masque honouring the marriage of John Salusbury of Lleweni to Ursula Stanley in 1586 indicates that the performance took place at Berain, the home of John's mother, Katheryn of Berain (p 153). Part of the Berain house stands today, incorporated into farm buildings just outside Llanefydd, Denbighshire, but it is no longer possible to tell which part of the structure would have been the hall.

Evidence for playing places is less extensive in South Wales although a religious play was performed in 1604 in the parish church of St Elli in Llanelli, Carmarthenshire (Figure 4). The church was extensively renovated in 1907 but all work was done on the medieval foundations, so its present form and dimensions probably mirror those of the earlier church. Swansea's town hall, frequently used as a playing place in the early seventeenth century, was built in 1585 on the northwest side of the castle ruins. The property had earlier been in private hands, owned by Elizabeth, duchess of Norfolk, at her death in 1425.²⁷ The meeting hall in which performances took place was undoubtedly on the upper floor because the ground floor was partitioned into a storage room, a gaol, and a weighing room. The principal part of the upper floor was a meeting hall where the council met, with the grand jury room at the south end. In addition to burgess meetings the hall was also used for borough courts and quarter sessions.²⁸ Payments concerning the players ceased during the Commonwealth, of course, but resumed (again in the town hall) in 1669. Unfortunately the common attorneys who recorded the payments for reglazing the windows broken by the players did not include the dates of their performances, only the year of the payment. Swansea's town hall was torn down in 1856, but an early seventeenth-century engraving of it was in the collection of W.C. Rogers before it was destroyed in a fire; it is reproduced as Figure 5.



Figure 2a Derwyn Bach in the 1950s, by permission of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales

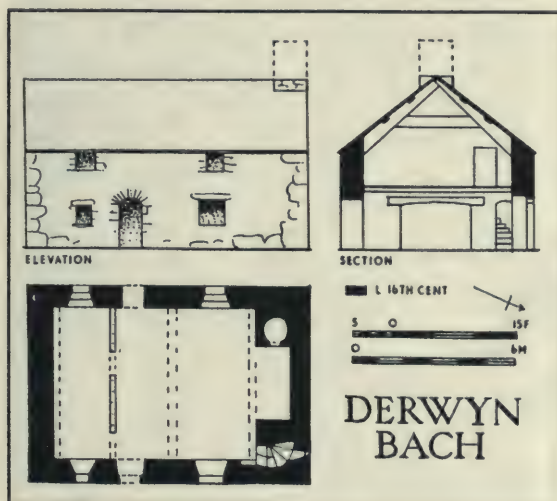


Figure 2b Derwyn Bach ground plan, by permission of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales



Figure 3 The great hall at Llewenni, by permission of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales



Figure 4 Llanelli and the church of St Elli in 1785, from John Innes, *Old Llanelli* (Cardiff, 1902), by permission of Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library



Figure 5 Seventeenth-century town hall, Swansea, from W.C. Rogers, *A Pictorial History of Swansea* (Llandysul, Dyfed, 1981), by permission of Gwasg Gomer



Figure 6 The Mostyn silver harp, photograph from the Museum of Welsh Life, by permission of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales

The guildhall of Haverfordwest, in Pembrokeshire, originally built in the late thirteenth century but frequently rebuilt and renovated, would have been a primary playing place for the town's waits. The guildhall was torn down in the mid-nineteenth century. The extensive collection of musical instruments in the possession of Sir John Perrot at his death in 1592 indicates that Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire, would also have been the site of performances, as it was at the beginning of the sixteenth century during the festivities associated with Sir Rhys ap Thomas' induction as a Knight of the Garter (see pp 255–6, 256–7).

A further hint that plays in Wales may have taken place at sites not entirely unfamiliar from elsewhere in Europe is furnished by the Welsh translation of *Apologia musices tam vocalis quam instrumentalis et mixtae* (Oxford, 1588; *STC*: 4755), by John Case, the Oxford scholar of Aristotle. The translation, made by John Conway, survives in *CLIS*: MS Hafod 24, pp 361–636, a copy made by the antiquarian John Jones of Gellilyfdy, dated 9 August 1609. Conway translates Case's chapter heading 'Contra musicam in theatro' as 'Yn erbyn kerddwrieth yn y chwryddfau ac yn yskyffaldiau' – that is, 'Against music in alehouses and on scaffolds.'²⁹ Although we have little documentary evidence either for tavern performances or plays on scaffolds or booth stages in Wales, Conway's translation, clearly intended for a literate Welsh-speaking (or reading) audience, would make little sense unless such performances were a part of their experience.

Popular Customs

Some Welsh popular customs surface in these records. A maypole set up in Ruthin, Denbighshire, in 1641 reached the court of Great Sessions as the site of a murder, while another was erected in the same county at the High Cross in Wrexham in 1597. Gruffudd ab Adda wrote a fine poem lamenting the destruction of a tree to make a maypole in Llanidloes, Montgomeryshire, in the late fourteenth century. A domestic tragedy provides elaborate descriptions of the presentation of a posy by a cross-dressed messenger or 'gwahodddwr' at a 'byddinge spinninge' in Wrexham in 1639, as well as describing his subsequent dance where he turned 'himselfe about' (see p 137, l.35 and p 138, l.20).³⁰ Both the life of St Brioc and Gerald of Wales' description of the celebration of the feast of St Elined provide evidence for dancing in early medieval Wales and Gerald explicitly indicates a mimetic component to these dances (see pp 53–4 and 79–80).

There is no evidence that morris dancing, so common in the English bordering county records, was a popular pastime in Wales through the medieval and early modern periods.³¹ The only unequivocal reference comes from Bwlchycibau in the parish of Llanfechain, Montgomeryshire, about eight miles from Herefordshire where morris dancing was immensely popular (see pp 230–5).³² In some cases the type of dancing involved was not specified; the men who danced before a 'great Companie' at Hawarden, Flintshire, in 1607 might have been morris dancers but the court records gave no clear indication. Similarly there is no indication of the kind of dancing for which a large crowd, primarily from across the Dee estuary in Cheshire, assembled in Holywell, Flintshire, in 1617. Holywell appears to have had a reputation as a site for dancing; in 1636/7 Henry David, a Glamorgan harper, told the court he was headed

for Holywell 'to get his livelihood [for] the [^]next summer' (see p 196). Other forms of dancing, however, appear regularly in the records, from Hugh and Richard Dawnsiwr, the two dancers who were identified by their names in a 1547 Flintshire Great Sessions case, to the cross-dressed sword dance performed during the 'byddinge spinninge' in Wrexham in 1639.

Such common English traditions as lords of misrule seem almost entirely lacking in Wales, although Richard Price's tenure as 'lord of the mery pastymes' for Beaumaris, Anglesey, in 1585 may represent a related tradition in a very strongly English town. Given that he was elected to this office in April, it is possible that he may have been acting as a 'summer lord.'³³ Other common English performance traditions, such as Robin Hood plays, appear to have found no home in Wales. The practice of holding ales for fund-raising purposes surfaces with some frequency in the records but never with a performance component.

The Documents

Although the printing of Welsh books began in the second half of the sixteenth century, Wales remained for the most part a manuscript culture until the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹ The principal interest of the extensive antiquarian copying that took place between about 1600 and 1800, however, was literary and historical texts, and other kinds of records were largely ignored or destroyed. Virtually all documentary materials that survive from the Middle Ages are products of the English administration, either of the lords marcher or the Crown. Native Welsh records are limited to the Laws, some historical texts and narrative prose, and a large corpus of poetry. For the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the few records of civic and ecclesiastical administrations merely suggest the volumes that have perished.

On the other hand it is important to recognize that the records of play performances that do survive, deriving as they do from both South and North Wales, from both Welsh-speaking and English-speaking areas, and from the late fifteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries, indicate a tradition of dramatic performance in both Welsh and English, both amateur and professional, on a broad social scale. Though likely never as lavish or as widespread as English dramatic traditions, the commonplace that Wales had no drama before the 'anterliwtau' ('interludes') of the eighteenth century is no longer a tenable position.

Principality of Wales

Gerald of Wales

Gerald was born at Manorbier, Pembrokeshire, c 1146, the son of an Anglo-Norman nobleman, William de Barry, and the granddaughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr. He studied with his uncle David fitz Gerald, bishop of St David's, and at the University of Paris. He was the chapter's choice to succeed to the bishopric on his uncle's death in 1176, but Henry II refused to accept his nomination, forcing the election of an English candidate, Peter de Leia, prior of Much Wenlock. After spending several further years in Paris Gerald travelled to Ireland, after 1185 in royal service. In 1188 he made a circuit of Wales with Archbishop Baldwin recruiting for the third crusade; his *Itinerarium Kambriae* is an account of that journey. After completing his *Descriptio Kambriae* in 1194 he retired from royal service to Lincoln, where he remained until 1198. Although he had been offered other bishoprics in both Wales and Ireland, his heart was set on St David's and

when his nomination was again blocked after the death of Peter de Leia in 1198, Gerald fought to remove St David's from Canterbury's control. The battle to create an independent see at St David's lasted for five years and involved Gerald in three journeys to Rome. These attempts were ultimately unsuccessful and Gerald retired from the field to spend his life in study, making a final pilgrimage to Rome in 1205. Much of the period following his return was spent writing his autobiography, *De Rebus a se Gestis*. He died in 1223.

Gerald continued to revise both the *Itinerarium* and the *Descriptio* throughout his life; Dimock's edition recognized three recensions of the *Itinerarium* and two of the *Descriptio*, differentiated largely by additions to the later texts.² In the case of both works, I have printed excerpts from the latest recension representing, presumably, Gerald's final thoughts. BL: Cotton Domitian A.I, which contains both texts, has been chosen as base text. The criteria for selecting the base texts and collations are set out in Editorial Procedures on pp cxlvii–cxlix.

Itinerarium Kambriae and Descriptio Kambriae

London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A.I; 13th c.; Latin; parchment; ii + 166 + ii; 208mm x 140mm; foliated 1–160 (2 unnumbered leaves between ff 1 and 2, 1 between ff 39 and 40, 1 between ff 55 and 56); modern quarter-leather binding, title on spine: 'ISADOR | HISPALENSIS. | DE | NATURA RERUM, | ETC. | BRIT. MUS. | COTTON | DOMITIAN I. A.1,' 2 paper labels on spine: '21', 'A.1.' Contains works of Isidore of Seville in addition to the *Itinerarium* (ff 56–111) and the *Descriptio* (ff 111v–37v).

London, British Library, Royal ms 13.B.viii; late 12th–early 13th c.; Latin; parchment; iv + 147 + iv; 274mm x 190mm; foliated; 18th-c. stamped leather binding, title on spine: 'GIRALDUS | CAMBREN- | SIS TOPO- | GRAPHIA | HIBERNICA | BRIT MUS | ROYAL MS | 13 B. VIII.' Contains the *St Patrick's Purgatory* of Henry of Saltrey and Alain de Lille's *Anticlaudianus* in addition to the *Itinerarium* (ff 74v–100).

London, British Library, Additional ms 34,762; 13th c.; Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; v + 176 + iv; 120mm x 97mm; foliated 1–172 (4 unnumbered leaves between ff 95 and 96); modern leather binding, title on spine: 'GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS | TOPOGRAPHIA | HIBERNICA | BRIT. MUS. | ADDITIONAL MS. | 34,762.' Contains *Topographia Hibernica* and *Expugnatio Hibernica* in addition to the *Itinerarium* (ff 96–170).

London, British Library, Harley ms 912 pt 1; 14th c.; Latin; parchment; iii + 218 + iii; 135mm x 88mm; foliated 1–208 (2 unnumbered sheets between ff 127 and 128); modern half-leather binding, title on spine: 'THEOLOGICAL | COLLECTIONS | BRIT. MUS. | HARLEY | MS. | 912 | FOLIOS 1–208.' Contains theological tracts and *St Patrick's Purgatory* in addition to partial texts of the *Itinerarium* (ff 209–18) and *Descriptio* (ff 218–21).

London, British Library, Harley ms 359; 16th c.; Latin; paper; ii + 227 + ii; 303mm x 212mm; foliated i–v, 1–216, i–vi; modern half-leather binding, title on spine: 'GIRALDI | CAMBRENSIS | OPERA | VARIA | BRIT. MUS. | HARLEY | MS. | 359.' Contains the *Itinerarium* (ff 126–216) and a partial text of the *Descriptio* (ff 1–10).

London, British Library, Royal MS 13.B.xii; late 16th c.; Latin; paper; vi + 237 + i; part 1: 295mm x 200mm, part 2: 275mm x 200mm; foliated 1, 1–205 (31 blank unnumbered sheets between ff 149 and 150); modern half-leather binding, title on spine: 'WORKS | OF | GIRALDUS | CAMBRENSIS | BRITISH | LIBRARY | ROYAL | MS. | 13 B. XII.' Contains two copies of each work bound together: the *Itinerarium* on ff 1–93v and ff 150–88, the *Descriptio* on ff 94–149v and ff 188v–205v. In both cases the second version is the earlier and the first version has been copied from it.

Welsh Laws

Traditionally the Welsh Laws are said to have been compiled during the reign and under the guidance of Hywel Dda ('the Good'), who ruled a substantial part of Wales during the first half of the tenth century. While it is unlikely in the extreme that the Laws in their present form can be associated directly with Hywel, it is certainly possible that some kind of codification of native Welsh law took place at that time and laid the groundwork for the Laws as they have come down to us. The manuscripts of the Laws date from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and a considerable tradition of copying seems to lie behind them. The three Welsh redactions are now generally known by the names of the lawyers associated with them: Iorwerth, Cyfnerth, and Blegywryd. Their exact relationship to the five surviving Latin redactions is not entirely clear. Among the Welsh versions the Cyfnerth version is generally accepted as the oldest, its compilation likely dating from the supremacy of Deheubarth under Rhys ap Gruffudd (d. 1197); similarly the Iorwerth version is likely to derive from the supremacy of Gwynedd under Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (d. 1240), while the Blegywryd text is for the most part a translation of Latin redaction D.³

The Book of Cyfnerth

Seven manuscripts survive of the Cyfnerth recension of the Laws, from which BL: Harley 4353 has been chosen as the base text. The criteria for selecting the base texts and collations are set out in Editorial Procedures on pp cxlvii–cxlix.

London, British Library, Harley MS 4353; early 14th c.; Welsh; parchment, with 1 old paper flyleaf; v + 45 + iii; 196mm x 132mm; foliated (ff 4–5, 28 added 17th or 18th c., with missing text from BL: Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv); many marginal notes in Welsh in various 17th-c. and 18th-c. hands, for the most part simply updating the orthography of words in the text; modern half-leather binding, title on spine: 'LAWS | OF | HYWEL DDA | WELSH | BRITISH | LIBRARY | HARLEY | MS. | 4353.' Previous owners whose names appear in the volume include Jasper Griffith (1586, f 2) and Humphrey Wanley (1714, f 1v).

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 37; early 14th c.; Welsh; parchment, with 1 paper flyleaf; ii + 78 + i; 155mm x 105mm; paginated, pp 67–9 written in 2 cols; annotated in a later hand; early leather binding, fragments of a liturgical MS used as flyleaves, title on spine: 'PENIARTH | MS. | 37 | HENGWRT | MS. 31.'

Bodorgan Hall, Bodorgan, Anglesey, private collection of Sir George Meyrick, bt; early 14th c.; Welsh; parchment with paper flyleaves; ii + 66 + ii; 155mm x 120mm; paginated; annotated in a later hand; russia binding, spine tooled in gold, c 1800.

London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv; early 14th c.; Latin and Welsh; parchment; i + 108 + ii; 166mm x 123mm; contemporary foliation 1–108; 18th-c. leather binding, title on spine: 'BERNARDUS I SILVESTRIS, I COSMOGRAPHIA I LAWS OF I HYWEL DDA. I BRIT. MUS. I COTTON MS. I CLEO. A. XIV.' In the same hand as Harley 4353. Contains, in addition to the Welsh Laws (ff 34–107), Bernardus Silvestris' *Cosmographia* (ff 2–32), a life of St Margaret (ff 32–3v), and a poem entitled 'Imperia Generis Humani' (ff 107–8v).

London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B.v; 14th c.; Welsh; parchment; iv + 248 + iv; 194mm x 130mm; foliated 1–162, 165–250; annotated in a later hand; 18th-c. leather binding, title on spine: 'HISTORIA BRITONUM I LEGES HOWELI BONI I HISTORIE TROJANORUM I WALLICE. I MUS. BRIT. I BIBL. COTTON. I CLEOPATRA. B.V.' Contains, in addition to the Welsh laws (ff 165–222), *Brenhinedd y Saesson* (ff 1–162), and a Welsh translation of Dares Phrygius' *De excidio Troiae* (ff 223–50).

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 20,143; 15th c.; Welsh and Latin; parchment; iii + 115 + iii; 168mm x 133mm; foliated i–iii, 1–115, iv–vi; written in several hands, text of Laws annotated in a later hand; early leather binding, title on spine: 'LEGES I WALLICÆ I M.S. I SÆC. 13. I N.L.W. MS. I 20143,' green paper label on front cover: 'Leges Wallicæ I A Manuscript of the 15th Century.' Flyleaves and endpapers have fragments of 13th-c. biblical commentary.

Latin Redaction A

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 28B; mid-13th c.; Welsh; parchment; iii + 26 + viii (old cover bound in as flyleaf); 191mm x 137mm, written in 2 cols; paginated 1–52; section headings rubricated, extensively illustrated with ink drawings coloured in red and green wash; modern binding in red tooled leather, title on spine: 'LIBER I LEGUM I HOWEL I DA I PENIARTH I MS.28.B.' The illustrations have been published by Daniel Huws, *Peniarth 28: illustrations from a Welsh lawbook* (Aberystwyth, 1988).

Latin Redaction B

London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian E.xi; mid-13th c.; Latin and Welsh; parchment; 43 leaves; 178mm x 135mm, written in 2 cols; foliated; section headings rubricated, decorative initials at the start of a new paragraph, some underlining, including regular underlining of Welsh words; 19th-c. calf binding, title on spine: 'LAWS I OF I HOWEL DHA I ETC. I BRIT. MUS. I BIBL. COTTON I VESP. E. XI.' A later annotator has numbered the list of officers and has added marginal section numbers. Bound as a separate booklet containing a few marginal notes in Welsh and a numbering of the various sections in an 18th-c. hand, possibly that of Aneurin Owen, together with a second booklet containing the letters of Peter of Blois (which originally formed a single volume with BL MS Arundel 282).⁴ The composite manuscript (iv + 134 + i) is foliated 1–133, with one unnumbered folio between ff 43 and 44, separating the booklets.

Latin Redaction C

London, British Library, Harley ms 1796; mid-13th c.; Latin and Welsh; parchment and paper; iii + 22 + xiii; 160mm x 95mm; foliated 1*–5*, then paginated 1–40; 19th-c. calf binding, title on spine: 'LEGES | HOWELIS | BONI | BRIT. MUS. | HARLEY | MS. | 1796.' There are three notes of previous owners: on f 4*v by Roger Kr[i]ck, c 1300^s; on f 1* by the Rev. William Nicolson, bishop of Carlisle, dated 1 May 1713; on f 20v, that the volume was given by Thomas Powell to Siôn Dafydd Rhys, August 1600. A series of notes on the Cotton manuscripts of the Laws by Francis Tate are on ff 2*v–3*v, signed by him on 23 June 1613. There is a list of the apostles on f 5* and a Welsh-Latin vocabulary for the Laws on f 5*v. There are frequent interlinear glosses in a late 13th- or 14th-c. hand.

The Book of Iorwerth

Eight manuscripts survive of the Iorwerth recension of the Laws, from which BL: Cotton Titus D.ii has been chosen as the base text. The criteria for selecting the base texts and collations are set out in Editorial Procedures on pp cxlvii–cxlix.

London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.ii; mid-13th c.; Welsh; parchment with paper flyleaves; ii + 77 + ii; 174mm x 125mm; foliated 1–74, 1 unnumbered leaf before f 1 and 2 after f 74, an earlier ink foliation (crossed out) begins 1 folio later; 19th-c. calf binding, title on spine: 'HOWEL DDA | LAWS | OF WALES | MUS. BRIT. | BIBL. | COTTON. | TITUS D. II.' The modern pencil foliation (followed here) begins one leaf earlier than the old ink foliation.

London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.iii; 13th c.; Latin and Welsh; parchment; iv + 201 + iv; 222mm x 160mm; foliated 1–199 (2 unnumbered sheets between ff 148 and 149); 18th-c. leather binding, title on spine: 'NICHOLAI GLOUCESTRÆ | CHRONICON UNIVERSALE | AD ANN. 838 | LEGES HÆLIS DHA. | WALLICE. | MUS. BRIT. | BIBL. COTTON. | CALIGULA A.III.' Contains, in addition to the Welsh Laws (ff 149–98), Nicholas of Gloucester's 'Chronicon' (ff 1–148) and a fragment of a theological tract (f 199). The text of the Laws is incomplete, missing the beginning.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 29B; mid-13th c.; Welsh; parchment; iv + 52 + ix; 188mm x 125mm; mix of foliation and pagination as follows: foliated i–iv, paginated 1–114 (pp 105–14 paste-ins), foliated 59–62; some sections severely damaged; bound in black leather, title on spine: 'Y | LLYVYR | DU | O'R WEUN | PENIARTH | MS. | 29B.' Also known as the Black Book of Chirk.

London, British Library, Additional ms 14,931; late 13th c.; Welsh; parchment; i + 52 + ii; 190mm x 122mm; foliated; 16th-c. leather binding, remains of 2 brass clasps, title on spine: 'CYFREITHIAU | HYWEL DDA. | MUS. BRIT. | PRESENTED | BY THE | GOVERNORS | OF THE | WELSH SCHOOL. | 14,931 | PLUT. | CLXVIII.B.' In a leather slipcase with a tab, 'MUS. BRIT. | 14,931 | PLUT. | CLXVIII.B.' on spine. Previous owners include Robert Thomas of Llanfair Talhaearn (1746, f 52 and inside front cover) and Richard Morris (stamped f 1). Morris was the first president of the London Cymmrodorion Society and supervised the 1746 and 1752 printings of the Welsh Bible.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 35; late 13th c. (including 2 19th-c. letters); Welsh; parchment and paper; v + 119 + ii; 155mm x 100mm; foliated (ff 50–1, 71–2, 86, 99–100,

106 blank 17th-c. parchment); 17th-c. leather binding, title on spine: 'HENGWRT MS. | 39. | PENIARTH | MS. 35,' paper label on front cover: 'XLVI. | Cynawg' written over 'Amobyr | merch | M(...) | Mulierum | 39.' Fragments of the text of the Laws are scattered throughout this manuscript, primarily between ff 20–47 and ff 80–111.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 32; late 14th c.; Welsh; parchment with paper flyleaves; ii + 149 + ii; 205mm x 140mm; foliated 1–133, 133a–b, 134–44, 2 unnumbered leaves of modern paper between ff 138 and 139; vellum binding, title on spine: 'PENIARTH MS | 32. | HENGWRT MSS | 311 & 8.'

Latin Redaction D

Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Rawlinson C. 821; early 14th c.; Latin and Welsh; parchment interleaved with 18th-c. paper; 198 leaves; 118mm x 82mm; paginated i–ii, 1–174 (last parchment leaf and all interleaved paper sheets unnumbered); all headings and many letters in red, p 173 contains an illumination of the crucifixion; many leaves blank, first 6 paper leaves detached; 18th-c. leather binding, front cover detached, title on spine: 'LEGES | HOWELI | DHA | RAWL. | MS. | C.821.' The text has been annotated in a contemporary hand, by Edward Lhuyd (to p 33) and Moses Williams (from p 33 to end). Lhuyd (1659/60–1709) and Williams (1685–1742) were two of the most prominent scholars and antiquaries of their time; Lhuyd principally as keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, Williams (who began his career as Lhuyd's assistant at the Ashmolean) as a much-published antiquarian cleric.

The Book of Colan

The 'Colan' manuscript contains a heavily revised version of the Iorwerth text as well as the earliest copy of the Llyfr y Damweiniau (Book of Occurrences).

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 30; c 1300; Welsh; parchment with paper flyleaves; iv + 84 + ii; 190mm x 138mm, written in 2 cols numbered, somewhat erratically, 1–328 (several blank leaves); foliated i–v, 1–85; 16th-c. leather binding, title on spine: 'HENGWRT | MS. | 12. | PENIARTH | MS. | 30,' paper label (18th-c.) on cover: '+ Laws 12 | Without end or beginning.' Contains an incomplete text of the Welsh Laws, with annotations in a 17th-c. hand.

The Book of Blegywryd

Fourteen manuscripts survive of the Blegywryd recension of the Laws, from which BL: Cotton Titus D.ix has been chosen as the base text. The criteria for selecting the base texts and collations are set out in Editorial Procedures on pp cxlvii–cxlix. Several of the manuscripts contain only partial texts.

London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.ix; early 14th c.; Welsh and Latin; parchment; i + 92 + ii; 165mm x 110mm; 19th-c. pencil foliation; modern leather binding, title on spine: 'LAWS OF |

HYWEL | DDA. | BRIT. MUS. | COTTON | MS. | TITUS D.IX.' Folios 1–2, 91–2 contain fragments of a 13th-c. lectionary.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynnstay ms 36; c 1400; Welsh; parchment; iii + 163; 287mm x 207mm, written in 2 cols; modern pencil foliation i–iii, 1–163; some rubrication, space left for decorative initials; 18th-c. leather binding. Includes sequence of 'damweiniau' ('occurrences') and some illustrative Carmarthenshire cases. The manuscript can be dated approximately by the appearance on f 160 (in a significantly later hand) of poems by Robin Ddu (fl. 1450) and Rhys Fardd (c 1425–c 1456).

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 36B (now bound with 36C); late 13th c.–early 14th c.; Welsh and Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; ii + 92 + i; 148mm x 115mm; foliated i–iii, 1–40, iv–vii, 1–48; some illuminated capitals; vellum binding, title on spine: 'PENIARTH MS | 36B & 36C | HENGWRT MS | 312.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 36A; early 14th c.; Welsh; parchment with paper flyleaves; ii + 83 + ii; 150mm x 118mm; foliated i–vi, paginated 1–158 (ff iii–vi, pp 99–110, 127–8, 135–8, 145–6, 153–8 are 17th-c. parchment; of these, only f vi verso and pp 157–8 are written on); vellum binding, title on spine: 'PENIARTH MS | 36A | HENGWRT MS | 312.'

Cambridge, Trinity College Library, O.7.1 (1329); early 14th c.; Welsh; parchment with paper flyleaves; ii + 68 + i; 178mm x 112mm; foliated; bound in grey boards with vellum spine.

London, British Library, Harley ms 958; early 14th c.; Welsh; parchment; v + 60 + iv; 160mm x 105mm; foliated; beginning and end in poor condition, some passages no longer fully legible; 19th-c. half-leather binding in red, title on spine: 'LAWS OF | HOWEL DHA. | BRIT. MUS. | HARLEY 958.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 31; first half of 14th c.; Welsh; parchment; ii + 32 + ii; 180mm x 130mm; foliated; fragmentary at end; 19th-c. vellum binding, title on spine: 'PENIARTH | MS. 31. | HENGWRT | MS. 23.'

Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, ms E187; 14th c.; Welsh; parchment interleaved with paper sheets; xxi + 99 + xvii; 50mm x 98mm; parchment leaves paginated 3–14, 21–32, 41–2, 45–6, 49–96, 111–14, 119–26, 135–8, [143]–54, 171–[98], sections of manuscript separated by paper unnumbered leaves: 1 (modern parchment) before p 3, 1 after p 14, 3 after p 22, 1 after p 32, 4 after p 42, 1 after p 46, 1 after p 50, 1 after p 52, 1 after p 60, 2 after p 96, 1 after p 114, 2 after p 122, 2 after p 130, 3 after p 138, 7 after p 154; very worn in places, with some passages no longer fully legible; dark blue morocco binding (c 1840), title on spine: 'WELSH | MANUSCRIPT.' According to the library's old card catalogue, which preserves the only evidence of the manuscript's provenance, it may have been in the possession of the Countess Bentinck-Varel in the mid-18th c. and come to Boston when the family library was sold in Paris on 26 May 1859.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 33; 14th c.; Welsh; parchment; viii + 93 + iv; 157mm x 95mm; foliated i–viii, 1–97; modern binding in orange leather, title on spine: 'CYFRAITH HYWEL | MS. M | PENIARTH | MS. | 33A.' A gall wash has rendered parts of the manuscript illegible.

Oxford, Jesus College, ms 57E; c 1400; Welsh and Latin; parchment; iv + 154; 175mm x 115mm;

paginated i–viii, 1–308; leather binding overpasted with vellum on front and back, title on spine: ‘J Arch | (.) 2(.) | Ms. Jesus Coll. Ox. E.57.’

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 38; 15th c.; Welsh and Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; iii + 72 + ii; 140mm x 110mm; foliated i–v, 1–72; fragmentary at end, remains of parchment binding at ff iv and 70; 19th-c. vellum binding, title on spine: ‘PENIARTH MS | 38. | HENGWRT MS | 19.’

London, British Library, Additional ms 22,356; 15th c.; Welsh; parchment; iii + 149 + ii; 250mm x 170mm; foliated (ff 1 and 149 are fragments of a canon law text, f 147 is an 18th-c. comment); frequent marginal decorations, a few illustrations including a diagram of the court, f 3v; early leather binding (repaired) with one full and one partial brass clasp, title on spine: ‘LAWS OF | HYWEL DDA. | (WELSH.) | PRESENTED | BY THE | CYMMRODORION | SOCIETY. | BRIT. MUS. | ADDITIONAL | MS. | 22,356.’ Stored in a box with same legend on spine.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan ms 116; second half of 15th c.; Welsh; parchment; ii + 62 + ii; 315mm x 200mm; modern pagination 1–124 (pp 1–4 are fragmentary, pp 5–8 are badly damaged); half-leather binding, title on spine: ‘LAWS | of | H(.)WEL.’

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 259A; late 15th c.; Welsh; parchment; iv + 44 + iv; 280mm x 200mm; foliated 1i–1iii, b, 1–44; some rubrication; 19th-c. vellum binding, title on spine: ‘PENIARTH MS 259AD CYFRAITH HYWEL. BEFOL.’

Latin Redaction E

Common errors indicate that the Corpus and Merton manuscripts of redaction E are closely related, but variations in word and phrase also make clear that the later Merton manuscript is not a copy of the earlier Corpus redaction. They may have been copied from the same (lost) archetype. The Corpus text has been adopted as the base text since it predates the Merton manuscript by at least 150 years.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms 454; early 15th c.; Latin; paper and parchment; iv + 62 + ii; 174mm x 120mm; foliated a–c (paper pamphlet), 1–59; extensively rubricated in red and blue; modern leather binding, title on spine: ‘MS | 454 | C.C.C.C.’ The pamphlet is entitled, ‘A notable extract out of the lawe of kinge Hoelda,’ printed in 1550 by Robert Crawley.

Oxford, Merton College, ms 323; third-quarter of 16th c.; Latin, Welsh, and English; paper; ii + 59 + ii; 310mm x 200mm; foliated [ii], 1–53, [iv]; contemporary leather blind-tooled binding. The owner’s mark ‘Thomas Clayton 1680’ is on f [3], and several notes in the hand of John Dee are on f [3], 1, 3, etc.

Other Records

Henry iv’s Statute on Minstrels

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, C 74/5; 1399–1 December 1422 (individual

membranes dated on dorse); French; parchment; 20 membranes; dimensions vary from 660–865mm x 290mm; numbered 1–20 from bottom; modern parchment wrapper of 600mm sewn at bottom.

List of Notable Crwth Players, Harpers, and Poets

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 17,116B (formerly Gwysaney 28); 13th c.–16th c.; Latin and Welsh; paper and parchment; i + 75 + i; 220mm x 160mm; foliated 1–75; 19th-c. half-leather binding, title on spine: 'WELSH | PEDIGREE.' The manuscript also contains the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan, devotional texts, pedigrees, and notes on music.

State of North Wales Touching Religion

London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 111; c 1572–98; English; paper; bifolium; 295mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now foliated 10–11 and bound as item 4 in a composite MS with other papers of the late 16th and early 17th centuries, mostly relating to Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, in a quarter-leather binding, title on spine: 'BURGHLEY | PAPERS | BRIT. MUS. | LANSDOWNE | MS. | 111,' two paper labels: '75,' 'F.2.'

David Powel's *Historie of Cambria*

David Powel (c 1552–98) of Llantysilio, Denbighshire, went to Oxford at sixteen and in 1571 moved to the newly founded Jesus College, becoming in 1572/3 the college's first graduand. He took a doctorate in Divinity in 1588/9 and served in several parishes in northeast Wales before gaining the sinecure parish of Llansanffraid-ym-Mechain. He was commissioned in 1583 to edit Humphrey Llwyd's translation of the Middle Welsh chronicle *Brut y Tywysogion*, but the work which Powel published the next year under the title *Historie of Cambria, now called Wales* was a far more extensive study and formed the basis of Welsh historical writing until the publication in 1911 of Sir J.E. Lloyd's *History of Wales*.

[within an ornamented border:] The historie of Cambria, | now called Wales: | A part of the most fa- | mous Yland of Brytaine, | written in the Brytish lan- | guage aboue two hundreth | yeares past: translated into | English by H. Lhoyd | Gentleman: | Corrected, augmented, | and continued out of Re- | cords and best approoued | Authors, by Daudi Powel | Doctor in diui- | nitie. | [below, within an ornamented tablet:] CVM PRIVILEGIO. [colophon:] 1584 | [printer's device with motto: OS HOMINI SVBLIME DEDIT] | Imprinted at Lon- | don by Rafe Newbe- | rie and Henrie | Denham. | Cum Priuilegio Regiæ | Maiestatis. STC: 4606.

Petition to the Council in the Marches (A)

The original of this document no longer survives. It was clearly in the Mostyn collection when Evans transcribed it for the Historical Manuscripts Commission report; the collection was

broken up between 1918 and 1974, with many manuscripts of national importance going to the National Library of Wales, manuscripts of local and family importance going to the library of the University of Wales, Bangor, and the books largely sold at auction (Christie's, 9–10 October 1974). Some manuscripts that were sold in 1920 have also been acquired for the National Library. The petition is no longer at Mostyn Hall and has not surfaced in any of the distributed collections.

J. Gwenogvryn Evans (ed), *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, vol 1, pt 1, *The Welsh Manuscripts of Lord Mostyn, at Mostyn Hall, co. Flint*, The Historical Manuscripts Commission (London, 1898), 293–5.

Elizabeth I's Instructions to the Council in the Marches

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, SP 46/3/12; 12 June 1601 (ff [3–26]) and 7 July 1602 (ff [1–2]); English; paper; 36 leaves; ff [1–2]: 310mm x 215mm, ff [15, 17, 19]: 310mm x 200 mm, rest: 320mm x 215mm; unnumbered (ff [15, 17, 19] pasted in, ff [27–36] blank); parchment wrapper, green linen ties, on front cover in a 19th-c. hand: 'Wales - Instructions given by Queen Elizabeth to her Council within her Dominion & Principality of Wales & the Marches of the Same to be kept & observed by the Lord President & Council thereof 1602 - 43 Elizabeth - NB a Fair Transcript of this is inclosed -.'

Three Memorials of Britain

The best method of notating the sounds of Welsh became a critical topic among educated Welshmen in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The prolific copyist John Jones of Gellilyfdy, Flintshire, prefaced his commentary on Welsh orthography with a general discussion of the history of the language and its usage (see pp 411–12, endnote to NLW: Peniarth ms 267 pp 53–64).

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan ms 144; early 17th c.; English and Welsh; paper; v + 74 + v; 255mm x 160mm; contemporary pagination 1–146; leather binding, with pigskin pasted over front and back covers, title on spine: 'Collection I of I Alphabets.' In the hand of John Jones of Gellilyfdy.

Rev. Evan Evans' Notebook (A)

Evan Evans (1731–88), whose bookplate appears on the inside front cover of the volume, copied a variety of notes, letters, accounts, and other documents into his notebook. He also wrote poetry under the bardic name 'Ieuan Fardd' and his poems in Welsh appear on pp 159–60, as well as on the two leaves in the folder at the back of the volume. The notebook also includes several of his translations from Latin and Greek.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Cwrtmawr ms 34B; c 1714–72; English, Latin, Welsh, and

Greek; paper; 84 leaves (2 additional leaves, unpaginated, slipped into a folder pasted in at the back); 205mm x 160mm; modern pagination i–iv, 1–164; contemporary leather binding.

Dioceses

Episcopal registers survive for these jurisdictions in a spotty fashion. The St David's register exists for the periods 1397–1414, 1482–3, 1485–1504, 1509–18, 1554–66, and 1636–88. The registers covering 1417–42 existed in the eighteenth century but have since disappeared. The diocese of Llandaff has no registers surviving before 1819, while Bangor has only one medieval register, for the tenure of Bishop Benedict Nicholls, 1408–18, though its registers are complete from 1543 on. St Asaph's registers are extant from 1536–58 and 1631–68, though some early acts are recorded in the Llyfr Coch Asaph, the Red Book of St Asaph, a miscellaneous collection dating from the episcopate of Llywelyn ab Ynyr (1293–1314) and in a second miscellany covering the period *c* 1506–71.⁶ No churchwardens' accounts survive for any Welsh parish during the period and very few records of the church courts. These are limited to a small collection of consistory court act books from the diocese of St Asaph and a single book for the archdeaconery of Carmarthen in the diocese of St David's.

DIOCESE OF BANGOR

Articles of Inquiry of Bishop Edmund Griffith

The title page of this unique copy at Marsh's Library, Dublin, is subscribed 'Edmund <...> Griffith' in a contemporary hand.

ARTICLES | TO BE ENQVIRED | OF VVITHIN THE | Diocesse of Bangor, | IN THE FIRST | VISITATION, | Of the Right Reuerend Father in God, | EDMVND Lord Bishop of Bangor. | [rule] | [device] | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed by Robert Raworth, for Iohn Iackson. 1634. *src*: 10135.

Articles of Inquiry of Bishop William Roberts

ARTICLES | TO BE ENQVIRED | OF VVITHIN THE | Diocesse of Bangor, | IN THE FIRST TRIENNIALL | VISITATION, | Of the Right Reverend Father | in God, VVILLIAM Lord | Bishop of Bangor. | [rule] | [device] | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed by Thomas Badger. 1640. *src*: 10136.

DIOCESE OF LLANDAFF

Articles of Inquiry of Bishop William Murray

ARTICLES | to be enquired of in the fourth | Trienniall Visitation of the | Right Reverend Father in God | William, | Lord Bishop of Landaffe. | Holden in the yeere of our | LORD GOD, 1640. | LONDON, | Printed by T. B. 1640. *src*: 10246.

DIOCESE OF ST ASAPH

Red Book of St Asaph (A)

The Red Book of St Asaph is lost and survives now only in partial transcripts made around 1555 by William Bullock, cathedral registrar.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Records of the Church in Wales SA/MB/1; c 1555; Latin; paper (1 parchment leaf); iii + 18 + viii; 300mm x 200mm; modern foliation 1–18; modern dark red pigskin binding, title on spine: 'LLYFR I COCH I ASAPH I MS. DD,' plastic label: 'SA/MB/1.' The volume contains partial transcripts of documents dating from 1291 to 1311.

Injunctions of Bishop Thomas Goldwell (A)

Wilkins printed Goldwell's injunctions from a manuscript in the possession of Thomas Tanner, also bishop of St Asaph. Although there are several manuscripts in the Tanner collection in the Bodleian Library that concern the diocese of St Asaph, Goldwell's injunctions are not among them.

David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, a Synodo Verolamiensi A.D. CCCCXLIV. ad Londinensem A.D. MDCCXVII*, vol 4, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, ab anno MDXLVI. ad annum MDCCXVII* (London, 1737), 145.

Articles of Inquiry of Bishop John Owen

The title page of this unique copy at Marsh's Library, Dublin, is subscribed 'to Owen Bishop of S. Assaph' in a contemporary hand.

ARTICLES | to be inquired of in the | Diocesse of S. ASAPH, | In the third Visitation of | the Reuerend Father in God | IOHN Lord Bishop of | S. Asaph, 1637. | [device] | LONDON, | Printed by IOHN HAVILAND | for Iohn Benson. 1637. *stc*: 10324.

DIOCESE OF ST DAVID'S

Articles of Inquiry of Bishop William Laud

On the title page of this unique copy at the British Library the printed date has been changed in ink to 1625 and extensive revisions have been entered in the text in the same hand.

[horizontal border] | ARTICLES | To be inquired of, in the | first visitation of the right Reuerend | Father in God VVilliam Laud Bishop | of Saint Dauids, in the yeare of | our Lord | 1622. | [device] | LONDON | Printed by Iohn Haviland, 1622. *stc*: 10325.

Counties

ANGLESEY

A Brief Relation of Grievances (A)

The present whereabouts of this manuscript are unknown. Halliwell gives its full title as 'A brief relation of some of the grievances of such of the Inhabitants of the Isle of Anglesey, as have a desire that God were rightly honoured, the King faithfully served, the Laws of the land duely obey'd, and the common good of all men chiefly respected, justly conceived against the Magistrates and chief governors of the same Island, as well secular, as spirituall, that by their meer sloth and negligence, in their severall charge and vocations, suffer all iniquity to encrease and superabound; and thereby the estate of the whole Island to runne upon wheels to ruin, and at last total perdition, and horrible desolation.' The date of 1613 is based on internal evidence.

J.O. Halliwell (ed), *A Minute Account of the Social Condition of the People of Anglesea, in the Reign of James the First; Now First Printed from a Contemporary Manuscript* (London, 1860).

Beaumaris

Council Orders and Minutes

As with many Welsh boroughs very little survives of the municipal records of Beaumaris. These nine fragments, most of them measuring less than an eighth of a page, contain with one exception only portions of council orders and minutes.

Bangor, University of Wales Library, General Collection 478B; 1569–90; English and Latin; paper; i + 9 + i; 315mm x 205mm (now mounted on 315mm x 235mm sheets); modern foliation; heavily damaged by damp; bound in boards, title on cover: 'BANGOR MS. 478B.'

Rev. William Williams' Commonplace Book

The Rev. William Williams (c 1625–84) was headmaster of the Free School of Beaumaris in the 1650s. He took his BA at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1647/8 and his MA in 1657, holding, from 1660 on, a series of church positions in North Wales. As a writer he is best known for his history of Beaumaris, *Historia Bellomarisci* (1669), and his *History of the Bulkeley Family* (1673–4), neither of which was published during his lifetime.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 15,140A; c 1646–53; English, Latin, and Greek; paper; i + 190 + i; 70mm x 125mm; modern foliation i–v, 1–185; 2 booklets bound together, 19th-c. calf binding, covers detached, title on spine: 'MANUSCRIPT | EPIGRAMS | BY BULKELEY | & OTHERS.' Williams wrote parallel to the binding in his notebook, so that the binding runs across the top of the text.

Bulkeley of Baron Hill

History of the Bulkeley Family

Written around 1673–4 by William Williams, clergyman and schoolmaster of the Free School of Beaumaris, the History tells the lurid story of the long-standing feud between the families of Bulkeley, the principal family of Tudor and Stuart Anglesey, and the upstart Cheadle family, complete with a fatal duel, adultery, and accusations of poisoning. The feud also had political aspects, as the Bulkeleys were staunchly royalist (as was Williams), while the Cheadles were Parliamentarians. Much of the volume is dedicated to genealogical material concerning the large Bulkeley family, but Williams includes substantial narrative material, especially concerning the ‘unfortunate’ Agnes, second wife of Sir Richard Bulkeley (the second of the name – most of the Bulkeley’s eldest sons were named Richard).⁷

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 9080E; 1673–4; English; paper; iv + 86 + iv (43 original sheets, interleaved with 43 modern sheets); 390mm x 300mm; 19th-c. pagination 1–86 (interleaving not paginated); damage from wear has caused a loss of text at the foot of some pages; modern quarter-leather binding, title on spine: ‘HISTORY | OF THE | BULKELEY | FAMILY | N.L.W. MS. | 9080E.’

Bulkeley of Dronwy

Letter from Evan Edward to Robert Bulkeley

The letter is not dated but the names of Bulkeley’s companions may provide a clue. John Lloyd appears as the writer of a series of six letters to Robert Bulkeley, all dated between 15 January 1619/20 and 2 March 1620/1. The letters are addressed from Oxford to Bulkeley at the bishop of Llandaff’s seat at Matharn, Monmouthshire, where he was in the service of the bishop, Theophilus Field. Further letters show that by September 1621 Bulkeley had returned to Christ Church, Oxford, presumably with the intention of pursuing an MA, and that by 16 June 1622 he had returned to Dronwy, Anglesey. If the journey to which Edward refers was Bulkeley’s return to Anglesey, the letter would probably date from late 1621 or early 1622.

Bangor, University of Wales Library, Penrhos II/122; c 1621; English; paper; single sheet; 225mm x 225mm; endorsed: ‘To his much respected frend mr. Robert Buckley giue these I pray you’.

Diary of Robert Bulkeley

Robert Bulkeley kept his journal on a daily basis, including regular weather reports along with the details of his travel and entertainment. The journal is missing both the beginning and end.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 3150B; 28 November 1630–10 May 1636; English;

paper; iv + 71 + iv; 203mm x 148mm; early 19th-c. pagination 1–142; modern quarter-leather binding, title on spine: 'Bulkeley Diary. | 1629-1636. | N.L.W. | .MS. 3150B.'

Lewis of Prysaeddfed

William Lewis' Accounts

The manuscript was originally intended as a digest of legal terminology, principally in French but with some passages in English and Latin. Most pages are headed by legal keywords, but the plan was not fulfilled and rarely more than a sentence or two has been written; many entries are blank. The almost-blank pages have then been filled with Welsh poetry and genealogical tracts, as well as a Welsh paraphrase of part of the Old Testament. A small number of memoranda and accounts fill blank and partial pages. Only two dates are found in the volume; ff 9v (the account) and 14 include the date 1594; ff 32v and 37v (poetry) are dated 1638. There is no heading to the account; payments 'at prysadved' identify the family and location.

London, British Library, Additional ms 14,918; late 16th–early 17th c.; Welsh, Latin, French, and English; paper; vi + 159 + vi; 145mm x 193mm; 19th-c. pencil foliation 1–159; 19th-c. calf binding, title on spine: 'WELSH | PEDIGREES | ETC. | MUS. BRIT. | PRESENTED | BY THE | GOVERNORS | OF THE | WELSH SCHOOL. | 14,918 | PL.CLXVII.I,' 2 paper labels on spine: '420,' 'B.25.'

BRECKNOCKSHIRE/SIR FRYCHEINIOG

Brecon/Aberhonddu

Gerald of Wales' *Itinerarium Kambriae*

See under Principality of Wales (pp lxxiii–lxxx).

Philip Powell's Commonplace Book

Philip Powell of Brecon kept his commonplace book over ten years, which included a period of imprisonment in Newgate 1633–6. Although he is not entirely clear about the reasons for his imprisonment, part of the book is taken up with complaints about his unjust arrest and diatribes against his enemies. He describes his plight on p 63, under the heading '1633 The first of March': 'It fortunēd that I Phillip Powell/ was Aprehende(.) tretcherusly by on william pheen pedler of Brechon some times prentise to lewis Mredith Alias Coise Goyth: or flocas: and comitted vnto Newgatt [vppon] vppon the first of march St. Dauids Day, on Iohn fillkins of Bristoll wrought my ruyn at the white harte where I was arrested of 200/ pounds to my vtter vndoinge and left ther by my wife and not one come to me [(.)] in three yeares space/.'

The earlier parts of the book are filled with calculating tables of all kinds, which may (as the eighteenth-century annotation on p 2 assumes) have been written in prison. The volume

also contains poetry by Powell, as well as poetry by Sir Walter Raleigh, King James I, Edward Games of Newton, Sir Henry Williams, John Jones, and John Gibbs of Neath, and also notes on classical, biblical, and British history and the history of Brecknockshire.

Cardiff, Cardiff Libraries and Information Service, ms 3.42; c 1628–38; English, Welsh, and Latin; paper; 84 leaves; 295mm x 197mm (some pages of varying size bound in); modern pagination 1–12, 12a–d, 13–22, 22a–b, 23–58, 61–112, 112a–b, 113–162; original vellum wrapper.

Llansbyddyd

Bill of Complaint in Williams v. John Games et al

Except for the bill of complaint, which is in poor condition, all the other documents in this case concern the evidence of Elizabeth Games, wife to John Games, dealing with the estate of her first husband, Thomas Lewis, whose will John Games is accused of altering. The documents are preserved in two bundles, made up of four and three items, respectively, now sewn together at the upper left corner. Items from the larger bundle, containing the bill of complaint, are described first. TNA: PRO STAC 5/W69/19 also contains five documents pertaining to the case.

The Games family of Newton, Brecknockshire, was one of the most prominent Brecknockshire families, tracing its origins to the soldier Dafydd Gam, who died in 1415 in the battle of Agincourt. Though the male line of the Games family died out in the mid-seventeenth century, Dafydd's daughter Gwladys married Sir William ap Thomas of Raglan, the progenitor of the Herbert family.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, STAC 5/W38/27 item 4; undated; English; parchment; single sheet; 738mm x 738mm.

Answer of John Games

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, STAC 5/W38/27 item 3; 31 January 1596/7; English and Latin; parchment; single sheet; 730mm x 690mm.

Interrogatories for John Games

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, STAC 5/W64/3 item [3]; 4 February 1596/7; English and Latin; parchment; single sheet; 745mm x 310mm.

Examination of John Games

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, STAC 5/W64/3 item [1]; 12 February 1596/7; English and Latin; paper; 12 leaves; 325mm x 210mm; no foliation (ff [4v], [6v] to end blank); sewn booklet.

Partrishow

Gerald of Wales' *Itinerarium Kambriae*

See under Principality of Wales (pp lxxiii–lxxx).

CAERNARVONSHIRE/SIR GAERNARFON

Instructions for the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace

William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, was lord president of the Council in the Marches of Wales from 1550 until his resignation after Mary's accession in 1554.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynn of Gwydir papers, NLW MS 9051E; undated; English; single sheet; 360mm x 255mm. Now numbered as item 12 and bound together with 169 items of loose correspondence dated 26 July 1519–27 March 1596 as NLW MS 9051E in modern full-leather binding, title on spine: 'Wynn of Gwydir Papers | (Panton Group) | N.L.W. MS. 9051E | Nos. 1-170.'

Conwy

Will of Robert Wynn

Wynn's plans for a grammar school did not materialize since he remarried in the same year as he wrote this will, which he soon revised since his wife bore him seven children within six years. He did, however, build a large and sumptuous house of seventeen rooms in Conwy expanding a previously existing house. The survey of the county made by William Williams of Llandygái in 1806 describes it as 'an old large useless house called Plas Mawr, said to have been built by a Robert Wynne, Esqr. of Gwydir in 1585.'⁸ In its earlier days, however, it was a house of some splendour; the large dining hall 'could also be cleared for entertainments, music and dancing.'⁹ Plas Mawr has been restored and is now open to the public.

Bangor, University of Wales Library, MS Mostyn 302; 24 January 1588/9; English; paper; 6 leaves; 300mm x 205mm; unnumbered.

*Degannwy*Gildas' *Liber de excidio et conquestu Britanniae*

Although Gildas provides us with one of the few sources for sixth-century Britain, the details of his life are very unclear. According to the earliest hagiographic life dating from the late

ninth century, he was born in Strathclyde and studied with St Illtud in Pembrokeshire. He travelled to Ireland and then to Brittany, where he founded the monastery of St Gildas de Rhuys, where he died, perhaps around 570.

The Cotton manuscript is by a considerable margin the earliest exemplar of Gildas' text; it was very extensively damaged in the Cotton Library fire of 23 October 1731, but the whole of the paragraph printed here is legible and has thus been taken as the base text. Both the Avranches and Cambridge texts derive directly from the Cotton version. The first twenty-six chapters of the text also survive in Cambridge University Library: Ff.1.27 (thirteenth century).

London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.vi; 11th c.; Latin; parchment mounted on 19th-c. paper; i + 37 + ii; 205mm x 140mm; foliated 1–37; beginning and end in very bad condition, all pages heavily split, many sections illegible; 19th-c. tooled leather binding, title on spine: 'GILDAS | DE | EXCIDIO | BRITTANI' | MUS. BRIT. | BIBL. COTTON | VITELLIUS A. VI.'

Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale Edmonde le Hérichier, ms 162; 14th c.; Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; iii + 81 + i; 275mm x 200mm; foliated; some rubrication; 17th- or 18th-c. leather binding, damaged label on spine: 'S. S. SVIG | IORDAN | (..) S. GIL | HIS(..)', remains of 2 paper labels on front cover and a third in better condition: '(...) BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE LA | VILLE | D'AVRANCHES | (..)OE MS. | 162.' Contains various texts including Cicero's *De Oratore*, Jordanes' *History of the Goths*, and Gildas' *De excidio*.

Cambridge, University Library, Dd.1.17; c 1400; Latin; parchment; ii + 441 + ii; 440mm x 305mm; 3 volumes bound as 1 and separately paginated 1–261, 1–93, 1–87; modern half-leather binding (1969), title on spine: 'LIBER | GLASTONIENSIS | DD.I.17.' Gildas' text comprises pp 83–93 of vol 2; other texts are Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, the pseudo-Turpin *Chronicle*, Guido della Colonna's *Historia Troiana* (vol 1); the *Testamentum patriarcharum*, Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, Marco Polo's *Travels*, the *Flos ystoriarum terre orientis* (vol 2); Langland's *Piers Plowman*, the *Seven Sages of Rome*, Mandeville's *Travels*, Clement of Llanthony (vol 3).

Dolbenmaen

Presentment against Ellis Wynne

Caernarfon, Gwynedd Archives Service, X/QS/1654/93; 1654; English; parchment; single sheet; 160mm x 276mm; water damage along right side making some text illegible; parchment tab top-centre: 'Trinity | Quarter | 1654.'

Recognizance of Hugh ap William ab Evan and Recognizance of Ellis Wynne

Caernarfon, Gwynedd Archives Service, X/QS/1654/99; May 1654; English; paper; original bifolium now unfolded, flattened, and mounted on modern paper; 195mm x 210mm (mounting); unnumbered; heavily damaged by damp. Contains four recognizances, only two of which are relevant.

Recognizance of Jane verch Hugh and Recognizance of Ellen verch Robert

Caernarfon, Gwynedd Archives Service, X/QS/1654/120; May 1654; English; paper; original bifolium now unfolded, flattened, and mounted on modern paper; 195mm x 215mm (mounting); unnumbered; heavily damaged by damp. Contains six recognizances, only two of which are relevant.

Articles of Misdemeanour

Caernarfon, Gwynedd Archives Service, X/QS/1654/115; 1654; English; paper; single sheet mounted on modern paper; 185mm x 175mm; triangular tear from the bottom of the sheet resulting in some loss of text.

Deposition of Morris ap William David

Caernarfon, Gwynedd Archives Service, X/QS/1654/100; 2 June 1654; English; paper; single sheet mounted on modern paper; 245mm x 190mm.

Depositions of Harry John and Edmund Jones

Caernarfon, Gwynedd Archives Service, X/QS/1654/96; 2 June–1 July 1654; English; paper; single sheet mounted on modern paper; 250mm x 190mm; tears along the lower right side and along the foot of the sheet resulting in damage to 2 depositions.

Griffith of Cefnamwlch

Ellis Allington and John Davies were the two agents for the Cefnamwlch estate.

Robert Griffith's Accounts

Caernarfon, Gwynedd Archives Service, ms Cefn Amwlch 217; 4–19 August 1614; English; paper; 3 leaves; 305mm x 205mm; unnumbered. Kept by Ellis Allington.

Caernarfon, Gwynedd Archives Service, ms Cefn Amwlch 221; 20 May–27 July 1616; English; paper; 12 leaves; 400mm x 150mm; unnumbered. Kept by John Davies.

Maurice of Clennennau

Letter from Edward Price to Sir William Maurice

It is clear from a letter dated 21 February 1611/12 (NLW: Clennennau Letters 264) that Edward Price was a lawyer, since the letter consists of legal advice for Maurice.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Clennennau Letters 121–240; English; paper; single sheet;

303mm x 200mm. Now numbered as item 225 and bound together with 119 other items dated 11 December 1596–June 1608 in modern half-leather binding, title on spine: 'BROGYNTYN | MSS. | CLENENNAU | LETTERS | AND | PAPERS | Nos 121–240.'

Wynn of Gwydir

Letter from Thomas Martyn to Sir John Wynn

Thomas Martyn, a London lawyer who lived near St Andrew's, Holborn (Ballinger, *Calendar of Wynn Papers*, no 276), acted in a variety of capacities for Sir John Wynn and sent several reports back to Gwydir (Ballinger, nos 129, 261, 274, 280, 283, 287, etc) on the progress of Sir John's various suits.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynn of Gwydir papers, NLW MS 9052E; 14 April 1597; English; paper; bifolium; 303mm x 205mm; unfoliated. Now numbered as item 180 and bound together with 190 items of loose correspondence dated 27 March 1596–4 October 1605 as NLW MS 9052E in modern full-leather binding, title on spine: 'Wynn of Gwydir Papers | (Panton Group) | N.L.W. MS. 9052E | Nos. 171–360.'

Letter from John Wynn to his Father, Sir John Wynn

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynn of Gwydir papers, NLW MS 9053E; 24 March [1606/7]; English; paper; bifolium; 305mm x 200mm; unfoliated. Now numbered as item 438 and bound together with 149 other items dated 4 November 1605–18 December 1609 in modern full-leather binding, title on spine: 'Wynn of Gwydir Papers | (Panton Group) | N.L.W. MS. 9053E | Nos. 361–510.'

Letter from Robert Wynn to Lady Sydney Wynn

The recipient of this letter was Lady Sydney Wynn, wife to Sir John and Robert's mother. She was the daughter of Sir William Gerard, lord chancellor of Ireland and vice president of the Council in the Marches. Robert Wynn was the fourth of Sir John's twelve children; he died later in 1617.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynn of Gwydir papers, NLW MS 9054E; 19 November 1617; English; paper; bifolium; 310mm x 210mm; seal on f [2v]. Now numbered as item 572 and bound together with 127 other items dated 1609–8 February 1613/14 and 19 December 1617 in modern full-leather binding, title on spine: 'Wynn of Gwydir Papers | (Panton Group) | N.L.W. MS. 9054E | Nos. 513–640.'

Sir John Wynn's Instructions for London Purchases

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynn of Gwydir papers, NLW MS 9053E; c 1619; English; paper; single sheet; 235mm x 200mm. Now numbered as item 472 and bound together with 149 other

items dated 4 November 1605–18 December 1609 in modern full-leather binding, title on spine: 'Wynn of Gwydir Papers | (Panton Group) | N.L.W. MS. 9053E | Nos. 361–510.'

Sir John Wynn's Personal Notes

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynn of Gwydir papers, NLW Additional MS 467E; 1619; English; paper; single sheet; 305mm x 200mm. Now numbered as item 1473 and bound together with 129 other items dated c 1619–49 in modern full-leather binding, title on spine: 'Wynn of Gwydir Papers | (Sir John Williams Group.) | N.L.W. MS. Add. 467E | 1625–1649.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynn of Gwydir papers, NLW MS 9061E; before 1 March 1626/7; English; paper; single sheet; 305mm x 205mm. Now numbered as item 1488 and bound together with 129 other items dated 14 December 1625–7 in modern full-leather binding, title on spine: 'Wynn of Gwydir Papers | (Panton Group) | N.L.W. MS. 9061E | Nos. 1381–1510.'

Sir John Wynn's Travel Expenses from London to Gwydir

These accounts concern Sir John's journey from London to Gwydir in May and June of 1619.

Cardiff, Cardiff Libraries and Information Service, MS 4.69 (formerly Phillips 31615); 31 May–6 June 1619; English; paper; bifolium; 200mm x 155mm. Now designated as item 8 in bundle 3 of three bundles of miscellaneous loose papers, containing Wynn family correspondence and accounts, 1619–40.

Letters from William Wynn to Sir John Wynn

William Wynn was the fifth of Sir John Wynn's eight surviving sons. He became a student at Cambridge in 1611. From 1619 he was a member of the household of the master of the wards and wardrobe, and he was admitted to the Temple in 1619. He was married on 20 March 1627/8 and died on 24 December 1654.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynn of Gwydir papers, NLW MS 9056E; 15 July 1619; English; paper; 2 leaves; 305mm x 205mm; unnumbered. Now numbered as item 866 and bound together with 129 other items dated 16 October 1616–16 May 1620 in modern full-leather binding, title on spine: 'Wynn of Gwydir Papers | (Panton Group) | N.L.W. MS. 9056E | Nos. 771–900.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynn of Gwydir papers, NLW Additional MS 466E; 2 October 1623; English; paper; single sheet; 295mm x 190mm; originally a bifolium, first page missing, damaged along left edge. Now numbered as 1149 and bound together with 100 other items dated 1611–25 in modern full-leather binding, title on spine: 'Wynn of Gwydir Papers | (Sir John Williams Group) | N.L.W. MS. 466E | 1611–1625.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynn of Gwydir papers, NLW MS 9059E; 24 November 1623; English; paper; bifolium; 300mm x 190mm; only ff [1] and [2v] written on. Now numbered as item 1165 and bound together with 119 other items dated 23 September 1623–19 November 1624 in

modern full-leather binding, title on spine: 'Wynn of Gwydir Papers I (Panton Group) I N.L.W. MS. 9059E I Nos. 1141–1260.'

Letter from Humphry Jones to Sir John Wynn

The Craflwyn estate in the parish of Beddgelert was in the hands of the Jones family by the early seventeenth century. As keeper of the records at Caernarfon Humphry Jones was a close friend of the Wynn family.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynn of Gwydir papers, NLW MS 9057E; 18 July 1621; English; paper; bifolium; 305mm x 205mm; unnumbered. Now numbered as item 967 and bound together with 98 other items dated 27 May 1620–1 in modern full-leather binding, title on spine: 'Wynn of Gwydir Papers I (Panton Group) I N.L.W. MS. 9057E I Nos. 901–999.'

Sir John Wynn's Probate Inventory

Sir John died on 1 March 1626/7; an earlier, less thorough, inventory is preserved in NLW: NLW MS 9062E, item 1523 (dated April 1627), listing principally furniture and carpets by room. It does not include Sir John's trumpet.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynnstay (1952) Box 106/item 99; 1 March 1627/8 (registered 24 May 1628); English; parchment; 2 membranes; mb 1: 640mm x 138mm, mb 2: 560mm x 138mm; sewn seriatim, paper tab (188mm x 95mm) sewn in at joint.

CARDIGANSHIRE/SIR GEREDIGION

Life of St Brioc

The Paris manuscript is a copy of the Rouen version, which is the most complete and reliable text, and has been chosen as the base text. The Angers text, though earlier, derives from the same exemplar as Rouen but has been much less accurately copied.

Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1394 (U119); 12th c.; Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; i + 130 + i; 235mm x 160mm; paginated; some rubrication, initial caps in red and green; spine in very bad condition; 18th-c. brown morocco binding, title on spine: 'VITÆ I QUORUMDAM I SANCTORUM,' paper label 'U 119.' The scribe of this manuscript writes all saints' names as capitals.

Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 814 (730); 10th c.; Latin; parchment with paper flyleaves; iii + 60 + i; 250mm x 175mm; foliated 1–59 (ff [ii–iii] parchment paste-ins, f [60] unnumbered); extensive carolingian historiated initials and rubrication; vellum on wood boards, 2 paper labels on spine: '814' and '730.' Also contains life of Sts Sergius and Bacchus.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 1149; 15th c.; Latin; paper; ii + 36 + ii; 210mm x 150mm;

foliated; 18th-c. red morocco binding with royal insignia; 2 paper labels on spine: 'OFFN | S. | BRIO' and 'Latin | 1149.' The text has been heavily annotated and corrected by a later hand.

Cardigan/Aberteifi

Brut y Tywysogion

The most important Welsh chronicle of the Middle Ages survives in three versions deriving, as Thomas Jones has shown, from three variant Latin texts compiled around the end of the thirteenth century at the Cardiganshire abbey of Strata Florida.¹⁰ Two of these versions are usually known as *Brut y Tywysogion*, the 'Chronicle of the Princes,' and the third is commonly called *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, the 'Kings of the Saxons.' Ten copies of the Peniarth 20 version survive, as well as twenty-nine copies of the Red Book of Hergest version, though the bulk of these are antiquarian copies dating from the late sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Only copies dating from before 1600 are considered here. Not all these manuscripts are complete and the total number does not include several manuscripts known from earlier sources and now lost.

The lost Latin original of the chronicle was assembled, likely from monastic annals, at the Cistercian abbey of Strata Florida (founded by the Lord Rhys), probably not long after the conquest of independent Wales in 1282. The first two of the texts printed are drawn from the *Brut y Tywysogion*, the second two from the *Brenhinedd y Saesson*. The fifth version is the English translation which Humphrey Llwyd included in his manuscript chronicle of Wales. Some of the possible models on which Rhys may have based his meeting are discussed by J. Caerwyn Williams in 'Yr Arglwydd Rhys ac "Eisteddfod" Aberteifi 1176: y cefndir diwylliannol,' *Yr Arglwydd Rhys*, Nerys Ann Jones and Huw Price (eds) (Cardiff, 1996), 94–128.

Version A (the Peniarth 20C version) of *Brut y Tywysogion* covers the period from 680 to 1331. Manuscript Peniarth 20C is closely related to the archetype and has been taken as the base text, while manuscripts NLW 3046D and NLW 3055D derive from a common original, deriving from Peniarth 20C but separated by at least one generation.¹¹

Version B of *Brut y Tywysogion* covers the period from 680 to 1282. It is commonly known as the Red Book of Hergest version, though that manuscript contains neither the oldest nor the best text. The Peniarth 18A and NLW 3035B versions derive from a common original, as do Peniarth 19B and the Red Book. As the oldest of these Peniarth 18A has been taken as the base text. The text of Peniarth 253D appears to derive from a common source with the Red Book, through an intermediate manuscript later than its common ancestor with Peniarth 19B.¹²

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 20C; c 1330; Welsh; parchment (old paper labels and notes on ff v–viii); viii + 175 + iv; 218mm x 145mm, written in 2 cols throughout; paginated 1–350; modern vellum binding, title on spine: 'Y BIBL | YN | GYMRAEG | BRUT | Y | TYWYSOGION | PENIARTH | MS. | 20 C.' Also contains *Y Bibl Ynghymraec* (a Welsh version of Peter of Poitiers' *Promptuarium Bibliae*), Kyvoesi Myrddin a Gwynddydd, Welsh Grammar. Written at the Cistercian abbey of Valle Crucis, Denbighshire. Assigned siglum 'A.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 3046D (formerly Mostyn 143); 16th c.; Welsh; paper; i + 164 + i; 290mm x 190mm; paginated; modern half-leather binding, title on spine: 'BRUT | Y | TYWYSOGION | A | BARDDONIAETH | MOSTYN 143 | N.L.W. MS. | 3046D.' Also contains Welsh poetry. Assigned siglum 'B.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 3055D (formerly Mostyn 159); 1586–7; Welsh; paper; 88 leaves; 310mm x 210mm; originally unnumbered, now foliated 143–231; bound up as the second booklet of a modern composite manuscript (made up of at least 4 booklets) in modern half-leather binding, title on spine: 'BRUTIAU | LLYFR | D. AP JENKIN | MOSTYN 159 | N.L.W. MS. | 3055D.' Contains chronicles and saints' lives. The colophon on f 231 identifies the scribe as Dafydd ap Jenkin of Machynlleth, Montgomeryshire, writing on a commission from Huw Lewis of Hafodwen, Montgomeryshire; Dafydd notes that the text of the *Brut* was completed on 2 May 1586. Assigned siglum 'C.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 18A; mid-14th c.; Welsh; parchment; iii + 69 + viii; 170mm x 120mm; foliated (end flyleaves paginated 70–7); remains of original paper cover bound in at f 71, modern leather binding, title on spine: 'BRUT | Y | TYWYS | OGION | PENIARTH | MS. | 18A.' Probably written at the abbey of Strata Florida, Cardiganshire. Assigned siglum 'P.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 3035B (formerly Mostyn 116); 14th c.; Welsh; parchment; i + 206 + i; 130mm x 195mm; foliated 1–25, 65–75, 26–64, 76–138, 138–206; vellum binding, title on spine: 'GEOFFREY | OF MONMOUTH & | CARADOC | IN WELSH | MANUSCRIPT | 3035B | 116.' Assigned siglum 'M.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 19B; late 14th c.; Welsh; parchment; viii + 145 + viii (3 pages of J. Gwenogvryn Evans' edition of the Red Book of Hergest bound in at end to replace missing folio between f 141v and f 142; remains of old binding bound in); 205mm x 145mm; numbered in columns; modern vellum binding. Assigned siglum 'T.'

Oxford, Jesus College, MS 111 (the Red Book of Hergest); c 1425; Welsh; parchment with paper flyleaves; xi + 362 + xiv; 335mm x 200mm, written in 2 cols; contemporary numbering of cols 1–1412, modern foliation i–xi (vii–xi blank), 1–362, xii–xxv (blank); bound in 19th-c. red morocco elaborately tooled in gold, remains of brass clasps, title on spine: 'Y Llyfr Coch | o | Hergest | Rhyddychain mdcccli.' Contains chronicles, romances, tales, triads, proverbs, and poetry. Assigned siglum 'R.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 253D; c 1550–75; Welsh; paper; iv + 113 + iv; 300mm x 190mm; paginated 1–70, 73–226, 228, 227; bound in blue leather, title on spine: 'BRUTIAU, | ARFAU, | Y BEIBIL | PENIARTH | MS. | 253D.' Contains *Brut y Tywysogion*, *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, genealogical material, *Y Bibl Ynghymraec*. Assigned siglum 'T9.'

Cardiff, Cardiff Libraries and Information Service, MS 2.39; 1569–late 17th c.; Welsh; paper; 264 leaves; 195mm x 140mm; paginated 1–528; brown leather binding (1964), title on spine: 'MS. | WELSH | POETRY | AND | PROSE | CARDIFF MS. 2.39.' MS 2.39 is a four-part composite MS. Part 1: Welsh poetry, late 17th c., pp 1–24. Part 2: *Brut y Tywysogion*, c 1660, pp 25–132. Part 3: chronicle of Britain to 1566, genealogies, 1569, pp 133–466. Part 4: treatise on Welsh prosody by William Salesbury, last quarter 17th c., pp 467–528. The text of *Brut y Tywysogion* is incomplete, beginning with the year 964 and ending with 1229.

Brenhinedd y Saesson

The 'Kings of the Saxons' is an independent version of the two preceding chronicles, like them deriving from a Latin source. Version A gives entries from the year 683 to 1197, and version B continues to 1461. The relationship between these texts is complex. B was not copied from A but from one of its antecedents, and the post-1197 portion is derived from manuscripts A and R of *Brut y Tywysogion* for the period 1197–1282, and on manuscript A of *Brut y Tywysogion* for 1282–1332, with some borrowings from Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*.¹³

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 7006D (Black Book of Basingwerk); late 14th/15th c.; Welsh and English; parchment; ii + 154 + xi; 224mm x 165mm, written in 2 cols; paginated; early leather binding, in oak box carved to resemble 2 books. The first part of the manuscript dates from the late fourteenth century; pp 89 to the end are in the hand of Gutun Owain (c 1451–98), a bard and herald associated with the abbey of Basingwerk. Internal notes of previous owners include those from Robert Vaughan (1630) and Fulk Owen (1686). Contains *Ystoria Dared* (pp 1–40), *Brut Tysilio* (pp 41–198), *Brenhinedd y Saesson* (pp 198–308). Assigned siglum 'B.'

See also under Principality of Wales, Welsh Laws, Book of Cyfnerth (p lxxxi), for BL: Cotton Cleopatra B.v. Assigned siglum 'A.'

Humphrey Llwyd's Chronicle of Wales

London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.vi; 1559; English, Welsh, and Latin; paper; v + 235 + iv; 210mm x 150mm; foliated; modern half-leather tooled binding, title on spine: 'HUMFREY LLOYD | CHRONICLE | OF WALES | ETC. | BRIT. MUS. | COTTON | MS. | CALIGULA A. VI.' Frequent marginal notes are in the hand of Dr John Dee, and another hand of the same period has provided running heads in the margins.

Great Sessions Presentments

Following the abolition of the court of Great Sessions in 1830, its records were kept county-by-county with no uniformity in situations that ranged from the acceptable to the execrable. When William H. Black, assistant keeper, was sent to survey the Welsh records in 1840, he reported back at length of the conditions in which he found them. In Presteigne, for example, the Radnorshire records were kept in a purpose-built but unventilated stone room, some on shelves but many in a heap on the floor. 'The damp and closeness of the place caused putrefaction among these; and after two or three years the stench proceeding from them was so offensive, as to prevent the hall-keeper's family from using the adjoining room, which had been designed for the office, and was occupied as a parlour.'¹⁴

When his successor, Charles Roberts, was sent to collect the Welsh court records in 1854, his experience was similar. The records of Carmarthenshire were in the hands of a lawyer, who had set aside those relevant to his private legal practice; 'the rest were lying in heaps on the floors of the two garrets, and in the cellar, and in a state of confusion, dirt, and decay, beyond

all description, and I imagine that not a tenth part can ever be restored to a state of usefulness.¹⁵ Roberts collected a vast quantity of documents, noting that 'on the railway they filled five North Western luggage vans, and three Great Western horseboxes, and in conveying them from the railways to the New Record Repository, they were with difficulty taken in ten large waggons; and lastly, that the weight was little short of 20 tons.'¹⁶ This initial collection did not include the records of Brecknockshire, Cardiganshire, and Radnorshire, which were retrieved the following year, adding a further four tons to Roberts' total.¹⁷ Kenneth Fox has pointed out that the reasons for the terrible state of record-keeping were inherent in the Act of 1830, which abolished the court of Great Sessions, and may thus have been relatively recent. The Act provided that the records should continue to be kept by the person responsible for them at the time of the abolition, but it did not provide any funds for this purpose – a certain recipe for archival disaster.¹⁸

Beyond initial sorting little was done with the collection until relatively recently. A proposal by the master of the rolls in 1909 to pulp the post-1660 collection was overturned with the help of Welsh MPs, and in 1912 it was agreed to return the records of the court of Great Sessions to the new National Library of Wales. This was finally done in 1962–3, though not without anomalies. Records prior to the foundation of the court remain in the Public Record Office, but since the date of inception of the court varied from county to county, some early series of records are still divided between Aberystwyth and London. The National Library has sorted the bulk of the documents and mounted many of them into bound volumes. Some calendaring has recently begun through private initiative.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files (Additional) 33/7/1 Item [1]; September 1657; English; paper; single sheet; 290mm x 185mm. Now the first item in an unnumbered bundle of fourteen miscellaneous court documents.

Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn

Grievances against the Council in the Marches

The volume is in the hand of John Jones of Gellilyfdy, one of the most prolific copiers of manuscripts in the early seventeenth century. Jones was born in the tref of Gellilyfdy, in the parish of Ysgeifiog, Flintshire, before 1585. He was in Shrewsbury, probably at the Shrewsbury School, in 1595–6 and may have learned his extraordinarily fine hand there. His career as a copyist and antiquary began about 1603. In 1617 he was imprisoned in Ludlow by order of the Council in the Marches, but the reason for his imprisonment is not known though it is likely to have been debt. He was released by 1624, though the intervening time may have involved more than one period of imprisonment. In 1630 he was fined £200 by the court of Star Chamber and, since his income was only some £27 a year, he became a king's debtor and his property was forfeit to the Crown. He spent most of the time between 1630 and 1643 in the Fleet Prison, at least until 1639 in relatively open confinement during which he had access to borrowed manuscripts and could continue his copying activities. In 1643 he returned to

Gellilyfdy but soon after was in the Flint gaol for refusing to pay the army tax. He spent two years in confinement this time. He married in 1651 and by about 1653 was back in the Fleet Prison, where he spent much of the rest of his life. He died, probably in early 1657/8, leaving no will; his widow Elizabeth was granted letters of administration in 1659.¹⁹

This brief outline of Jones' career suggests ample reason for his antipathy toward the heavy-handed administration of the law, and this lengthy manuscript contains his indictment of the legal proceedings of the Council in the Marches, perhaps connected with his first imprisonment at Ludlow, where the Council had its base. The manuscript is organized as follows: each legal article of the Council is quoted in full, followed by a statement of the intent of the article. This is then followed by a statement of the grievance, that is, the manner in which the article has been misapplied or misinterpreted, and an example of its practical application. This last in each case consists of a detailed outline of a case that, in Jones' view, represents a miscarriage of justice.

Cardiff, Cardiff Libraries and Information Service, Ms 3.25 (formerly Phillips 14963); mid-1620s; English; paper; iv + 305 + iv; 280mm x 197mm; paginated 67–674 (1 unnumbered leaf before p 67), contemporary pagination 1–604 starts at beginning of cases (pp 93–674) and is linked to the index (pp 69–92); modern half-leather binding, title on spine: 'COUNCIL | OF THE MARCHES | IN WALES | ARTICLES, | PRACTICES, ETC. | FENTON MS.'

Court in the Marches of Wales, List of Fines

London, British Library, Harley Ms 4220; 4 November 1616–17 August 1636; English and Latin; paper; iv + 379 + iii; 410mm x 265mm (approximate top margin has 2 curved indentations); foliated i, 1–371, [i–viii]; modern half-leather binding, title on spine: 'FINES AT | LUDLOW | ASSIZES | BRIT. MUS. | HARLEY | MS. 4220.'

Tregaron

Great Sessions Presentments

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/884/4/8; September 1627; English and Latin; paper; single sheet (mounted on modern paper); 310mm x 195mm. Now item 8 in the fourth part of Gaol Files 4/884/1–7, a composite volume of seven parts, made up of twenty-nine, twenty-six, thirty-three, thirty-seven, one, twenty-six, and twenty-eight such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'Wales | 4 | 884 | 1–7.'

CARMARTHENSHIRE/SIR GAERFYRDDIN

Carmarthen/Caerfyrddin

The Carmarthen Eisteddfod

The longer account of the Carmarthen eisteddfod of 1451 is in the hand of John Jones of

Gellilyfdy (see above under Grievances against the Council in the Marches); part of Peniarth MS 158B (including the shorter eisteddfod account) is in the hand of Robert ab Ifan of Brynsiencyn, Anglesey, and contains a wide variety of bardic materials, including bardic grammars and a copy of the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan, intended for his own use. The collection, therefore, is not in the strict sense antiquarian, even though it was made over a century after some of the texts in it. Robert wrote poetry to a variety of the Anglesey and Denbighshire gentry, including the Salusburys of Lleweni, Denbighshire.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 158B; 1587–early 17th c.; Welsh, Latin, and English; iv + 120 + viii; 205mm x 150mm; paginated; old vellum wrapper bound in at end, modern quarter-leather binding, title on spine: '68 Gramadegau, Cerddi, etc. Peniarth MS. 158B.' Pages 1–92 are in the hand of Robert ab Ifan and are dated 1587; pp 93–240 are in the hand of John Jones, early in his career, probably about 1599.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 267; 1635–41; Welsh, English, and Latin; paper; iv + 193 + x; 270mm x 215mm; original pagination; decorated with large initials, some the size of half the page; 17th-c. leather binding, paper label on spine: 'Miscellaneous Collection, Jones of Gellilyfdy. Hengwrt MS. 275,' paper label on front: 'Tales Odes Triades Proverbs - Valuable N 12' and in a later hand: '75 Brud y Sa(....)' The whole volume, containing a Welsh miscellany, triads, life of Gruffudd ap Cynan, etc, is written in the elegant hand of John Jones during his imprisonment in the Fleet Prison (1635–41).

The primary account of the 1451 eisteddfod in Peniarth MS 267 gives only the first lines of the poems; the full texts have been supplied from NLW MS 3039B.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 3039B (formerly Mostyn 131); 1605–8; Welsh; iv + 518 + iv; 200mm x 148mm; paginated 3–164, 1–874; rebound in 1959 incorporating old vellum cover, title on spine: 'LLYFR ENGLYNION GELLI LYFDI.' In the decorative hand of John Jones.

Letter from Timothy Tournier to the Lord President of the Council

Tournier is cited in the state papers as master of Chancery in 1639.²⁰

San Marino, California, Huntington Library, EL 7288; 11 September 1639; English; paper; 3 leaves (bifolium with a paste-in between); 300mm x 200mm (paste-in: 155mm x 190mm).

Llanelli

Bill of Complaint and Other Documents in Vaughan v. Bowen et al

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, STAC 8/287/22; 8 items made up of 24 numbered sheets of various sizes sewn together at upper left corner. Among the items not transcribed is item [5], a draft bill of complaint; the section relating to the play is too faded to be legible. The following are excerpted:

Item [1]; 3–5 December 1604; English and Latin; paper; booklet of 16 leaves; 325mm x 220mm; numbered 1–16. Contains examination of defendants.

Item [3]; undated; English; parchment; 2 single membranes attached serially; mb 1: 404mm x 205mm, mb 2: 530mm x 275mm; numbered 18–19. Contains interrogatories for defendants.

Item [4]; 26 November 1604; English; parchment; single sheet; 390mm x 260mm; numbered 20. Contains defendants' answer.

Item [7]; undated; English; parchment; single sheet; 917mm x 690mm; numbered 23. Contains bill of complaint. Possibly the work of multiple clerks; the character of the handwriting appears to change with 'as well invasyve' (p 95, l.2) and again with 'swordes & daggers' (p 100, l.41).

Item [8]; 18 January 1604/5; English and Latin; parchment; single sheet; 315mm x 280mm; numbered 24. Contains defendants' answer.

DENBIGHSHIRE/SIR DDINBYCH

Gruffudd Hiraethog's Bardic Licence

I have placed this document tentatively in Denbighshire. Although his career ranged widely throughout North Wales, Gruffudd Hiraethog was born in Llangollen, Denbighshire, and his principal patron was Dr Ellis Price of Plas Iolyn, Denbighshire. Gruffudd was both a poet and teacher of considerable reputation; the most distinguished graduates of the 1567 eisteddfod were his students.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 194A; 1545/6; Welsh; parchment; single sheet; 250mm x 205mm; place for 3 seals (missing) across bottom. Dorse contains the pedigree of Jesus Christ.

List of Vagabonds

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/1/2/36; October 1553; English; paper; single sheet (mounted on modern paper); 320mm x 210mm. Now item 36 in the first part of Gaol Files 4/1/2–4, a composite volume of three parts, made up of fifty-nine, forty-four, and forty-four such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 1 | 2–4.'

Rhys Cain's Cwrs Clera Accounts

The date of Rhys Cain's birth is not known but the christening of his daughter Ann is recorded in the Oswestry, Shropshire, parish register for 22 May 1579. The register also records two further children, as well as Rhys' own burial in May 1614. It is quite likely that Ann was not his first child since the birth of his eldest son, Siôn, is not recorded in the register and may well have occurred before the registers were regularly kept.²¹ Rhys kept this set of accounts

during his 'cwrs clera' or bardic itinerary sometime in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Much of his poetry was destroyed in a fire at the Wynnstay estate in 1859, although over 250 poems survive in other sources. The Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan (pp 159–65, 172–6) specifies how frequently a poet was permitted to undertake a bardic circuit, visiting a sequence of patrons in turn for a period of time. Rhys' itinerary was largely based in Flintshire, Denbighshire, and Shropshire with occasional forays into Merioneth and Montgomeryshire.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 178; 1574–1646; Welsh and English; paper; ii + 79 + iv; 158mm x 100mm; paginated 1–70 (pt i), 1–88 (pt ii); remains of vellum wrapper bound in, 19th-c. quarter-leather binding, title on spine: 'PENIARTH | MS. 178 | GENEALOGY | HENGWRT | MSS. | 376, 385.' Part ii is largely in the hands of Rhys Cain and his son Siôn Cain.

Abenbury

Defendant's Examination in Rogers v. David ap Roger et al

See under Llwyn-on (p cix) for TNA: PRO STAC 5/R21/7 item [1].

Abergele

Bonds and Licences to Keep an Alehouse

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/6/1/61; 27 January 1581/2; Latin and English; parchment; single sheet (mounted on modern paper); 720mm x 220mm. Now item 61 in the first part of Gaol Files 4/6/1–2, a composite volume of two parts, made up of sixty-four and ninety-five such items, respectively, and bound in reverse order in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 6 | 1–2.'

Cerrigellgwm

Inquiry into the Death of Richard ap Hugh

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/24/2/17; 5 January 1642/3; English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 305mm x 190mm; unnumbered. Now item 17 in the second part of Gaol Files 4/24/1–4, a composite volume of four parts, made up of sixty-four, twenty-seven, sixty-seven, and 109 such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 24 | 1–4.'

Denbigh

Denbigh Borough Minutes

Ruthin, Denbighshire Record Office; BD/A/1; 1597–1834; English; paper and parchment; iv + 343

+ iv; 350 mm x 200 mm; foliated 1–26, 26a, 27–106, 106a, 107–10, 110a, 111–32, 132a, 133, 133a, 134–41, 141a–b, 142–51, 151a, 152–80, 180a, 181–91, 191a, 192, 192a, 193–4, 194a–c, 195–6, 196a, 197–203, 203a, 204–8, 208a, 209–19, 219a–b, 220–1, 221a, 222–5, 225a, 226–34, 234a, 235–6, 236a, 237–320 (ff 246–85, 298–308 are blank), many inserts, largely smaller sheets of varying size, are designated a–c in foliation; modern rebinding of original 17th-c. tooled leather binding; remains of paper label on front cover: ‘An old (...)l(.) Record l belo(...)poration l of Denbi(.) l (No 2).’ The main text of the volume runs to 1715, but ff 243–5 contain entries for 9 September 1834, ‘in consequence of the Modern Council Book in use at the present day having been taken possession of with other Records by John Heaton Esquire calling himself Recorder of the said Borough who declined delivering up to the same for the purpose of Recording the proceedings of this Day’ (f 245).

Gelligynan

Inquiry into a Theft

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/6/5/52; 6 March 1583/4; English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 315mm x 207mm; unnumbered. Now item 52 of Gaol Files 4/6/5, a composite volume of 117 similar items, bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: ‘WALES l 4 l 6 l 5.’

Llandyrnog

Inquiry into the Death of Rhys ap John ap Robert

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/8/1/25; 24 August 1588; English and Latin; paper; single sheet (mounted on modern paper); 309mm x 209mm. Now item 25 of Gaol Files 4/8/1, a composite volume of 167 similar items, bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: ‘WALES l 4 l 8 l 1.’

Llanfwrrog

Dyffryn Clwyd Manor Court Roll

A very large number of court rolls from the lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd survive in the Public Record Office. The lordship was held by the Grey family throughout the period, though by the junior branch as a part of the lordship of Ruthin after 1323. The court rolls begin soon after the conquest in 1294 and continue until 1654. Although it has not been possible to search them exhaustively, such few references (largely to the ownership, breakage, or theft of musical instruments) as have come to light through the Dyffryn Clwyd calendar project at the Department of History, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, have been included.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, SC 2/217/14; 1348–9/50; Latin; parchment;

37 membranes; 140–825 mm x 295mm (height varies); modern numbering; dorse written from bottom; sewn at top with parchment cover.

Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant

Inquiry into the Death of Robert ap Thomas

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/17/5/34–7; 4 April 1623; English; paper; 4 sheets (mounted on modern paper); 300mm x 200mm; unnumbered; originally a booklet. Now items 34–7 of Gaol Files 4/17/5, a composite volume of 151 similar items, bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 17 | 5.'

Llwyn Knottia

Will of Magdalen Puleston

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, St Asaph Probate Records SA/1606/22W; 5 August 1606; English; paper; single sheet; 410mm x 300mm; water damage to lower half; probate (30 January 1606/7) on dorse. The inventory is SA/1606/22I.

Llwyn-on

The surviving documents in the case of Rogers v. David ap Roger et al are scattered. Each of the two sets of defendants' answers are individually catalogued, while the remaining documents consist of two items in a bundle of three unnumbered leaves sewn together at top left corner.

Defendants' Answers in Rogers v. David ap Roger et al

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, STAC 5/R10/8; 27 November 1597; English and Latin; parchment; single sheet; 235mm x 267mm.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, STAC 5/R10/32; 2 December 1597; English and Latin; parchment; single sheet; 247mm x 576mm.

Complainant's Interrogatories in Rogers v. David ap Roger et al

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, STAC 5/R21/7 item [2]; undated; English; parchment; single sheet; 385mm x 275mm.

Defendant's Examination in Rogers v. David ap Roger et al

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, STAC 5/R21/7 item [1]; 3 December 1597; English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves; 325mm x 210mm; unnumbered.

Maesmynan

Dyffryn Clwyd Manor Court Roll

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, SC 2/217/10; 23 November 1344–15 May 1345; Latin; parchment; 31 membranes; 325–810mm x 260mm (height varies); modern numbering; dorse written from bottom; sewn at top with parchment cover.

Nantglyn

Articles of Interrogation ex parte Robert Wynn against Hugh Jones

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/19/3/23; 1630; English and Latin; paper; 2 sheets (mounted on modern paper); 300mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now item 23 in the first part of Gaol Files 4/19/3–4, a composite volume of two parts, made up of 105 and sixty-nine such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 19 | 3–4.' Although this item is undated the ms as a whole contains records of the April–October 1630 sessions.

Rhosllannerchrugog

Examination of William David

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/17/5/32; 27 January 1622/3; English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 300mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now item 32 of Gaol Files 4/17/5, a composite volume made up of 151 such items and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 17 | 5.'

Ruthin

Dyffryn Clwyd Manor Court Roll

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, SC 2/217/12; 29 September 1346–20 May 1347; Latin; parchment; 30 membranes; 805–25mm x 295mm (height varies); modern numbering; dorse written from bottom; sewn at top with parchment cover.

Inquiry Concerning John ap Gruffudd, Yeoman

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/4/6/36; 1576; Latin; parchment; single membrane (mounted on modern paper); 45mm x 235mm. Now item 36 in the second part of Gaol Files 4/4/5–6, a composite volume of two parts, made up of fifty-seven and seventy-seven such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 4 | 5–6.' Although this document is undated the ms contains records of the August–October 1576 sessions.

Presentments for Idlers and Nightwalkers

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/16/4/75; 1617; English; paper; single sheet (mounted on modern paper); 300mm x 200mm. Now item 75 of Gaol Files 4/16/4, a composite volume made up of 145 such items and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 16 | 4.' Although this individual item is not dated the volume as a whole deals with the May 1617 sessions.

Sir James Whitelocke's *Liber Famelicus*

Sir James Whitelocke (1570–1632) was a student of the renowned educator Richard Mulcaster at the Merchant Taylors' School, London, where 'his care was also to encrease my skill in musique, in whiche I was brought up by dayly exercise in it, as in singing and playing upon instruments and yearly he presented sum playes to the court, in which his scholers wear only actors, and I on among them, and by that meanes taught them good behaviour and audacitye' (BL: Additional ms 53,725, f 11). Whitelocke entered St John's College, Oxford, in 1588 and was elected a fellow in 1589. From 1593 he studied law at the Middle Temple and was called to the bar in 1600. His autobiographical *Liber Famelicus* covers his life in considerable detail from 18 April 1609 until December 1631, six months before his death. Although he served as chief justice of Chester from 1620, was knighted in the same year, and was elevated to King's Bench in 1624, his life was not without troubles. He made many enemies at court, and in 1613 he spent a period of time in the Fleet Prison, ostensibly for his opposition to royal prerogative though as he says, 'Thear was no cawse expressed why I was committed' (BL: Additional ms 53,725, f 34). His Welsh connections were close and in May 1623 his daughter, Elizabeth, married Thomas, the son and heir of Sir Roger Mostyn of Mostyn Hall, Flintshire.

London, British Library, Additional ms 53,725; 1603–31; English and Latin; paper; 129 leaves; 215mm x 170mm; mid-19th c. foliation 1–129 (ff 98–129 blank), also contemporary pagination of ff 3–97v, 1–191; vellum wrapper.

Inquiry into the Death of William Lloyd

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/23/5/8–12; 6 July 1641; English and Latin; paper; 6 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 300mm x 200mm; unnumbered; originally a booklet. Now items 8–12 in the second part of Gaol Files 4/23/4–5, a composite volume of two parts, made up of 107 and seventy-eight such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 23 | 4–5.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/23/5/15; 1641; English; paper; single sheet (mounted on modern paper); 300mm x 200mm. Now item 15 in the second part of the same composite volume.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/23/5/16; 7 July 1641; English;

paper; single sheet (mounted on modern paper); 300mm x 200mm. Now item 16 in the second part of the same composite volume.

Wrexham

Complainant's Interrogatories in *Rogers v. David ap Roger et al*

See under Llwyn-on (p cix) for TNA: PRO STAC 5/R21/7 item [2].

Inquiry into the Death of Anne Wadsworth

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/23/1/20; 12 July 1639; English and Latin; paper; single sheet (mounted on modern paper); 300mm x 200mm. Now item 20 in the first part of Gaol Files 4/23/1–3, a composite volume of three parts, made up of eighty-four, seventy-eight, and fifty-nine such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 23 | 1–3.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/23/1/21; 13 July 1639; English and Latin; paper; single sheet (mounted on modern paper); 300mm x 200mm. Now item 21 in the first part of the same composite volume.

Ysbyty Ifan

Examinations of Rogues and Beggars

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/5/2/20; 1578; English and Latin; paper; single sheet (mounted on modern paper); 317mm x 207mm. Now item 20 in the second part of Gaol Files 4/5/1–2, a composite volume of two parts, made up of 100 and ninety-four such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 5 | 1–2.'

Brereton of Borrás Hall

The Brereton family of Borrás Hall, about three miles northeast of Wrexham, was prominent in Denbighshire politics through the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Owen Brereton served as high sheriff for the county in 1581 and 1588; his son Edward Brereton served as sheriff in 1598 but died before completing his term. His son Owen appears as one of the defendants in the Star Chamber case on pp 121–6. No Brereton served again as sheriff until 1678.

Angharad Llwyd (1780–1866) was the daughter of the rector of Caerwys and became a prominent antiquary, joining the London Cymmrodorion Society and winning eisteddfod prizes for historical and antiquarian essays. In 1827 she published an edition of Sir John Wynn's *History of the Gwydir Family*. She kept extensive notebooks on antiquarian matters; the collection is now in the National Library of Wales.²²

Christmas Games at Borras (A)

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 1559B; 17th–19th c.; English, Welsh, and Latin; paper; i + 524 + xiii; average dimensions 195mm x 160mm (several booklets of various sizes bound together); paginated; 19th-c. vellum binding, title on spine: 'CAERWYS MS. I VOL. VII.' Pages 655–845 consist of copies of poetry and miscellaneous documents from various sources made by the antiquary Angharad Llwyd in 1825.

Holland of Kinnel Park

David Holland's Probate Inventory

The principal manor of the Kinnel Park estate, Dinorben Fawr, had been leased from the Crown since at least 1534/5 and was purchased by David Holland in 1614.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 1545F; 20 February 1616/17; English; parchment; 6 membranes; 535–680mm x 290mm (height varies); unnumbered; sewn seriatim.

Myddelton of Chirk

Sir Thomas Myddelton's Household Accounts

Chirk Castle F12903 covers Sir Thomas Myddelton's journey back to Wales following his marriage in London. For the most part the remaining accounts listed here are concerned with construction and repairs around the Chirk estate, as well as with harvest expenses. During periods of work the entries are weekly but there are extensive gaps when no work is being done.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Chirk Castle F12903; 29 July 1612–6 June 1614, 1611–27; English; paper; 39 leaves (ff 22–37 blank); 310mm x 205mm; original foliation i, 1–10, xxviii; sewn, traces of paper wrapper.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Chirk Castle F12734; 7 August 1619–29 March 1623; English; paper; 22 leaves; 400mm x 158mm; unnumbered; bound in parchment cover (an indenture dated 20 September 1598).

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Chirk Castle F12548; 11 April 1646–18 June 1649; English; paper; 60 leaves; 385mm x 145mm; unnumbered; bound in parchment cover, leather ties. Folios [1] and [41–60] are blank.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Chirk Castle F12572; 11 January 1649/50–29 September

1655; English; paper; 128 leaves; 365mm x 155mm; unnumbered; bound in parchment cover, leather ties. Folios [116–28] are blank.

A Chirk Castle Masque

This masque has a curious history. It was first printed by John Payne Collier as an appendix to Peter Cunningham's *Inigo Jones*, pp 143–8. Collier gave it the title, 'Mask of the Four Seasons.' In order to fit the text into his theories about Inigo Jones, Collier none too carefully erased the date of 1634 on f 23v and claimed it must have been written for royal performance before 1612. Fortunately the date is still quite legible, and Cedric Brown has suggested that it was written in honour of John Egerton, second earl of Bridgwater, after his appointment as lord president of the Council in the Marches, just as Milton's *Comus* had been given to celebrate his taking residence in Ludlow on 29 September 1634. This is quite likely, since when H.J. Todd looked at it in 1799 the manuscript was in the Bridgwater library. Todd also recognized the annotation containing the masque's date and place of performance as being in John Egerton's hand.²³ Brown further suggests that the author of the masque may well have been Sir Thomas Salusbury, whose relations with the Myddelton family were very close. Sir Thomas Myddelton was godfather of one of Salusbury's sons, and Salusbury composed an entertainment for the marriage of the eldest Myddelton daughter. Salusbury wrote several other masques, all to be found in NLW: NLW MS 5390D (see pp 146–50), and the style of the Egerton MS 2623 masque is consistent with those.²⁴ The manuscript is a miscellaneous collection of documents of theatrical interest, assembled and bound by Collier, who appears to have supplied marginal annotations in pencil.

London, British Library, Egerton MS 2623, art. 13; 1634; English; paper; 4 leaves; 195mm x 148mm; unnumbered. Now foliated 20–3 and bound as one of fifty-one articles (ranging from late 15th to late 17th c.) of various sizes mounted in a uniform volume; 400mm x 295mm; foliated continuously 1–95; 19th-c. calf binding, title on spine: 'DRAMATIC | MISCELLANIES | M-S. | BRIT. MUS. | EGERTON | 2623 | FARNB.'

'An Antimasque of Gypsies'

The Salusbury Manuscript, the best-known of the Salusbury miscellanies, contains in addition to accounts and poems, the texts of several plays and masques by Sir Thomas Salusbury. Among these are three plays: one completed five-act play, 'Love or Money' (pp 69–109), and two incomplete plays (pp 59–67 and 337–78). Unlike the occasional masques there is no performance history for these plays and they are without question closet drama.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 5390D; first half of 17th c.; English, Welsh, and Latin; paper; 271 leaves; 283mm x 190mm; paginated (a smaller sheet is sewn to p 206; pp 334, 409–542 are written from the back, upside down); contemporary leather binding, remains of brass clasps, title on spine: 'N.L.W. MS. 5390D.'

Salesbury of Bachymbyd and Rûg

Sir Robert Salesbury's Probate Inventory

Sir Robert Salesbury died in 1599. It is not clear why his will was not probated until 1601.

San Marino, California, Huntington Library, EL 1782g; 15 June 1601; English and Latin; paper; single sheet; 340mm x 125mm.

Salusbury of Lleweni

The household of Sir John Salusbury kept several miscellaneous volumes of notes, medical recipes, Welsh and English poetry, genealogical and heraldic information, legal notes, and memoranda. These volumes also preserve occasional pages of household accounts.

Sir John Salusbury's Receiver's Accounts

Simon Thelwall, son of Richard Thelwall of Plas-y-ward, Denbighshire, acted as receiver for Sir John Salusbury while Sir John was chamberlain of North Wales.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynnstay ms 92; 1 May 1550–29 September 1556; Latin and English; paper; 128 leaves, many blank, with loose papers inserted at 71a, 77a, 82a, 84a, 85a, 87a; 307mm x 205mm; foliated; bound in rough parchment, 'Denbighshire & Flintshire 1555' on spine in an 18th-c. hand.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynnstay ms 159; 29 September 1554–29 September 1555; English and Latin; paper; 133 leaves; 305mm x 200mm; paginated; bound in rough parchment.

Sir John Salusbury's Household Accounts

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Lleweni ms 869; 8 January 1569/70; English; paper; 2 leaves; 305mm x 205mm; unnumbered.

Oxford, Christ Church Library, ms 184; 1570–1606; Welsh and English; paper; 326 leaves; 294mm x 200mm (f [58a]: 120mm x 110mm); foliated iii (modern), xi, 1–58, [58a], 59–302, viii; most folios are single sheets bound together, much of the poetry was originally folded and delivered as letters. Contains both poetry and accounts.

See also under Myddelton of Chirk (p cxiv) for a description of NLW: NLW MS 5390D.

Posies for a Christmas Masque

See above for a description of Oxford, Christ Church Library, ms 184.

List of Tunes

Bangor, University of Wales Library, ms Gwynedd 4; late 16th c.; Welsh and English; paper; vii + 191 + xii; 285mm x 195mm; paginated 1–130, 130[a]–148, 148[a]–307, 307[a]–332, 334–78; partial index of poets on opening flyleaves in 19th-c. hand; modern binding, title on spine: 'GWYNEDDON I MS. 4.'

List of Performers at Christmas

See above for a description of UWB: MS Gwynedd 4.

A Christmas Entertainment

See above for a description of Oxford, Christ Church Library, ms 184.

Wynn of Moeliwrch

Moeliwrch House Book

This household miscellany consists largely of Welsh verse, much of it in the hands of individual poets. The manuscript contains almost no dates; although a number of bards wrote their poems in praise of the Wynn family and their house of Moeliwrch, none dated his work.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 103D; c 1570; Welsh and English; paper; iv + 47 + iv; 315mm x 205mm; paginated; modern brown leather binding, title on spine: 'PENIARTH MS. 103D LLYFR MOELYRCH.'

FLINTSHIRE/SIR FFLINT

Inquiries Concerning Entertainers

These inquiries are a direct result of Edward VI's legislation concerning rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars, which was promulgated in 1547.²⁵

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/966/6/174; 1547; Latin; parchment; single membrane (mounted on modern paper); 70mm x 205mm. Now item 174 of Gaol Files 4/966/6, a composite volume made up of 197 such items and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES I 4 I 966 I 6.' Although this item is undated the book as a whole deals with the September 1547 sessions.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/966/6/175; 1547; Latin; parchment; single membrane (mounted on modern paper); 50mm x 280mm. Now item 175 of the same composite volume.

Englynion by Hywel Bangor

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 73; c 1621; Welsh; paper; iii + 113 + iii; 200mm x

150mm; foliated i–iii (remains of old paper label pasted on f ii), then paginated 1–226; modern red half-leather binding, title on spine: 'POETRY. | INTERLUDE. | ETC. | PENIARTH | MS. 73. | CIRCA 1621.' In addition to poetry the ms contains the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan and the Welsh Passion play.

Caerwys

Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan (1523)

The bardic constitution known as the 'Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan' survives in over seventy manuscripts, a significant number of them working copies in the hands of bards themselves, presumably to comply with the regulation that each bardic teacher have his own copy of the statute. All post-1600 manuscripts of the statute are antiquarian copies. Two versions of the statute are printed in the Records since revisions to the statute deriving from the 1523 eisteddfod were made around the time of the second (1567) eisteddfod, changing among other things the number of poems required for each bardic grade.²⁶ These two versions have been designated the 'earlier' and 'later' versions of the text. Choice of base texts has not been easy; for each version the most complete bardic copy nearest in date to the eisteddfod has been selected as base text. The earliest manuscript of the first version, Peniarth ms 127, was copied soon after the event but is fragmentary. The copy made by the Gwynedd bard Gruffudd Hiraethog in the 1540s (Peniarth ms 194A) seems to have been made from Peniarth ms 127 when it was complete, but it too is incomplete at the beginning. The earliest full text is that of BL: Additional ms 19,711, a roll previously thought to have been made for the 1523 eisteddfod.²⁷ This theory is untenable since the manuscript is clearly in the hand of the bard Wiliam Llŷn, who was born about 1534–5.²⁸ The manuscript is therefore unlikely to date from earlier than the mid-1550s. It does, however, incorporate the full text as represented by Peniarth mss 127 and 194A, and includes several sections that may have been added later. It is also a working bardic copy, rather than an antiquarian production. For these reasons BL: Additional ms 19,711 has been adopted for the earlier version of the statute. Four of the later manuscripts of this text conclude with a revision of the sections dealing with bardic remuneration and this revision has been printed separately under Bardic Schedule of Fees (p 165) and Bardic Schedule of Fees and Regulations (pp 166–7).

The later version of the statute is distinguished from the earlier version by significant changes to the requirements for the various bardic grades and appears to derive from the Caerwys eisteddfod of 1567.²⁹ Of the four pre-1600 manuscripts containing this text, only one, Peniarth ms 158, was copied by a bard, rather than an antiquary or scholar, and it has therefore been adopted as the base text.

There are some clear groupings among the pre-1600 manuscripts, although the internal direction that each bard carry his own copy of the statute has meant that there are wide divergences between many of the copies. Manuscript F appears to be a copy of A, made when A was more complete than it is now. Manuscripts C and D form a group with B; and H, K, and M are all very close. Not considered here are NLW: Peniarth ms 270, copied in the 1580s by the scholar Siôn Dafydd Rhys, and the version printed by Rhys as an appendix to his

grammatical text *Cambrobrytannicæ Cymraecæve Lingvæ Institutviones et Rvdimenta* (London, 1592; *STC*: 20966), 295–304. Rhys expanded the text as it appears in other manuscripts with an extensive commentary creating what is virtually a new text. I have noticed the copy Rhys made in 1579 of the later version of the text (NLW: Llanstephan MS 55) in discussing the manuscripts of that version (p cxx). The sigla follow those assigned by Graham C.G. Thomas for his forthcoming study of early Welsh prose.

London, British Library, Additional MS 19,711; c 1525–50; Welsh; parchment; 12 membranes serially attached; 35–735mm x 145mm (height varies); unnumbered. The roll contains only the statute. Each section begins with a crude decorative initial, the final section less decorative than the others. Two sections are decorated with line drawings of a peacock and a cat; many sections begin with a passage in red ink. All sections are divided by one or more lines in red. Membrane 2 begins with a heraldic shield of three lions passant on a red background. Assigned siglum 'B.'

The remaining pre-1600 manuscripts containing the earlier version of the statute are as follows (Thomas' sigla given in parentheses):

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 127 (A); c 1510–44. In the hand of Tomas ap Ieuan ap Deicws; also contains pedigrees, heraldic texts, saints' lives, and poetry.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 3025B (formerly Mostyn 78, recte 87) (C); 16th c. Contains only the statute.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 194A (D); 1545–6. Boxed with Gruffudd Hiraethog's bardic licence (see p cvi), the roll contains only the statute in the hand of Gruffudd Hiraethog.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 6434D (F); late 16th–early 17th c. The copy of the statute is in the hand of Ieuan Llwyd ab Edward ap Wiliam, written on 7 September 1577 (f 349); the MS also contains heraldic information, pedigrees, poetry, a computus, proverbs, and a chronicle.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 13,078E (G); late 16th or early 17th c. In addition to Welsh poetry and triads the MS contains two copies of the statute; the first copy (pp 73–7) is late 16th c., the second copy (pp 78–82) is 17th c.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 17,116B (H); 13th–16th c. Also contains lists of performers, devotional texts, pedigrees, and notes on music (see p lxxxvi).

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 86 (I); second half of 16th c. Written in a variety of hands, including those of Gruffudd Hiraethog and Simwnt Fychan, the MS also contains poetry, and prophetic and veterinary texts.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 168B (K); 1589–90. In the hand of Roger Morris of Coed-y-talwrn, Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd; the MS also contains chronicles and topographical texts.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 75 (L); second half of 16th c. Also contains poetry and pedigrees.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 147B (M); c 1566. Also contains topographical texts, 'Trystan ac Epyllt,' pedigrees, and heraldic texts.

Bardic Schedule of Fees

The large number of sixteenth-century copies of the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan is directly attributable to the requirement voiced in it that each professional poet or musician carry his own copy of the text. Since the early version of the statute itself contained only a rough outline of the fees a practitioner should expect to receive, many of these bardic copies include a fuller schedule of fees for specific occasions.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan ms 195; c 1570; Welsh; paper with parchment flyleaves; ii + 168 + ii; 295mm x 195mm; foliated i–ii, then paginated 1–60, 67–206, 211–78, 283–6, 293–358; bound in oak boards and sheepskin, paper label on front cover: 'A chr(…)icle of the Kings of England and wa(…) some of the (…) Welsh.' The parchment flyleaves are from a 14th-c. lectionary. In addition to the statute the manuscript contains pedigrees, poetry, and a copy of the *Brut y Tywysogion*. Assigned siglum 'E.'

Bardic Schedule of Fees and Regulations

Rhisiart Phylip's copy of the statute also includes a further elaboration of regulations in addition to expanded information on fees.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 155B; c 1585; Welsh; paper; vi + 302 + iv; 200mm x 145mm; paginated i–v, 1–302 (pp 2–169 date from 1561–2, pp 170–220, c 1565, and pp 225–302 date from 17th c.); 20th-c. half-leather binding, title on spine: 'LLYFR | RICHARD PHILIP | O BICTWN | PENIARTH MS. | 155B | LLYFRGELL | CYMRU.' The manuscript is in the hand of Rhisiart Phylip of Picton, Pembrokeshire, dated 1585 (p 11); it also contains poetry, proverbs, and a lapidary. Assigned siglum 'J.'

List of Licensed Musicians and Poets

See under Principality of Wales, List of Notable Crwth Players, Harpers, and Poets (p lxxxvi), for NLW: NLW MS 17,116B.

Royal Commission to Hold an Eisteddfod

The text of the commission is now known only from antiquarian transcriptions, since the original was lost for many years after it was copied by J. Gwenogvryn Evans at the end of the last century. It was certainly at Mostyn Hall in 1747 (the copy made at that time is now

NLW: Mostyn 165, p 486), but Edward Parry reported in his *Cambrian Mirror, or A New Tourist's Companion through North Wales* (Chester, 1843), n 22, that the 'silver harp presented by Queen Elizabeth to Mr. Mostyn's ancestors is still preserved at his mansion, and the original commission was also to be seen there, until within these few years, when it was clandestinely taken away.' The commission was not at Mostyn Hall when both D.J. Bowen and Gerallt Harries tried to see it in the early 1950s. The manuscript surfaced again briefly in 1974. At this time it was bound inside the back cover of a copy of David Powel's *Historie of Cambria* (London, 1584; *src*: 4606), which was sold as item 298 in the sale of books and manuscripts from the Mostyn library at Christie's on 10 October 1974. Efforts to trace its subsequent history have not been successful.

J. Gwenogvryn Evans (ed), *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, vol 1, pt 1, *The Welsh Manuscripts of Lord Mostyn, at Mostyn Hall, co. Flint*, The Historical Manuscripts Commission (London, 1898), 293–5.

Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan (1567)

For information on the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan (1567), see under the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan (1523) (pp cxvii–cxviii).

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 158B; late 16th c.; Welsh, English, and Latin; iv + 120 + viii; 202mm x 150mm; paginated 1–247 (243–6 are the old vellum covers); modern half-leather binding, title on spine: 'GRAMADEGAU, | CERDDI, | ETC. | PENIARTH | MS. | 158B | LLYFRGELL | CYMRU.' In addition to the statute the manuscript contains poetry, grammatical texts, mathematical texts, card-playing rules, and medical recipes. Assigned siglum 'Q.'

Other pre-1600 copies of the later version of the statute are as follows (Thomas' sigla given in parentheses):

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 77 (O); c 1576. In the hand of Sir Thomas Wiliems, dated 1576 on p 1; also contains Welsh poetry.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan ms 55 (P); 1579. Mostly in the hand of Siôn Dafydd Rhys; also contains poetry, a Welsh translation of the Book of Genesis, and grammatical texts.

List of Eisteddfod Graduates

A list of the graduates in each degree and category from the 1567 eisteddfod survives in several manuscripts. As with all the ancillary documents deriving from the eisteddfodau of 1523 and 1567 I have only edited those copied before 1600; for a discussion of the reasons for this limitation and the editorial procedures followed, see pp cxvii–cxviii. As Dafydd Bowen has shown all the later antiquarian copies of the list of graduates from the 1567 meeting derive from the two surviving sixteenth-century copies – Version A, or Peniarth ms 132B, and Version B, or

NLW MS 872D – though there are major differences between these two. With this in mind I have followed Bowen's lead in editing both lists, since there is no way to establish any precedence between them.³⁰

Other manuscripts containing Version A of this list are Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 144B (17th c.); Peniarth ms 121D (1611–1716; known as 'The Book of Richard ap John of Scorlegan'); NLW MS 1578B (14th–19th c.; various booklets bound together); British Library, Additional ms 14,991 (a composite of Rhys Jones' *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru* (Shrewsbury, 1773) and a manuscript containing Welsh poetry in a late eighteenth-century hand); and British Library, Additional ms 15,086 (18th c.).

A copy of Version B of this list is also contained in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 21,700D (second quarter of the seventeenth century).

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 132B; 1540–77; Welsh; paper; v + 167 + iv; 210mm x 153mm (pp 1–2: 408mm x 307mm folded in 4, pp 223–30: 195mm x 138mm); paginated 1–334; 19th-c. leather binding, title on spine: 'ACHAU | M. H. L. | HENGWRT MS. | 436 | PENIARTH MS. | 132B.' The manuscript is largely in the hands of the bards Lewys Morgannwg, Gruffudd Hiraethog, and Wiliam Llŷn, though pp 59–63 are in a different unidentified hand. The bulk of the manuscript is Welsh pedigrees.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 872D (formerly Wrexham 1); late 16th and early 17th c.; Welsh and English; paper; v + 240 + v; 290mm x 185mm; paginated 1–390, 395–484; bound in oak boards and sheepskin, title on spine: 'LLYFR | JOHN BROOKE | O VOWDDWY. | ADD. MS | 872 D | LLYFRGELL | CYMRU.' Pages 1–406 are in the hand of John Brooke of Mawddwy, Merioneth, written in 1590–1 (pp 258, 296); most of the rest is in the hand of Dr John Davies of Mallwyd, Merioneth, written in the first half of the seventeenth century. In addition to the list of graduates the manuscript contains poetry, pedigrees, a list of Welsh parishes, medical texts, and two abridged copies of the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan, one in the hand of each of the scribes.

Simwnt Fychan's Bardic Licence (A)

Simwnt Fychan was a pupil of Gruffudd Hiraethog, whose bardic licence also survives (see pp 105–6). In addition to this copy of his licence, made by William Maurice of Cefn-y-braich, Denbighshire, in 1637 from a copy at the Plas-y-ward estate in Denbighshire, his name also appears in the list of graduates of the 1567 eisteddfod (see p 177, l.18 and p 179, l.35). A large corpus of his poetry survives but has not been edited. Biographical information on the twelve signatories to the licence, as well as on Simwnt himself, is given in the endnote to NLW: Peniarth ms 132B pp 59–63 (pp 428–30).

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynnstay ms 10; c 1650–80; Welsh, Latin, and English; paper; 537 leaves; 312mm x 200mm; foliated i–xi, 1–190, 190a–275, with 250 unfoliated blank leaves; contemporary rough calf binding, 2 paper labels on spine: 'Mic^ra | rçium' and 'Man | gofion.' The manuscript is a miscellany written for and by William Maurice of Llansilin (fl. 1640–80).

Will of James Eaton, Crwth Player

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, St Asaph Probate Records 1569/R.2; 29 April–20 February 1575/6; English; paper; ii + 291 + iii; 370mm x 245mm; contemporary foliation 1–291; maroon quarter-leather binding, title on spine: 'PROBATE RECORDS | St. ASAPH DIOCESE | COPIES OF WILLS | 1570–1575/6 | R2.'

Bardic Schedule of Fees

Some copies of the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan include further elaboration of the appropriate fee structure for the various levels of bardic training and achievement; usually these are working copies in the hands of professional bards. Although the hand of BL: Additional ms 15,038 cannot be identified (although the same hand appears in NLW: MS Mostyn 159), that is likely to be the case here as well.

London, British Library, Additional ms 15,038; c 1575; Welsh with later English marginal notes; paper; vi + 154 + iv; 204mm x 155mm; foliated 1–154; modern half-leather binding, title on spine: 'MYVYRIAN | MSS. | PRESENTED BY THE | CYMMRODORION | SOCIETY | PROSE | NO. | XXVII | BRITISH LIBRARY | ADDITIONAL MS. | 15038.' In addition to the statute the manuscript contains Welsh poetry and prose, the Welsh Passion play, and a fragment of the Nativity play. Assigned siglum 'N.'

Examinations Concerning a Disturbance

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/974/6/55; 13 November 1605; English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 310mm x 195mm; unnumbered. Now item 55 in the third part of Gaol Files 4/974/4–6, a composite volume of three parts, made up of forty-three, sixty-six, and seventy-four such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 974 | 4–6.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/976/4/37; 3 July 1612; English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 310mm x 195mm; unnumbered. Now item 37 in the second part of Gaol Files 4/976/3–4, a composite volume of two booklets, made up of seventy-three and eighty-nine such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 976 | 3–4.'

Flint

Complaint at the Flint Assizes

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/976/1/51; 9–10 April 1611; English; paper; 2 leaves (former bifolium, second leaf blank) mounted on modern paper; 310mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now item 51 in the first part of Gaol Files 4/976/1–2, a composite volume of two parts, made up of seventy-seven and eighty-two such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 976 | 1–2.'

Presentment for an Assault

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/978/7/22; 1624; English and Latin; paper; single sheet (mounted on modern paper); 125mm x 200mm. Now item 22 in the fourth part of Gaol Files 4/978/5–7, a composite volume of four parts made up of sixty-nine, five, sixty-nine, and seventy such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 976 | 5–7.' Although this item is undated, 4/978/7 deals with the sessions of October 1624.

Hanmer

Chester Episcopal Visitation Book

A small number of Flintshire parishes were subject to the diocese of Chester, and their visitation records appear in the diocesan archives.

Chester, Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies, EDV 1/10; 1592; English and Latin; paper; 179 leaves; 306mm x 206mm; modern pencil foliation; paper booklets bound together with parchment strings, some loose documents pinned to leaves, modern cardboard wrappers attached by string, label on front wrapper: 'Bishop of Chester's Visitation for 1592 With a few cases of public morals for 1593 & 1594 W. F. Irvine,' title on spine: '1592 Bishop's Visitation Book.'

Hawarden/Penarlâg

Examinations into the Death of John Thornton

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/975/1/1–2; 19 October 1607; English and Latin; paper; original bifolium (now 2 leaves mounted on modern paper); 310mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now items 1 and 2 in the first part of Gaol Files 4/975/1–2, a composite volume of two parts, made up of ninety-four and sixty-five such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 975 | 1–2.'

Churchwardens' Presentments for Vicar's Peculiar

The parish of Hawarden was a peculiar of the vicar of Hawarden with its own consistory court.

Hawarden, Flintshire Record Office, D/BJ/2/10; 20 July 1638; English; paper; 2 leaves; 302mm x 200mm; unnumbered.

Consistory Court Acts for Vicar's Peculiar

Hawarden, Flintshire Record Office, D/BJ/1/15; 2 August 1638; Latin and English; paper; 5 leaves; leaves 1–4: 302mm x 200mm, leaf 5: 200mm x 150mm; unnumbered.

Holywell/Treffynnon

Examination of Richard Holland

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, CHES 24/114/2; 27 July 1617; English; paper; single sheet; 160mm x 207mm (text: 95mm x 170mm); attached with thong to other documents in roll.

Chester Great Sessions Crown Book

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, CHES 21/3; 1617–31; Latin and English; paper; ii + 374 + ii; 305mm x 185mm (text area variable); modern pencil foliation; some enlarged headings; some repairs; booklets gathered together in parchment and board binding, no title except PRO numbers.

Examinations Concerning a Theft

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/22/3/32; 19 March 1636/7; English; paper; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 300mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now item 32 in the second part of Gaol Files 4/22/2–3, a composite volume of two parts, made up of sixty and 110 such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 22 | 2–3.'

Penley/Llannerch Banna

Chester Consistory Court Depositions

Penley, Flintshire, was in the parish of Ellesmere, Shropshire, which was subject to the jurisdiction of the Chester consistory court.

Chester, Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies, EDC 2/9; 1570–4; English and Latin; paper; vi + 354, including damaged booklet at end (foliation lost) dated January–February 1573; 307mm x 200mm; modern pagination (errors); paper booklets bound together at spine, no outer binding surviving. Flyleaves have an early 20th-c. list of contents.

*Penrhyn*John Leland's *Itinerary*

In 1533 Leland was commissioned by Henry VIII to survey the monastic and collegiate libraries of England and Wales; after the Dissolution this position morphed none too subtly, and Leland became the principal collector of books for the Royal Library. His travels over the course of ten or eleven years covered England from Glastonbury to York; between 1536 and 1539 he also travelled widely in Wales, visiting every county except Anglesey. He kept extensive notes on his travels, commenting on people, towns, and architecture.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Top. gen. e. 12; 1539–42; English; paper; i + 123; 218mm x 161mm; foliated 1–123; modern leather binding, title on spine: 'LELAND'S | ITINERARY | VOL | V. | MS | Top. | gen. | e 12.'

Tallarn Green

Examinations Concerning an Assault

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/974/8/68; 17 August 1608; English and Latin; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 310mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now item 68 in the second part of Gaol Files 4/974/7–8, a composite volume of two parts, made up of ninety and eighty-five such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 974 | 7–8.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/974/8/69; 28 September 1608; English and Latin; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 310mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now item 69 in the second part of the same composite volume.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/974/8/70; 1608; English; 2 leaves (second blank, mounted on modern paper); 310mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now item 70 in the second part of the same composite volume.

Banks of St Asaph

Thomas Banks became dean of St Asaph on 18 December 1587, having held a position as canon from 1585. He held preferments (largely sinecures) in Caerwys, Flintshire (1582–4), Pennant Melangell, Montgomeryshire (1583–8), Llangwm, Denbighshire (1583–5), Llansanffraid-ym-Mechain, Montgomeryshire (1585–1600), and Llandrillo-yn-Edeirnion, Merioneth (1600–34). He died on 31 July 1634 at his house in the township of Talar, Flintshire.

Inventory of Thomas Banks, Dean of St Asaph

London, British Library, Additional ms 14,919; 17th c.; Welsh and English; paper; vi + 150 + vi; 190mm x 155mm; foliated 1–150; 19th-c. cloth binding, title on spine: 'WELSH | PEDIGREES | PRESENTED | BY THE | GOVERNORS | OF THE | WELSH SCHOOL. | BRIT. MUS. | ADDITIONAL | MS. | 14,919.'

Mostyn of Mostyn Hall

Letter from Sir Roger Mostyn to Sir John Wynn

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Wynn of Gwydir papers, NLW Additional ms 466E; 16 February

1613/14; English; paper; 3 leaves; 305mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now numbered as 642 and bound together with 100 other items dated 1611–25 in modern full-leather binding, title on spine: 'Wynn of Gwydir Papers | (Sir John Williams Group) | N.L.W. MS. 466E | 1611–1625.' The third leaf contains a list of estimated expenses at the St Asaph school.

GLAMORGAN/SIR FORGANNWG

Siôn Mawddwy's Letter to Meurig Dafydd (AC)

The bard Siôn Mawddwy probably was born in Merioneth if his cognomen is derived from the commote of Mawddwy in the eastern part of the county. He composed poetry to members of the aristocracy in both North and South Wales, though it is clear he spent much of his time in Glamorgan. His name does not appear in the list of graduates from the 1567 eisteddfod, but since most of his surviving poetry dates between 1575 and 1613, he may have been too young at the time. The object of his venom, Meurig Dafydd (c 1510–95), was born at Llanisien, Glamorgan. Much of his career was spent as household bard to the Lewis family of Van, Caerphilly, Glamorgan, but he wrote poetry to other Glamorgan families as well. About forty-five of his poems survive, largely in his own hand and principally in NLW: NLW ms 13,066B, most of them written between 1580 and 1593. A considerable amount of Siôn Mawddwy's poetry survives in a variety of manuscripts, principally in the National Library of Wales.

London, British Library, Additional ms 14,886; 1643–7; Welsh and English; paper; v + 82 + iv; 190mm x 138mm; foliated 1–82; modern half-leather binding, title on spine: 'CYWYDDAU | PRESENTED BY | THE GOVERNORS | OF THE WELSH | SCHOOL | BRITISH LIBRARY | ADDITIONAL MS. | 14886.' The volume is a miscellany of notes and Welsh poetry. It was transcribed by David Williams and owned by the antiquary Lewis Morris of Caergybi, Anglesey, in 1730 (f 1).

Cardiff/Caerdydd

Edward Collins' Probate Inventory

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llandaff Probate Records LL/1637/6I; English; paper; bifolium; 406mm x 159mm. The will is LL/1637/6W and the bond is LL/1637/6B.

William Gamage's Probate Inventory

William Gamage of the parish of St John's, Cardiff, was a farmer, as is clearly indicated by his probate inventory, which includes a total of fourteen acres under cultivation in wheat, peas, beans, barley, and oats, as well as a total of twenty-eight cattle, five horses, and sixty-nine sheep. The harp listed here is not mentioned in his will but was bequeathed to his wife, Elizabeth, along with the remainder of his goods.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llandaff Probate Records LL/1643/15; 15 June 1643; English; paper; single sheet; 385mm x 153mm. LL/1643/15 also includes a bifolium containing Gamage's will.

Llandaff

Anecdote of Sils ap Siôn

The ecclesiastical manor of Llandaff was the site of the cathedral and the diocesan centre. The Glamorgan bard Sils ap Siôn flourished in the late sixteenth century, writing most of his poetry to William Evans, chancellor of the diocese. This manuscript is the principal source for his work, containing all but two of his thirteen poems.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 13,068B (previously Llanover B6); c 1586–97; Welsh, Latin, and English; paper; ii + 94 + v; 197mm x 145mm; foliated 1–94; old vellum cover bound in at back, modern half-vellum binding, title on spine: 'GWAITH I SILES I AP SION I AC EREILL I LLANOVER I MS. B6. I N.L.W. MS. I 13068B.'

St Hilary

Sir John Stradling's 'Storie of the Lower Borowes'

Sir John Stradling intended his narrative as a record of the long-standing dispute over the seaside marshes near the Merthyr Mawr property of his relative Sir Edward Stradling and his neighbour Griffith Williams. The writing of the 'Storie' was begun shortly after John was designated as heir by the childless Sir Edward. The original version (described below) was written between 2 and 6 April 1598; an augmented version was completed on 1 March 1601/2.

Merthyr Mawr House, Merthyr Mawr, Mid-Glamorgan, private collection of Mr and Mrs Murray McLaggan; 1598; English; paper; 21 leaves; 199mm x 147mm; modern foliation; original vellum wrapper, title on front cover: 'Merthirmawr Lower borowes I Merthir Mawr Tryal I ath Lower Borowes I Between Sir Ed. Stradling I & sir Wm Herbert of Swansey I 1598 I given by Mr Wm Humphreys 2 ffeb 1779.' Inside the front cover is the bookplate of John Cole Nicholl. The ms is in a modern slipcase with the 1601/2 version, title on the spine of the slipcase: 'TRIAL I ABOUT LOWER I BURROWS I AT I MERTHYR I MAWR I M.S.S. 1598 &c.' A photographic facsimile is in the National Library of Wales: NLW MS 3078C.

Swansea/Abertawe

Common Attorneys' Accounts

Swansea's common attorneys were appointed by the portreeve and aldermen, and were in charge of the town's financial affairs. They rendered their accounts each Michaelmas.

Swansea, West Glamorgan Archive Service, B/S Corp C 1; September 1617–September 1635; English; paper; iv + 178 + iii; 305mm x 195mm (mounted on 400mm x 275mm sheets); paginated; modern leather binding, title on spine: ‘Common Attorney’s Accounts 1617 to 1635.’

Herbert of Cogan Pill

The Glamorgan Herbert family was both widespread and influential, especially after 1468 when William Herbert became the twentieth earl of Pembroke. The Cogan Pill branch of the family was descended from Richard, the youngest of the earl’s four sons. William Herbert (d. 1628) served as MP for Cardiff in 1621; an extensive series of letters to him is in the National Library of Wales, Bute L2/1–145 and L3/1–86.³¹ The inventory is undated but NLW: Bute D 260/5 is a bill of charges for William Herbert’s funeral submitted to his wife Blanche. It is dated 18 November 1630.

William Herbert’s Probate Inventory

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Bute D 260/6; November 1630; English; parchment; 2 membranes sewn at top; mb i: 680mm x 155mm, mb ii: 620mm x 155mm; numbered i–ii.

Stradling of St Donat’s Castle

Sir Arthur Bassett was the son of John Bassett of Umberleigh and Heanton, Devon. Bassett fought in Holland with the English auxiliary force led by the earl of Leicester in 1585 and died the following year. The manuscript from which Traherne edited this letter appears to have been lost. Traherne notes that he borrowed it from its owner, Charles George Young, York herald; a letter from Young to Traherne of 21 October 1836 makes it clear that Traherne did not do the transcriptions himself, since Young notes that he has ‘submitted the manuscript to a person competent to transcribe it.’³²

Letter from Arthur Bassett to Sir Edward Stradling (A)

Stradling Correspondence: A Series of Letters written in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; with notices of the family of Stradling of St. Donat’s Castle, Co. Glamorgan, John Montgomery Traherne (ed) (London, 1840).

MERIONETH/SIR FEIRIONNYDD

Lloyd of Rhiwedog

The wedding of Wiliam, the eldest son of Elisau ap Wiliam Lloyd to Elizabeth verch Owen ap Siôn ap Howell Vaughan of Llwydiarth, Montgomeryshire, attracted an extraordinary number of poets, including Gruffudd Hiraethog and several of his pupils who performed a ‘cyff cler,’ in effect, an impromptu roast of their mentor.

Poetry at a Wedding Feast

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 81; late 16th c.; Welsh; paper; iv + 89 + iv; 210mm x 165mm; foliated i–iii (1 unfoliated sheet at beginning), paginated 1–178; modern half-leather binding, title on spine: 'BARDD- | ONIAETH | PEN. MS. | 81 B.' The manuscript consists largely of poetry to members of the Lloyd family.

MONMOUTHSHIRE/SIR FYNWY

Abergavenny/Y Fenni

Episcopal Register of Adam Orleton

Adam Orleton was consecrated bishop of Hereford on 22 May 1317 and was translated to Worcester on 25 September 1327. His episcopate was anything but quiet; his appointment was contrary to the wishes of Edward II and his ten years at Hereford were notable for an almost continual feud with the king. Following Queen Isabella's return from France in 1326 Orleton became an important member of her party and on 13 January 1326/7 he preached in London on the king's 'stupidities and puerilities as well as the misfortunes which emanated from them.'³³

Hereford, Herefordshire Record Office, AL 19/3; 1317–27; Latin; parchment; i + 107 + i; 290mm x 195mm; foliated 1–107; tooled leather binding, title on spine: 'III | REGISTRUM ADE DE ORLETON,' paper label on spine: '1317 | -to- | 1327 Orleton.'

Depositions Concerning the Church Bells

These depositions were taken by the ecclesiastical commissioners as evidence that the bells hung in Abergavenny Priory had been paid for by the parishioners, not by the priory, and were therefore safe from confiscation. The priory church had served as the parish church through the Middle Ages.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, E 315/117; 1537; English; paper; 3 sheets; sheet [1]: 285mm x 208mm, sheet [2]: 295mm x 268mm, sheet [3]: 285mm x 215mm; unnumbered; originally a booklet. Now foliated 17–19 and bound up with other loose documents, largely interrogatories and depositions before the Court of Augmentations, in a composite ms, in leather binding, title on spine: 'E 315 | 117.'

Caerleon

Gerald of Wales' *Itinerarium Kambriae*

See under Principality of Wales (pp lxxiii–lxxx).

Dixton Newton

The large collection of consistory court books now in the Herefordshire Record Office is dominated by the 174 volumes of Acts of Office, which document cases brought against individuals by the court. The earlier volumes contain court reports for the whole diocese; later volumes are separated into archdeaconries. Some of the volumes are in excellent condition but a few have disintegrated so far that they can no longer be searched.

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office

Hereford, Herefordshire Record Office, HD4/1/177; 1618–20; Latin and English; paper; 397 leaves; 308mm x 190mm; unfoliated; contemporary vellum binding, labelled '*Detecta in sessione generali domini episcopi herefordie Annis domini 1618 et 1619.*'

Monmouth/Trefynwy

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office

Hereford, Herefordshire Record Office, HD4/1/172; 1621; Latin and English; paper; 222 leaves; 320mm x 200mm; unfoliated; remains of vellum binding and cloth ties, disbound and in poor condition.

*Newport/Casnewydd-ar-Wŷsg*Gerald of Wales' *Itinerarium Kambriae*

See under Principality of Wales (pp lxxiii–lxxx).

Morgan of Pen-coed

Interrogatories and Depositions in Morgan v. Sotherton et al

This series of Chancery documents deals with a dispute concerning the estates of Grace Morgan of Pontypool, Monmouthshire, widow of Henry Morgan of Pen-coed, and Lady Anne Morgan, widow of Sir John Morgan of Pen-coed. The complainant was Sir Edmund Morgan; the suit principally concerned the estate known as Bishopsmead in the parish of Bishopston, Monmouthshire. The plaintiff, Sir Edmund Morgan, accuses the defendants (John Sotherton, baron of the Exchequer, his wife Elizabeth, Sir Edward Randall, his wife Anne, Edward Morgan, Robert Jones, his wife Faith, Eusebius Isham, and Brigit Edwards) of attempting to hinder the execution of the will of Anne Morgan, the second wife of Sir John Morgan, who was knighted by the earl of Essex at the siege of Cadiz in June 1596.

Although Sir John's principal residence was at Chilworth, Surrey, Anne's will, proved on 26 June 1619, shows that she kept the house at Pen-coed and much of her property remained there. Henry and Grace Morgan were her parents; her father died early before 1583, her mother lived until 1622 and was one of the witnesses to her will. Sir Edmund Morgan was a distant relative, whose estate was at Pen-how, Monmouthshire. He served as MP for the county in 1621/2; his will was proved in 1654/5.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, C 21/M1/1; 1625; English; parchment; 4 membranes; 630–45mm x 275mm (height varies); unnumbered; pinned at top.

Powell of Llan-pill and Llan-soe

Sir William Powell's Accounts

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Badminton Deeds 1211 [Group 1]; 1608; English; paper; 3 leaves; 280mm x 170mm; unfoliated; sewn at top left corner.

Sir William Powell's Funeral Expenses

Although there is no date on this document Powell's will is dated 4 October 1611 and the probate inventory is dated 14 October 1611 (NLW: Badminton Deeds 1234–5).

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Badminton Deeds 1251; [October 1611]; English; paper; single sheet; 166mm x 98mm; only 1 side written on.

MONTGOMERYSHIRE/SIR DREFALDWYN

Burgedin

Inquiry into the Death of Humphry Curton

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/135/1/9–13; 8 November 1591; English; paper; 6 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 300mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now items 9, 9A, 10–13 in Gaol Files 4/135/1, a composite volume made up of 209 such items and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'Wales | 4 | 135 | 1.'

Buttington/Tal-y-Bont

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office

See under Dixon Newton (p cxxx) for HRO: HD4/1/177.

Bwlchycibau

Inquiry Concerning Assaults at a Morris Dance

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/154/2/23–7; 25–7 June 1653; English; paper; 7 sheets (mounted on modern paper); 310mm x 200mm; unnumbered; apparently originally a single booklet, now misordered with 2 items bound in reversed. Now items 23–7 in Gaol Files 4/154/2, a composite volume made up of sixty-one such items and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 154 | 2.'

Caersŵs

Presentment Concerning a Morris Dance

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/154/2/39; 10 September 1653; English and Latin; paper; bifolium (mounted on modern paper); 305mm x 195mm; unnumbered. Now item 39 in the composite volume Gaol Files 4/154/2, described under *Bwlchycibau* above.

Churchstoke/Yr Ystog

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office

Hereford, Herefordshire Record Office, HD4/1/155; 1588–9; Latin and English; paper; 290 leaves; 305mm x 212mm; unnumbered; contemporary vellum binding, remains of leather strap and buckle.

Hyssington

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office

Hereford, Herefordshire Record Office, HD4/1/213; 1604–6; Latin and English; paper; 164 leaves; 290mm x 195mm; foliated 1–163 (1 unfoliated sheet at beginning); vellum binding with cloth ties, spine deteriorated.

Llanfyllin

Complaint in Lloyd v. Porter

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Prothonotary Papers 13/10/15/[57]; 1582; Latin, English, and Welsh; paper; 2 leaves; 310mm x 200mm; unnumbered; pinned together at top left. Now item [57] in Prothonotary Papers 13/10/15, a composite volume made up of seventy-three unnumbered items and threaded on string, title on paper label pinned to top of file: 'Montgomery | Papers | 24 Elizabeth | GREAT SESSIONS 13/10/15.'

Llangurig

Court in the Marches of Wales, List of Fines

See under Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn (p civ) for BL: Harley MS 4220.

Llanidloes

Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd's Poem to a Maypole

Gruffudd flourished *c* 1340–70; he was a native of Powys Wenwynwyn and a friend of Dafydd ap Gwilym, who wrote a 'marwnad' (elegy) following his death at Dolgellau, killed by a friend's sword. He is buried there. Only five of his poems survive. The text of his maypole poem only survives in seventeenth-century copies, of which Peniarth ms 98A is the best and was used by Sir Ifor Williams as the base text for his edition in Ifor Williams and Thomas Roberts, *Cywyddau Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr* (Cardiff, 1935), 113–15.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 98A; 1620–30; Welsh; paper; viii + 101 + xi (includes 6 printed sheets); 205mm x 150mm; in 2 parts: pt i foliated i–viii, then paginated 1–86, pt ii paginated 1–98 (pp 1–29 interleaved with unnumbered modern paper); 19th-c. vellum binding, title on spine: 'PENIARTH | MS. 98. | HENGWRT MSS | 167, 479.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Brogyntyn ms 2; 1599; Welsh; paper; ii + 570 + ii; 285mm x 190mm; foliated 1–569 (unfoliated leaf at end); contemporary tooled leather binding, title on spine: 'BRITISH | POETRIE | MS. | PORKINGTON | MANUSCRIPT | No 3.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 97; *c* 1605–18; Welsh; paper (f iii is contemporary leather front cover, ff 331–2 a contemporary leather back cover); iv + 206 + ii; 190mm x 125mm; foliated i–iv, 1–332 (ff 1–78 interleaved with modern paper); 19th-c. vellum binding, title on spine: 'PENIARTH | MS. 97 | HENGWRT | MS. 366.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Cwrtmawr ms 27; 1630; Welsh; paper; ii + 238 + ii; 395mm x 145mm; paginated i–xiv, 1–247, 247b, 248–476; loose papers slipped in between pp xii–xiii, xiii–xiv; remains of old leather binding pasted inside back cover, 18th-c. pigskin binding in dark green, title on spine: 'LLYFR. | DAUID ELIS. | 1630.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan ms 53; *c* 1647; Welsh; paper; ii + 271 + ii; 190mm x 150mm; foliated i–ii, then paginated 1–542; quarter-leather binding with marbled paper, title on spine: 'WELSH | POEMS.' Pages 1–498 are in the hand of James Dwnn.

London, British Library, Additional ms 10,313; 17th c.; Welsh; paper; v + 237 + iii; 160mm x 122mm; foliated i–ii, 1–235 (1 unfoliated sheet between ff 7 and 8); modern half-leather binding, title on spine: 'POEMS | IN WELSH | BRITISH LIBRARY | ADDITIONAL MS. | 10313.'

See also under Cardigan (p ci) for NLW: NLW MS 3046D.

Newtown/Y Drenewydd

Examinations Concerning a Stolen Purse

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/139/2/58; 16 December 1598; English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 310mm x 205mm; unnumbered. Now item 58 in Gaol Files 4/139/2, a composite volume made up of 163 such items and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 139 | 2.'

Inquiry Concerning an Assault

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/152/6/7; 15 July 1640; English; paper; single sheet (mounted on modern paper); 310mm x 185mm. Now item 7 in the third part of Gaol Files 4/152/4–6, a composite volume of three parts, made up of one, fifty-nine, and forty-four such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 152 | 4–6.'

Rhysnant

Examination Concerning a Theft

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/136/3/29; 7 January 1593/4; English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper, second leaf blank); 300mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now item 29 in the first part of Gaol Files 4/136/3–4, a composite volume of two parts, made up of 152 and ninety-two such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'Wales | 4 | 136 | 3–4.'

Snead

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office

Hereford, Herefordshire Record Office, HD/4/1/212; 1605–6; Latin and English; paper; 123 leaves (3, including that containing the relevant entry, tipped in); 290mm x 190mm; unnumbered; vellum wrapper.

Trewythan

Hugh Jones' Will

Hugh Jones of the township of Trewythan in the parish of Llandinam claimed descent from the twelfth-century prince of Powys, Bleddyn ap Cynfyn.³⁴ Although no inventory of his estate survives with his will the surviving document indicates that he was a gentleman farmer and small landowner; his cash bequests totalled over £250 and he also left two houses, sixty-six cattle, and an unspecified number of sheep. His will has survived in two copies; one discrete

document endorsed as a true copy of the original (PROB 10/255) and a register copy in the probate records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (found on ff 223–4 of the probate register TNA: PRO PROB 11/111, covering wills probated 1606–8). The first of these, which also bears the original record of probate, is likely closest in time to the original.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, PROB 10/255; 14 March 1607/8; English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves; 390mm x 305mm; unnumbered.

Ystumgynon

Inquiry into an Assault

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/149/2/27; 23 July 1632; English and Latin; paper; single sheet (mounted on modern paper); 205mm x 170mm. Now item 27 in Gaol Files 4/149/2, a composite volume made up of 127 such items and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 149 | 2.'

Herbert of Chirbury and Montgomery

Edward Herbert (3 March 1582/3–20 August 1648) was educated at University College, Oxford, and on 7 May 1629 became the first Lord Herbert of Chirbury. This letter is to Francis Lloyd, his Dublin agent. Although it is undated it has been copied in the same bifolium as a letter of 23 November 1638 from Lord Herbert, probably to Thomas Wentworth, Viscount Wentworth, lord deputy of Ireland, and refers to several of the same persons and events (NLW: Powis Castle Correspondence 345A).

Letter from Lord Herbert to Francis Lloyd

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Powis Castle Correspondence 345; 1638; English; paper; bifolium; 205mm x 160mm; unnumbered. Contains a copy of the letter of 23 November 1638, likely to Viscount Wentworth, on f [1], designated 'A,' and that of the letter to Lloyd on ff [1v–2], designated 'B.'

PEMBROKESHIRE/SIR BENFRO

Presentments against Entertainers

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/781/4/28; 1620; English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper, second leaf blank); 310mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now item 28 in the second part of Gaol Files 4/781/3–4, a composite volume of two parts, made up of fifty-six and ninety-eight such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 781 | 3–4.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/785/3/38; 23 September 1633;

English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 310mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now item 38 in the first part of Gaol Files 4/785/3–4, a composite volume of two parts, made up of 118 and seventeen such items, respectively and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 785 | 3–4.'

Cemaïs

Gerald of Wales' *De Rebus a se Gestis*

Internal evidence would place the writing of Gerald's autobiography between 1208 and 1216.³⁵ This is the unique manuscript.

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B.xiii; 13th c.; Latin; parchment mounted on paper; i + 237 + i; 240mm x 150mm (parchment) mounted on 245mm x 230mm (paper); foliated; modern quarter-leather binding, title on spine: 'GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS | DISTINCTIONES | SPECULUM | ECCLESIE, ETC. | BRIT. MUS. | COTTON MS. | TIBERIUS | B.XIII.'

Cilgerran

Presentments against Entertainers

See above under Pembrokeshire (p cxxxv) for NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/781/4/28.

Dewisland

Presentments against Entertainers

See above under Pembrokeshire (p cxxxv) for NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/781/4/28.

Haverfordwest/Hwlffordd

Mayors' Accounts

Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire Record Office, Haverfordwest Records 2139; 1539–1640; English and Latin; paper; 185 leaves; 305mm x 220mm; foliated i–viii (modern pencil), 1–150 (contemporary ink), 151–69 (modern pencil), 1–8 (modern pencil, last 8 folios are smaller documents pasted on modern paper); 20th-c. half-leather binding, original tooled leather cover folded over, title on spine: 'Haverfordwest Records 2139.' Contains corporation accounts.

Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire Record Office, Haverfordwest Records 1–99; 1565–1712; English and Latin; paper; iii + 351 + iii; loose papers and booklets of miscellaneous size bound together; numbered by document 1–2, 2a, 3–38, 40–53, 53a, 54, 54a (mayor's accounts) and 55–99 (chamber reeves' accounts); modern half-leather binding (1969), title on spine: 'Haverfordwest Records 1–99.'

The booklets include:

Haverfordwest Records 3; 29 September 1580–29 September 1581; 17 leaves; 425mm x 150mm; modern foliation. Contains accounts of William Walter, mayor.

Haverfordwest Records 5; 29 September 1582–29 September 1583; 2 leaves; 310mm x 210mm; modern foliation. Contains accounts of Richard Bateman, mayor.

Haverfordwest Records 8; 29 September 1587–29 September 1588; 4 leaves; 425mm x 155mm; modern foliation. Contains accounts of Harry Mourton, mayor.

Haverfordwest Records 10; 29 September 1591–29 September 1592; 6 leaves; 425mm x 155mm; modern foliation. Contains accounts of William Walter, mayor.

Haverfordwest Records 13; 29 September 1596–29 September 1597; 4 leaves; 305mm x 203mm; modern foliation. Contains accounts of William Walter, mayor.

Haverfordwest Records 14; 29 September 1599–29 September 1600; 16 leaves; 205mm x 155mm; modern foliation. Contains accounts of John Kynner, mayor.

Serjeants' Accounts

Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire Record Office, Haverfordwest Records 100–99; 1463–1724; English and Latin; paper; iii + 248 + iii; loose papers and booklets of miscellaneous size bound together; numbered by document 100–14, 114a, 115–19, 119a (chamber reeves' accounts); 120–44 (serjeant's accounts); 145–90 (bailiffs' accounts); 191–1a, 192–3, 193a, 194, 194a–b, 195, 195a, 196–9 (sheriff's accounts); modern half-leather binding (1969), title on spine: 'Haverfordwest Records 100–199.'

Booklets include:

Haverfordwest Records 121; 29 September 1586–29 September 1587; English; 6 leaves; 305mm x 205mm; modern foliation; originally folded in quarters. Contains accounts of George Carne and John Phillips, serjeants.

Haverfordwest Records 122; 29 September 1591–29 September 1592; English; 4 leaves; 305mm x 205mm; modern foliation. Contains accounts of Richard Thomas and Owen Phillips, serjeants.

Chamber Reeves' Accounts

Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire Record Office, Haverfordwest Records 1970–2049; 1584–1721; English and Latin; paper; iv + 263 + iv; loose papers and booklets of miscellaneous size bound together; numbered by document 1970–81 (chamber rent books); 1982–2003 (chamber reeves' accounts), 2004–24 (bailiff's accounts), 2025–49 (St Mary's churchwardens' accounts); modern half-leather binding (1969), title on spine: 'Haverfordwest Records 1,970–2,049.'

Booklets include:

Haverfordwest Records 1984; 29 September 1588–29 September 1589; 12 leaves; ff 1–4: 360mm x 180mm, ff 5–8: 320mm x 150mm (damaged at bottom), ff 9–12: 305mm x 200mm; modern foliation. Contains accounts of John Kynner the elder, merchant, and Thomas Thomas, pewterer, chamber reeves.

St Mary's Churchwardens' Accounts

Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire Record Office, Haverfordwest Records 400–99; 1586–1904; English and Latin; paper; iii + 351 + iii; loose papers and booklets of miscellaneous size bound together; numbered by document 400–14, 414a, 415–28, 428a–b, 429–30, 430a, 431–3, 433a–b, 434, 434a, 435–7, 437a (miscellaneous documents), 438–48, 448a, 449–74 (churchwardens' and proctors' accounts), and 475–99 (miscellaneous documents); modern half-leather binding (1969), title on spine: 'Haverfordwest Records 400–499.'

Booklets include:

Haverfordwest Records 442: 29 September 1593–29 September 1594; bifolium; 405mm x 150mm; unnumbered. Contains accounts of James Scorfyld, churchwarden of St Mary's parish.

Presentments against Entertainers

See above under Pembrokeshire (p cxxxv) for NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/781/4/28.

Leonardston

Articles Exhibited against Harry Batman

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files (Additional) 33/6/14/11; 1620; English; paper; 4 leaves; 310mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now item 11 in Great Sessions (Additional) 33/6/14, a bundle of twenty-eight miscellaneous items relating to the September 1620 sessions.

Llanrhian

Presentments against Entertainers

See above under Pembrokeshire (p cxxxv) for NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/781/4/28.

Manorbier

Presentments against Entertainers

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/783/1/24; 1625; English and

Latin; paper; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 310mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now item 24 in the first part of Gaol Files 4/783/1–2, a composite volume of two parts, made up of thirty-five and 113 such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 783 | 1–2.'

Milford Haven/Aberdaugleddyf

Jean Creton's Chronicle

This verse chronicle of the deposition and death of Richard II has usually been attributed to Jean Creton but his authorship of the chronicle has been questioned in favour of John Trevor, bishop of St Asaph (1394–1410).³⁶ Of the five surviving manuscripts, three (Lambeth Palace Library: MS 589; BN: fonds fr. 1668; and BN: nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6223 (olim St Victor 275)) are copies of BL: Harley MS 1319 but the remaining manuscript, BN: fonds français 14645, appears to have been copied from a different exemplar.

London, British Library, Harley MS 1319; early 15th c.; French; parchment; iii + 79 + iii; 290mm x 205mm; foliated 1–78 (f 79 unfoliated); illuminations on ff 2, 5, 7v, 9, 12, 14v, 18, 19v, 25, 30v, 37v, 41v, 44, 50, 53v, 75; bound in red morocco, gold tooling, title on spine: 'HISTOIRE | DE | RICHARD II | EN VERS | MUS. BRIT. | BIBL. HARL. | 1319 | PLUT. 33/V.'

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds fr. 14645; 15th c.; French; parchment (paper flyleaf); 91 + i; 250mm x 165mm; foliated 1–91; fine illumination of Richard's departure for Ireland on f 4; bound in red velour on boards. Folios 1v–3v contain a summary in the hand of Charles Adrien Picard, dated 1758.

Narberth

Presentments against Entertainers

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/780/3/63; 10 August 1615; English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper, second leaf blank); 310mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now item 63 in the third part of Gaol Files 4/780/1–3, a composite volume of three booklets, made up of 126, nine, and 103 such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 780 | 1–3.'

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/783/1/23; 22 September 1625; English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 310mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now item 23 in the first part of Gaol Files 4/783/1–2, a composite volume of two parts, made up of thirty-five and 113 such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'WALES | 4 | 783 | 1–2.'

See also under Pembrokeshire (p cxxxv) for NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/781/4/28.

St Dogmaels/Llandudoch

Presentments against Entertainers

See under Pembrokeshire (p cxxxv) for NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/781/4/28.

Perrot of Carew

Henry Percy (1564–1632), earl of Northumberland, married Dorothy Devereux, Sir John Perrot's widow, in 1595, and many of the documents in Perrot's attainder case are among the Percy papers at Alnwick Castle and Syon House. The presence of these documents in the Alnwick Castle collection may also be attributable to Percy's removal from London of a substantial number of Star Chamber documents, among them the minute book cited by J. Stokes with Robert J. Alexander (eds), *Somerset including Bath*, REED (Toronto, 1996), 571.

Sir John Perrot's Accounts

These accounts dating from 1590 are not identified as Perrot's but they are clearly his. They were kept by Edward Mainwaring, whom Sir Francis Walsingham advised Perrot to hire in a letter of 3 December 1586 (AN: Percy Letters and Papers, vol 3, f 143). The first series, ff 58–61, clearly refers to a stay in London; the second series, ff 72–5, to a period of time in Ireland.

Alnwick, Alnwick Castle, Percy Letters and Papers, vol 5; 1588–99; English, Irish, and Latin; papers of various sizes bound together; ix + 192 + x; foliated 1–192; bound in red morocco, title on spine: 'PERCY | FAMILY | LETTERS | AND PAPERS | VOL. 5 | 1588–99 | 5.' The accounts of Sir John Perrot are on ff 58–61 and 72–5.

Sir John Perrot's Estate Inventory

Three copies of this inventory were made, containing essentially the same information. Their order of precedence seems reasonably clear. The first, now TNA: PRO E 178/3355, item 10, is very rough and is likely the first draft of which a fair copy in roll form was made in item 37, omitting the inventory of livestock and corn. The second version, E 101/525/24, is a particularly neat copy done in a fine hand in booklet form and (since it now appears among the collection of documents in the PRO dealing with the final valuations of Perrot's estate) is likely the copy used for formal submission; it is this copy that I have printed.

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, E 101/525/24; 27 April 1592; English; paper; 22 leaves; 410mm x 153mm; unnumbered; paper wrapper, title on wrapper: '34 Elizabeth | Pembroke - Inventory of goods of Sir Iohn P^{er}ott in the castle of carewe; also [^]inventories of [^]his goods[^] in the counties of Pembrook and Carmarthen.'

Sir Thomas Perrot's Estate Inventory

The inventory in the name of Sir John's son likely derives from the return to him of the confiscated goods following Sir John's death in 1592. It differs very little from the attainer inventories of two years previously.

Alnwick, Alnwick Castle, Syon MS. Y III 1, box 2, envelope 4; 26 March 1594/5; English; paper; 14 leaves; 400mm x 150mm; unnumbered; damaged, 130mm x 40mm section chewed away both left and right centre of booklet; sewn.

Sir Rhys ap Thomas of Carew

The Life of Sir Rhys ap Thomas (A)

The biography of Sir Rhys ap Thomas was likely written around 1630, perhaps by a member of his family. It was printed in the first issue of *The Cambrian Register* (1796), in a transcription by Richard Fenton.³⁷ The manuscript is now lost. I have used a manuscript both earlier and somewhat fuller than the printed text; it is incomplete at the end but contains all of the section describing Sir Rhys' festivities around St George's Day, 1507. Three hands contributed marginalia to the manuscript: two hands of the late seventeenth century or early eighteenth century that I have numbered 1 and 2, and a nineteenth-century hand writing in pencil that I have numbered 3. Hand 1 appears to have compared the text with an earlier manuscript, perhaps the original. The relationship between hands 1 and 2 is clear from p 134, where a marginal note in hand 1 is crossed out by hand 2. Most if not all of the textual corrections seem to be in hand 1, though it is not always possible to tell. Frequent underlining by one of these indicates words that are corrected or queried in the margins.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 2038D (previously Panton 73); late 17th or early 18th c.; English and Latin; paper; 98 leaves; 324mm x 205mm; foliated i–xviii, then paginated 1–158 (3 unnumbered pages at end of foliation); quarter-leather binding, marbled boards, spine broken.

RADNORSHIRE/SIR FAESYFED

Presentments for Entertainers

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Prothonotary Papers 13/23/9/[2]; 1590; English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves (second leaf blank); 300mm x 200mm; unnumbered. Now item [2] of Prothonotary Papers 13/23/9, a file of sixty-eight miscellaneous unnumbered items threaded on string, title on label pinned to item [1]: 'GREAT SESSIONS | 13/23/9 | RADNOR | PAPERS &c | 32 Elizabeth | October Session.'

Clyro/Cleirwy

Presentments for Slander

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Prothonotary Papers 13/23/9/[3]; 1590; English and Latin; paper; 5 leaves; 300mm x 200mm; unnumbered; tied at upper-left corner. Now item [3] of Prothonotary Papers 13/23/9, described under Radnorshire above.

Norton

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office

Hereford, Herefordshire Record Office, HD4/1/157; 1598–1600; Latin and English; paper; 463 leaves; 296mm x 195mm; unnumbered; contemporary vellum binding with cloth ties.

Presteigne/Llanandras

John Owen's Will and Inventory

The fact that Owen's assets included wages of 20s due from the parish and his singing books would suggest, as Cole notes, that he was precentor of the parish church.³⁸

Hereford, Herefordshire Record Office, Probate Records 1590 32/2/58; 2 November 1589 (date of will) and 8 April 1590 (date of probate and inventory); English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves; 305mm x 200mm; unnumbered.

Editorial Procedures

Principles of Selection

Although the criteria by which the documents in this collection have been selected follow those of other volumes in the series, it should be noted that the survival of documents in Wales differs in many ways from the situation in most English counties. Whole classes of documents that enrich the English collections are lacking entirely in Wales or survive in very small numbers. There are no early churchwardens' accounts and records of the church courts are few. Virtually no monastic accounts have come down to us; even if we did have them they may not have contained much useful material since the Welsh monasteries (predominately Cistercian) were relatively poor and the principality had no large houses. Very few borough records survive from the period though when they do, as for Beaumaris, Denbigh, Haverfordwest, and Swansea, they provide important information.

Court records exist in some number but with large gaps. Manorial court rolls provide little relevant information, even in the virtually complete set from the lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd, which runs from the Edwardian conquest to the end of the fifteenth century. We have extensive quarter sessions records from Caernarvonshire but almost nowhere else. The most important court records are those of the Henrician court of Great Sessions, Wales' principal court from the early 1540s to its dissolution in 1830. Unfortunately the act of parliament that dissolved the court noted that its records should continue in the care of the person who had them in 1830 but provided no funds for their preservation. In some counties, such as Montgomeryshire, public interest provided for their preservation – in that case a new record office in Welshpool – but in the northern circuit of Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, and Merioneth the parchment records were sold to tailors to line cuffs and collars and the paper records were dumped unceremoniously in the Menai Strait. The Great Sessions material remains, nonetheless, a vast archive.¹

Purely liturgical ceremony lies outside REED's mandate; I have also excluded the occasional references to church music, ranging from materials dealing with the vicars choral at the four cathedrals to the theft of organ pipes at Welshpool (1587) and Wrexham (1590).²

References to disguisings have been given wherever there is suggestion of an audience; this has excluded one Great Sessions case in which a man from Stemberge, Glamorgan, was charged with breaking and entering while disguised – his intention was clearly to avoid an audience.³ I have not included cases involving 'play' that clearly refer to unlawful games, defined in one

case as 'bowllyng dyssing kardyng and tenys'.⁴ A series of Great Sessions references to the 'playinge place' in the township of Soughton, Flintshire, have been rejected since one of the documents makes it very apparent that the 'play' involved was football.⁵

As a general rule information dealing with the remains of Roman amphitheatres in Wales has not been included, since their principal purpose was military exercises and there is no evidence that they were used for plays. An exception has been made for Gerald of Wales' description of the Caerleon, Monmouthshire, amphitheatre since Gerald's impression of such structures as 'loca theatralia' clearly reflects a medieval conception of their use.

Many of the gentry whose household accounts survive travelled regularly to and from London, and occasionally their accounts contain records of payments to entertainers along the way. These payments have been included here.

Finally (and with some regret) I have omitted frequent references to performers who were documented in a non-performing capacity. Among these would be the performers involved in a Denbigh case in which 'one Quinton, a musician says "I care for no man in England but the Kinge, and him more for feare than for any loue," beinge threatened with the Alderman, "A turde for the Alderman,"' as well as Huw ab Edward of Gwyddelwern, Merioneth, piper, who gave evidence in a consanguinity case in 1605.⁶ From the Dyffryn Clwyd court rolls this policy has eliminated William le Crouther of Llannerch, Denbighshire, and Peronel le Harper, both of whom appeared in cases unrelated to their performing.⁷ It also excludes performers mentioned in parish registers under their marriages, burials, or the birth of their children.

References to harps have been omitted when they clearly indicate other meanings of the word, such as the framed fishing net or the winnowing harp. An example of this latter meaning appears in the inventory contained in TNA: PRO E 112/107/46/N.D. (39 Elizabeth I) where the 'harp' belonging to William Price of Tre'r-gaer, Monmouthshire, appears with a list of agricultural implements.

Most critically, since the focus of this collection is the external documentary evidence of performers, the many references to performing that appear in the surviving poetry have been included only when clear reference is made to a datable and localizable occurrence. The bulk of information on bardic performance lies in the poetry but rarely is it given specific time and place, and its inclusion would have made the collection far larger and more difficult to use. This exclusion has meant that some highly famed performers, such as the poet Robin Clidro, are not represented here since all the references to his performances occur in his poetry. Robin's poems to other performers, such as his 'awdl' in praise of Siôn Grythor or his poem on one Huw the fiddler, as well as the poem on his own 'cwrs clera,' contain no references to either place or date and thus have not been included.⁸ This has also meant the exclusion of the description of Glamorgan poet Tomas ap Wiliam ap Hywel's performing prowess on the viol, pipe, organ, and virginals, since it is contained in the elegy by Watcyn ap Hywel.⁹

Play texts typically fall outside REED's scope unless they contain information on performance and therefore the closet dramas of Sir Thomas Salusbury contained in NLW: NLW MS 5390 are not included, nor is the fragmentary Welsh play in NLW: Brogyntyn MS 1.1, the interlude fragment in NLW: Peniarth MS 68, or the mid-seventeenth century 'anterliwt' fragment in

NLW: MS 5269B. Texts that give specific details about performances do appear here, such as the masques presented at Chirk Castle in 1634 and 1641.

Dating

Collections of documents from English counties in the REED series have used the parliamentary closing of the London public theatres in 1642 as a 'terminus ad quem.' This date has no relevance for Wales and a concluding date of 1660 has been selected for the Welsh records. Justification for this date rests on the substantial number of documents that appear in the 1650s and represent a continuation of the performing traditions of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Documents have been dated as precisely as possible. Most of the account records in this volume used the fiscal year running from Michaelmas to Michaelmas of the following year (29 September to 29 September). Where this fiscal year is followed a double year (eg, 1535–6) is indicated. Where a different fiscal year is followed or accounts are dated irregularly this information is given in the heading. A split year is given for events that fall between 31 December and 25 March (Lady Day). Thus the date 20 January 1524/5 indicates 1525 by our present reckoning of a new year beginning on 1 January, but 1524 by the English ecclesiastical calendar, according to which the year changed on 25 March.

Scribes were not always consistent in their use of dates; where there is a question concerning the date given in a document, the manuscript's dating has been used and the problem dealt with in an endnote. It has been possible to assign an approximate date to virtually all undated records; thus they have been kept in their proper sequence.

Edited Text

Although this collection covers a larger geographical area than previous volumes in the series, as well as dealing with thirteen counties, its arrangement follows that of earlier volumes. Documents that do not relate to a specific county are placed first, under 'Principality of Wales.' Within this group documents are presented as far as possible in chronological order. These are followed by the 'Dioceses' section, which contains documents relating broadly to the four dioceses although individual ecclesiastical court records are placed in the 'Counties' section under the county and parish to which they refer specifically. The order of county documents follows the same order used in *The Documents*, that is, documents from the county generally, documents from boroughs, parishes, and townships, and documents from household sources. Localities and households are ordered alphabetically and within each of these records are ordered chronologically. Documents that relate to several counties, such as Rhys Cain's 'cwrw clera' accounts, have been entered under the county most extensively concerned (in this case, Denbighshire).

As far as possible the layout of the original document has been preserved. Marginalia are placed where they occur in the manuscript; places where space was left for words to be added later are indicated as '(blank)'. In some documents, notably those from the Hereford

Consistory Court Act Books, this strict adherence to manuscript format has not been possible. For those records the paragraphing of the manuscript has been retained although the lineation has not. Changes in hands have been indicated as simply as possible with raised circles (° °) and, when more than two hands are involved, the details have been given in an endnote.

The procedures of the court of Great Sessions required the presiding magistrate to sign each page of the records of examinations and depositions of witnesses as a mode of authentication, generally in the lower right corner. These signatures have been ignored as administrative and procedural and not relevant to the content of the documents; they have not been printed nor has their presence been indicated with dots of excerpction.

The texts have not been emended except for errors of extra or too few minims, in which cases the text is corrected and the error indicated in the footnotes. The spelling, punctuation, and capitalization of the originals have been preserved throughout; otiose flourishes and line fillers have been ignored. Virgules are indicated by / and //. Manuscript braces have generally not been indicated unless they form a significant part of the manuscript's format. 'I' and 'J' have been transcribed uniformly as 'I'; 'ff' has been retained for 'F.' Where it is not possible to tell whether a scribe intended an upper-case or lower-case letter I have given the lower case. With few exceptions scribal abbreviations have been expanded, the expansion indicated by italics. In some cases it is not possible to tell if the scribe intended a noun to be singular or plural; in these cases the abbreviation is left unexpanded and is indicated by an apostrophe, eg, 'Item Ministrell' *domini Regis.*' A few types of abbreviations have not been expanded. These include abbreviations for measures and sums of money (such as 'li.,' 's.,' 'd.,' ob., 'di.') as well as a few common and current abbreviations ('Mr,' '&c'). Superior letters have been lowered to the line except where they occur with numerals (eg, 'xl^{ti}'). Abbreviated personal and place names have been expanded and forms beginning 'Xp' have been expanded as 'Chr' or 'chr' in 'Christi' or 'christi.' When the abbreviations 'com' and 'coun' occur in English texts (usually in legal records where the word 'county' would be expected) they have both been treated as abbreviations for 'county' and accordingly expanded as 'county'; the former is likely to be in origin a borrowing of the abbreviation for the Latin 'comitatus.'

Editing of Welsh Texts

Following the procedures established for the REED series, texts have been transcribed very conservatively and are presented as closely as possible to the manuscript format. Thus marginalia and interlinear corrections and glosses appear in their manuscript positions and columnar format is regularly indicated. Welsh orthography underwent significant changes during the period and this is reflected accurately in the transcriptions; for earlier medieval texts the Welsh form for 'w' is used (ŵ), and in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century texts various experiments with the indication of lenited or softened consonants (such as a following 'h' or a subscript dot) are followed according to manuscript usage. The one important exception to this rule is word division. Early Welsh texts are notoriously haphazard about this, with articles, particles, and prepositions treated frequently as part of the following noun or verb. In the printed text word division generally follows Modern Welsh usage rather than the highly variable manuscript practice.

Welsh land divisions pose a minor problem. The parish remained relatively unimportant as a unit of civil administration in Wales for much of the period; in North Wales the parish did not take on a significant role until well after sixteenth-century legislation required the keeping of parish records.¹⁰ For most of Wales the principal unit of local government was the tref, a word that originally indicated a single homestead but that quickly became equivalent to the Latin 'villa' or English township. Since many parishes embraced a very large area many documents – especially those of the courts – identified locations by township. Thus the usual REED rubric of 'Boroughs and Parishes' has been expanded to 'Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships.' Occasional reference is also made to the traditional Welsh land divisions of cantref and commote. The cantref was taken to be equivalent to the English hundred in the reorganization accompanying the Acts of Union of 1536 and 1543. The commote, subordinate to the cantref, is the same word as Modern Welsh 'cwmwd' or 'region, neighbourhood.' Commote has no English equivalent but is often translated, not very accurately, as 'lordship' or 'manor.'

There is little consistency in the records in the spelling of Welsh personal names. In particular the recording clerks of the court of Great Sessions were not, for the most part, Welsh-speaking and tended to anglicize the names of those who came before the court. In the documents reprinted in the Records section of this volume, of course, names appear as they do in the originals. In the Introduction, Translations, Endnotes, and Index, however, names have been standardized according to the system outlined in the headnote to the Index. The records also show considerable variety and, especially in the case of English scribes and clerks, remarkable inventiveness in the spelling of Welsh place-names. To establish some consistency in orthography a ranked series of sources for standard spellings has been used and is explained in the Index headnote. For headings appearing in the Records both English and Welsh place-names have been given when these are lexically different; when the difference is merely one of orthography the English name has been used.

Collations

This collection contains transcriptions of a substantial number of texts that survive in more than one manuscript. Several criteria have been used in the selection of a base text; in cases where a reliable modern critical edition of the text already exists, the advice of the editor has been followed. This has been the case, for example, with the Welsh Laws and the works of Gerald of Wales. In most cases where no modern edition exists the earliest surviving copy of the text has been chosen. With a few exceptions texts in multiple manuscripts have been collated. These collations are brief and conservative; that is, substantive differences have been indicated in the collation notes, including changes in word order but not variations in orthography or consonant mutations. The editing of the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan represents a special case and is discussed below.

THE WELSH LAWS

Because the native Welsh Laws have been well edited only those laws that deal directly with

performers have been included, in particular those concerned with the household poet ('bardd teulu') and the chief poet ('pencerdd'), as well as a few laws dealing more generally with minstrels ('kerddorion'). I have included the more important laws of the court that establish the status of the two performers through their seating arrangements in the hall, their 'sarhaed' and 'galanas,' and their daughters' 'amobr.' For more extensive treatment of the Laws, the complete editions should be consulted.¹¹

Some Welsh legal terms that have no clear equivalent in English have not been translated. 'Sarhaed,' derived from the verbal noun 'sarhau' ('insult'), referred both to the act of 'iniuria' and to the compensation that was to be paid for such an act. It was used frequently as an indication of an individual's status. 'Galanas' was similarly an indication of status; it was comparable to the Anglo-Saxon 'wergild,' a compensation to be paid for homicide. The basic meaning of the word was 'feud, enmity' but in the Laws it was used primarily of the required compensation. 'Amobr' was the fee paid to a woman's lord at her first marriage; that the payment was originally for the loss of her virginity is made clear by the stipulation that it could only be paid once. 'Agweddi' or 'egweddi' was the share of common matrimonial property to which a woman would be entitled if her marriage did not last a statutory seven years; after seven years she would be entitled to a half share. A woman's 'agweddi' was often used as a measure of her social status. The 'cowyll' was the gift payable to a virgin on her wedding night from her husband, similar to the Germanic 'morning gift.'

In his seminal edition of the Law texts Aneurin Owen thought that the differences between the three principal Welsh versions of the Laws were regional, deriving from the practice of Gwynedd in the northwest, Dyfed (Deheubarth) in the southwest, and Gwent in the south-east.¹² This thesis is no longer tenable since it is clear that both the southern versions derive from the kingdom of Deheubarth. The three versions are now usually differentiated by the names of lawyers that appear in their colophons; respectively Iorwerth, Blegywryd, and Cyfnerth. There is as yet no final answer to the question of the precedence of the Welsh or Latin versions of the Laws, though it is clear that the Welsh Blegywryd version is largely translated from Latin redaction D. The dating of these texts has not been firmly established but it is likely that Cyfnerth is the oldest, probably deriving from Maelienydd (later the county of Radnorshire). Iorwerth was probably next in sequence though its manuscripts include the earliest surviving copy of the Laws. It was compiled in Gwynedd in the mid-thirteenth century, very close in time to the earliest surviving manuscript copies. The latest redaction, Blegywryd, dates from the end of the thirteenth century and was compiled in southwest Wales. Recent work on the dating of these texts is discussed by Huw Pryce, 'The Context and Purpose of the Earliest Welsh Lawbooks,' *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 39 (Summer 2000), 39–63. Where a passage appears in much the same form in the three principal Welsh texts of the Laws, I have privileged the Iorwerth version over Cyfnerth and Blegywryd; where substantial differences exist all three versions are given. Since the interrelationships of the Latin versions, as well as their relation to the Welsh texts, are not entirely clear, I have given more extensive passages from the Latin texts.

For the most part these legal texts are descriptive but some texts also included a sequence of prescriptive laws more akin to 'case law.' Generally called 'damweiniau' ('occurrences') these

laws usually took the form of 'if it happens that ... then....' In addition to the primary texts there are several manuscripts of further legal commentary designated by Aneurin Owen, perhaps unfortunately, as 'anomalous laws.'

THE STATUTE OF GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN

The bardic regulations deriving from the two eisteddfodau held at Caerwys, Flintshire, in the sixteenth century present a particular editorial problem; because of the nature of the text some adjustments to REED's normal editing procedures have been made. The text of the statute was copied over and over again, in part because of the regulation that each bard must carry his own copy of it and in part because of the great interest it aroused among contemporary humanists and antiquarians as well as the bardic community itself. The bulk of the seventy-odd surviving manuscripts are antiquarian copies and the few working copies in the hands of bards were all copied prior to 1600. These working copies contain extensive minor differences in the ordering of individual regulations, the inclusion or exclusion of information on appropriate rates of remuneration, and other material. For this reason the statute is printed without collations, since the very large quantity of information that would need to be included does not materially advance our understanding of the text.

Notes

Historical Background

- 1 Giraldus, *Opera*, vol 6, p 165 ('a land heavily fortified by high mountains, deep valleys, vast forests, lakes, and marshes').
- 2 R.A. Yates, 'Physiographical Evolution,' *Wales. A Physical, Historical and Regional Geography*, E.G. Bowen (ed) (London, 1957), 19.
- 3 Giraldus, *Opera*, vol 6, p 201.
- 4 The relationship between pastoral and arable farming is discussed by D. Huw Owen, 'Farming Practice and Techniques: Wales and the Marches,' *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol 3, pp 238–54. Changes in landholding in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are outlined by Frank Emery, 'The Farming Regions of Wales,' *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol 4, pp 113–60.
- 5 David Hill suggests the 770s and the 850s as likely dates for the building of Offa's and Wat's Dykes respectively (Wendy Davies, *Patterns of Power in Early Wales* (Oxford, 1990), 65, n 8). On the problems associated with defining the dykes' function see Davies, *Patterns of Power*, pp 64–7. See also David Hill and Margaret Worthington, *Offa's Dyke: History & Guide* (Stroud, 2003), 154.
- 6 Raymond Chevallier, *Roman Roads*, N.H. Field (trans) (London, 1976), 158–9; and John Ogilby, *Britannia depicta* (London, 1675; Wing: O168), pp 31–4, plate 16; pp 125–8, plate 63; pp 153–4, plate 77; pp 181–2, plate 91.
- 7 For maps of the principal drovers' routes see Richard Moore-Colyer, *The Welsh Cattle Drovers: Agriculture and the Welsh Cattle Trade before and during the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed (Ashbourne, 2002), 130–1.
- 8 Jones, *Brut y Tywysogion, or The Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth ms. 20*, pp 7–15. The primary sources for historical and biographical information found here and elsewhere in the Introduction, when not otherwise noted, are Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change*; Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation*; the ODNB; and the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*.
- 9 Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change*, pp 82–107.
- 10 Rhys ap Gruffudd would certainly have come into close contact with Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife of Henry II, with whom Rhys had especially cordial relations after 1171. It is

therefore quite possible that this 1176 meeting of poets and musicians was influenced by Provençal practice.

- 11 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol 5, H.R. Luard (ed), Rolls Series, no 57 (London, 1880), 718.
- 12 Jones, *Brut y Tywysogion or The Chronicle of the Princes, Red Book of Hergest Version*, p 240 ('by the council of noblemen').
- 13 12 Edw I, Statuta Wallie; *Statutes of the Realm*, vol 1, pp 55–6.
- 14 A.D. Carr, *Medieval Wales* (Basingstoke and London, 1995), 86.
- 15 Carr, *Medieval Wales*, p 91.
- 16 Carr, *Medieval Wales*, pp 98–9.
- 17 Owain got no further than Guernsey and was assassinated by an English agent in 1378. See further A.D. Carr, *Owen of Wales: The End of the House of Gwynedd* (Cardiff, 1991).
- 18 Carr, *Medieval Wales*, p 108.
- 19 R.R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1995), especially 299–316.
- 20 Leland, *Itinerary*, vol 3, p 52.
- 21 Carr, *Medieval Wales*, p 118; see also Records, pp 87–91.
- 22 *Statutes of the Realm*, vol 3, p 563.
- 23 S.T. Bindoff (ed), *The House of Commons 1509–1558*, The History of Parliament, vol 1 (London, 1982), 264.
- 24 *Statutes of the Realm*, vol 3, p 563.
- 25 *Statutes of the Realm*, vol 3, p 567.
- 26 The Vaughans of Trawsgoed/Crosswood, Cardiganshire, would be a good example; see Gerald R. Morgan, *A Welsh House and its Family: The Vaughans of Trawsgoed* (Llandysul, 1997).
- 27 Williams, *The Welsh Church*, p 283; and Leland, *Itinerary*, vol 1, p 304.
- 28 David Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1971), 112–13, 122.
- 29 TNA: PRO SP 1/102/393.
- 30 5 Eliz I, chapter 28. *Statutes of the Realm*, vol 4, p 457; and Sir John Prise, *Yny lhyvyr hwnn y traethir* ([London], 1546; *src*: 20310) [see 'Price']. For more on Prise's work see R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'Y Print yn dwyn ffrwyth i'r Cymro: *Yny lhyvyr hwnn*, 1546,' *Welsh Book Studies* 1 (1998), 1–20.
- 31 *Y Beibl Cyssegr-lan*, W. Morgan (trans) (London, 1588; *src*: 2347); and Isaac Thomas, *William Morgan and his Bible* (Cardiff, 1988).
- 32 Hugh Thomas, *A History of Wales, 1485–1660* (Cardiff, 1972), 111–13.
- 33 808 recusants were reported in 1603, out of an estimated population of a quarter of a million, though as Sir Glanmor Williams points out, this figure should probably be multiplied by four or five, giving a total of perhaps 1.5 per cent (*Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997), 375).
- 34 Giraldus, *Opera*, vol 6, p 200.
- 35 27 Hen VIII, chapter 5; *Statutes of the Realm*, vol 3, pp 534–5.
- 36 TNA: PRO SP 1/102/453.

- 37 Owen, *Description of Penbrokeshire*, pt 3, p 57.
- 38 The number of towns in medieval Wales depends very much on one's definition of 'town.' Richard Holt notes that of the perhaps 105 named towns no more than sixty 'show any indication of truly urban population before 1300' and that most were in reality 'rural marketing centres, nucleated settlements often associated with an ancient church' ('Society and Population, 600–1300,' *Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol 1, 600–1540, D. Palliser (ed) (Cambridge, 2000), 99–100). It goes without saying that very few of these towns achieved borough status. The history of those that did is outlined in R.A. Griffiths (ed), *Boroughs of Mediaeval Wales* (Cardiff, 1978).
- 39 Thomas, *History of Wales*, p 165.
- 40 Humfrey Lhuyd, *The Breuiary of Britayne* (London, 1573; *src*: 16636), f 60v.
- 41 Leonard Owen, 'The Population of Wales in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' *THSC* (1959), 99–113. For this table I have used Owen's figures for the number of households but, following E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541–1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge, MA, 1981), I have used 4.5 as the average number of persons in a household. The totals are therefore somewhat smaller than Owen's.
- 42 Philip Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales, 1536–1990* (London and New York, 1992), 34.
- 43 Thomas, *History of Wales*, p 233.
- 44 Penry Williams, *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I* (Cardiff, 1958), 6–15.
- 45 Williams, *Council in the Marches*, pp 47–59, 181–91, 316–20.
- 46 Penry Williams, 'The Activity of the Council in the Marches under the Early Stuarts,' *WHR* 1 (1960–3), 133–60; and Skeel, 'Council of the Marches,' p 22.
- 47 Arthur Clark, *The Story of Monmouthshire*, vol 1 (Llandybie, 1962), 132.
- 48 Suggett, 'Welsh Language,' pp 153–80. Suggett cites clear examples from the courts' records of the linguistic difficulties they faced in their early days.
- 49 Owen, *Description of Penbrokeshire*, pt 3, p 43.
- 50 A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Welsh Medieval Dioceses,' *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 1 (1947), 95–6; and E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd ed (Cambridge, 1986), 289–90.
- 51 *Pembrokeshire County History*, vol 3, p 113.
- 52 John Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the iles adioyning: with the shires, hundreds, cities and shire-townes, within ye kingdome of England, divided and described by Iohn Speed* (London, 1612; *src*: 23041), 125.
- 53 The figures for the quality of Anglesey's farmland are given by Gwilym T. Jones, 'Agriculture,' *An Atlas of Anglesey*, Melville Richards (ed) (Llangefni, 1972), 133; the figure for the principality is from Owen, 'Farming Practice,' p 251.
- 54 A.D. Carr, *Medieval Anglesey* (Llangefni, 1982), 108–9.
- 55 Soulsby, *Towns*, p 195.
- 56 Alan Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce,' *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol 4, pp 466–592, especially pp 470, 472; and Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, pp 105–6.

- 57 E.A. Lewis, 'The Account Roll of the Chamberlain of the Principality of North Wales from Michaelmas 1304 to Michaelmas 1305,' *BBCs* 1 (1922), 260, 262; and Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, p 105.
- 58 E.A. Lewis, 'A contribution to the commercial history of medieval Wales,' *Y Cymmrodor* 24 (1913), 107–88.
- 59 E.A. Lewis, *Welsh Port Books (1550–1603)*, Cymmrodorion Record Series, no 12 (London, 1927), xviii–xxviii.
- 60 Wendy Hughes, *Anglesey Past & Present* (Llanrwst, 1999), 108–9.
- 61 Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, pp 233–6.
- 62 E.A. Lewis, *The Mediaeval Boroughs of Snowdonia* (London, 1912), 171.
- 63 Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, pp 240–4, 320.
- 64 A.D. Carr, 'The Free Grammar School of Beaumaris,' *AST* (1962), 1–22.
- 65 TNA: PRO SP 18/158/1.
- 66 P.W. Hasler (ed), *The House of Commons 1558–1603*, The History of Parliament, vol 1 (London, 1981), 514.
- 67 Hasler, *House of Commons*, vol 1, p 513.
- 68 Owen, 'Diary,' p 27.
- 69 The house is still standing. A photograph of it taken in 1937 appears with Owen's transcription of the diary, opposite p 27.
- 70 Owen, 'Diary,' p 27. The economy of the Dronwy farm is discussed in detail by Emery, 'Farming Regions,' vol 4, pp 129–31.
- 71 Bindoff, *House of Commons*, vol 2, p 528.
- 72 Siôn Brwynog, 'Cymod rhwng Syr Risiart Bwcle a Wiliam Lewys,' *Y Canu Mawl i Deulu Baron Hill*, Dafydd Wyn Wiliam (ed) (Llangefni, 1995), 18–20.
- 73 Speed, *Theatre*, p 109.
- 74 Everitt, 'Marketing,' p 472.
- 75 On the mixed nature of Brecknockshire farming see Emery, 'Farming Regions,' pp 132–3; on enclosure see Joan Thirsk, 'Enclosing and Engrossing,' *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol 4, p 244. See also Trevor Herbert and Gareth Elwyn Jones (eds), *Tudor Wales* (Cardiff, 1988), 71–2, 85.
- 76 Dodd, *Studies in Stuart Wales*, p 26.
- 77 G. Dyfnallt Owen, *Wales in the Reign of James I* (Woodbridge, 1988), 117; TNA: PRO STAC 8/241/31, 8/307/27.
- 78 J.F. Rees, 'Breconshire during the Civil War,' *Brycheiniog* 8 (1962), 1–9.
- 79 Owen, *Description of Penbrokeshire*, pt 3, p 330; William Rees, 'The Charters of the Boroughs of Brecon and Llandovery,' *BBCs* 2 (1923–5), 243–61; and Ballard and Tait, *British Borough Charters*, pp xxxv, xxxvii, 386.
- 80 E. Buckingham, 'Charters of the Borough of Brecon, 1276–1517,' *Brycheiniog* 25 (1993), 36.
- 81 R.R. Davies, 'Brecon,' p 58, in Griffiths, *Boroughs of Mediaeval Wales*.
- 82 Oxford, Bodl.: ms. Gough Gen. Top. 1.
- 83 Davies, 'Brecon,' p 58.

- 84 Davies, 'Brecon,' p 68.
- 85 Owen, *Description of Penbrokeshire*, pt 3, p 330.
- 86 Speed, *Theatre*, p 123.
- 87 Llŷn and Eifionydd, the western and eastern parts of the peninsula respectively.
- 88 Leland, *Itinerary*, vol 3, p 81.
- 89 The process is documented by Emery, 'Farming Regions,' pp 147–9; and T. Jones Pierce, 'Some Tendencies in the Agrarian History of Caernarvonshire during the Later Middle Ages,' *CHST* 1 (1939), 18–36.
- 90 Caernarfon had been the site of a settlement for a considerable time, at least since the Roman period when it had been occupied as the garrisoned town of Segontium. Edward's refurbishment of the site with castle and walls turned a village into a major town. See K. Williams-Jones, 'Caernarvon,' in Griffiths, *Boroughs of Mediaeval Wales*, pp 73–4.
- 91 Lewis, *Mediaeval Boroughs*, pp 33–5, 40.
- 92 Ballard and Tait, *British Borough Charters*, p xxvii.
- 93 Lewis, *Mediaeval Boroughs*, p 171.
- 94 Lewis, *Mediaeval Boroughs*, p 66; William Camden, *Britain, or a chorographicall description of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, Philemon Holland (trans) (London, 1610; *STC*: 4509), 669.
- 95 Emyr Gwynne Jones, 'A Survey of the Ancient and Present State of the County of Caernarvon,' pt 2, *CHST* 34 (1973), 114n.
- 96 L. Stanley Knight, 'Welsh Schools from AD 1000 to AD 1600,' *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 6th ser, 19 (1919), 1–18, 276–91, 515–25.
- 97 Speed, *Theatre*, p 123.
- 98 Leland, *Itinerary*, vol 3, p 89. The references are to Maelgwn, king of Gwynedd in the early sixth century, and to either Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (c 1173–1240) or Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (d. 1282), the last independent prince of Wales.
- 99 Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change*, pp 274, 302–4.
- 100 J.F. Rees, *Studies in Welsh History* (Cardiff, [1947]), 51; and Ballinger, *Calendar of Wynn Papers*, no 1044.
- 101 T. Jones Pierce, 'The Clenennau Estate,' *Medieval Welsh Society, Selected Essays* (Cardiff, 1972), 229–49.
- 102 Hasler, *House of Commons*, vol 3, pp 37–8.
- 103 Wynn, *History of the Gwydir Family*.
- 104 Rees, *Studies in Welsh History*, p 51.
- 105 Jones, *The Wynn Family of Gwydir*, p 168.
- 106 Emery, 'Farming Regions,' p 117.
- 107 Speed, *Theatre*, p 115 [113].
- 108 W.J. Lewis, 'Some Aspects of Lead Mining in Cardiganshire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' *Ceredigion* 1 (1951), 177–92.
- 109 F.J. North, *Mining for Metals in Wales* (Cardiff, 1962), 33–5; Lewis, 'Lead Mining in Cardiganshire,' pp 177, 183–4; and Leland, *Itinerary*, vol 3, p 123.

- 110 Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, pt 4, p 479.
- 111 Soulsby, *Towns*, p 99; and Ralph A. Griffiths, 'Carmarthen,' in Griffiths, *Boroughs of Mediaeval Wales*, p 157.
- 112 Leland, *Itinerary*, vol 3, p 56; TNA: PRO SP 12/39 f 3; and *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547–80*, 267. See also R.A. Griffiths, 'The Making of Medieval Cardigan,' *Ceredigion* 11 (1990), 118, 124.
- 113 Speed, *Theatre*, p 103; and Emery, 'Farming Regions,' p 117.
- 114 Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change*, p 18.
- 115 Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, pp 247–58.
- 116 Griffiths, 'Carmarthen,' pp 139–43.
- 117 Similar delegations were sent by Cardiff, Haverfordwest, and Rhuddlan: C. Gross, *The Gild Merchant*, vol 1 (Oxford, 1890), 259–61.
- 118 Weinbaum, *British Borough Charters*, p 140.
- 119 Griffiths, 'Carmarthen,' p 146.
- 120 Griffiths, 'Carmarthen,' p 162.
- 121 Speed, *Theatre*, p 103.
- 122 Carmarthen City Record Office, Carmarthen MS Acc 4943, ff 47–56v (guild ordinances, c 1568–83).
- 123 Soulsby, *Towns*, p 165, n 2.
- 124 Leland, *Itinerary*, vol 3, p 59; and W. Rees, *A Survey of the Duchy of Lancaster Lordships in Wales, 1609–13*, Board of Celtic Studies, History and Law Series, no 12 (Cardiff, 1953), 253–63.
- 125 J. Gwenogvryn Evans (ed), *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâu*, (Oxford, 1893), 279.
- 126 Philip Morgan (ed), *Domesday Book*, vol 26, *Cheshire* (Chichester, 1978), G/3 ('The rest of the land is forest and moorland and cannot be cultivated').
- 127 Speed, *Theatre*, p 119.
- 128 P. Vinogradoff and F. Morgan (eds), *Survey of the Honour of Denbigh, 1334* (London, 1914), xi–xv.
- 129 Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change*, pp 370–1; and Vinogradoff and Morgan, *Survey*, pp 1–154.
- 130 R. Ian Jack, 'The Cloth Industry in Medieval Wales,' *whr* 10 (1980–1), 456–7.
- 131 A.H. Dodd, 'Flintshire Politics in the Seventeenth Century,' *JFHS* 14 (1953–4), 25.
- 132 Dodd, 'Flintshire Politics,' pp 23, 26–7; TNA: PRO STAC 5/A39/12.
- 133 D.H. Owen, 'Denbigh,' in Griffiths, *Boroughs of Mediaeval Wales*, pp 166–9.
- 134 Owen, 'Denbigh,' p 177.
- 135 Harold Carter, *The Towns of Wales, a Study in Urban Geography* (Cardiff, 1966), 201–5; and Soulsby, *Towns*, p 121.
- 136 Owen, 'Denbigh,' pp 171–2.
- 137 Leland, *Itinerary*, vol 3, p 97.
- 138 Owen, 'Denbigh,' pp 186–7.
- 139 R.I. Jack, 'The Seignorial Charters of the Borough of Ruthin,' *NEWJ* 16 (1969–70), 77–86; and R. Ian Jack, 'Ruthin,' in Griffiths, *Boroughs of Mediaeval Wales*, p 246.

- 140 Jack, 'Ruthin,' p 250.
- 141 R.I. Jack, 'The Cloth Industry in Medieval Ruthin,' *DHST* 12 (1963), 19–25, 255–6.
- 142 Jones, *Brut y Tywysogion, Peniarth ms. 20*, p 126.
- 143 Brian Evans, 'A Grant of Privileges to Wrexham (1380),' *BBCS* 19 (1960–2), 42–7.
- 144 J. Alan B. Somerset (ed), *Shropshire*, vol 1, REED (Toronto, 1994), 197.
- 145 Hasler, *House of Commons*, vol 1, pp 482–3; and John Edwards Griffith (comp), *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire Families* (Horncastle, 1914), 7.
- 146 uwb: Kinmel ms. 619; see also <http://www.amlwchdata.co.uk/amlwch_at_bangor_university.htm> under the heading Kinmel Manuscripts.
- 147 Carleton Brown (ed), *Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester*, Early English Text Society, es, no 113 (London, 1914).
- 148 Mark Bland, "As far from all Reuolt": Sir John Salusbury, Christ Church Ms 184 and Ben Jonson's First Ode,' *English Manuscript Studies* 8 (2000), 43–78; E.A.J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'* (Manchester, 1985, rev 1999), 90–113, suggests that Sir John Salusbury and his wife, Ursula, were the subjects of the allegory 'The Phoenix and the Turtle,' which appeared in Robert Chester's collection *Loves Martyr*, published in Sir John's honour in 1601 (*STC*: 5119). Honigmann's theory has not found wide acceptance.
- 149 See David Klausner, 'Family Entertainments among the Salusburies of Llewenni and their Circle, 1595–1641,' *Welsh Music History/Hanes Cerddoriaeth Cymru* 6 (2004), 129–54.
- 150 Adrian Bristow (ed), *Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale's Tour in North Wales 1774* (Wrexham, 1995), 37.
- 151 Speed, *Theatre*, p 121.
- 152 Owen, 'Farming Practice,' p 240; and Emery, 'Farming Regions,' p 131.
- 153 Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change*, p 31.
- 154 Paul Russell (ed), *Vita Griffini Filii Conani: The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* (Cardiff, 2005).
- 155 Ballard and Tait, *British Borough Charters*, pp xxvi–xxxii; Weinbaum, *British Borough Charters*, pp 146–7; and M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town Plantation in England, Wales and Gascony* (London, 1967), 549–52.
- 156 C.R. Williams, *The History of Flintshire*, vol 1, *From Earliest Times to the Act of Union* (Denbigh, 1961), 100.
- 157 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/982/1/34.
- 158 Dodd, 'Flintshire Politics,' p 23; and Williams, *History of Flintshire*, p 138.
- 159 Williams, *History of Flintshire*, p 140.
- 160 Williams, *History of Flintshire*, p 162.
- 161 Dodd, 'Flintshire Politics,' pp 24–5, 28–9; Bindoff, *House of Commons*, vol 1, pp 275–6; and Hasler, *House of Commons*, vol 1, pp 316–17.
- 162 Soulsby, *Towns*, pp 94–5; Edmund Owen, 'The Place of Caerwys in Welsh History,' *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5th ser, 8 (1891), 166–84; and D.L. Evans (ed), *Flintshire Ministers Accounts, 1328–1353*, Flintshire Record Series 2 (Abingdon, 1929), xl.
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- 228 The tradition has been refuted by R.K. Turvey, 'Sir John Perrot, Henry VIII's Bastard? The Destruction of a Myth,' *THSC* (1992), 79–94.
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Drama, Music, and Popular Customs

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- 4 Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, pt 4, p 691.
- 5 R.A. Griffith, 'The Prospects of the Welsh Drama,' *THSC* (1912–13), 129.
- 6 Jenkins et al, 'Welsh Language,' 49.
- 7 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/145/1/18.
- 8 A total of six manuscripts give the texts of both biblical plays; in one of these manuscripts the Passion play is incomplete, in two of them the Nativity play is incomplete. In addition to these six, two further manuscripts contain incomplete copies of the Nativity play alone and four others contain incomplete or fragmentary copies of the Passion play. Thus, in these twelve manuscripts, we have five complete copies of the Passion play and four of the Nativity play. The best text of *Y Gwr Kadarn* is in NLW: Peniarth ms 56, pp 129–80; see Sarah Campbell, 'The Strong Man and its Contexts: An Edition, Translation and Study of a Medieval Welsh Morality Play,' PhD thesis (Catholic University of America, 2005).
- The anonymous tragedy *Troelus a Chresyd* has been edited from its unique manuscript (Peniarth ms 106, copied by John Jones of Gellilyfdy, part in 1613 and part in 1622) by W. Beynon Davies, *Troelus a Chresyd* (Cardiff, 1976).
- 9 Jones, *Three Welsh Religious Plays*, pp 11, 44. See also Rhiannon Ifans, "'O fentro a mynd ato, y mae siawns, siawns, iti achub dy fywyd dy hun ac einioes dy genedl': Rhai Sylwadau ar Grefydd yn y Ddrama Gymraeg,' *Llên Cymru* 26 (2003), 87–105.
- 10 Jones, *Three Welsh Religious Plays*, p 43.
- 11 Lemuel James, *Hopkiniaid Morganwg* (Bangor, 1909), 92; and Lemuel James and T.C. Evans, *Hen Gwundidau, Carolau, a Chywyddau* (Bangor, 1910), xv.
- 12 Alexandra F. Johnston and Wim Hüskén (eds), *English Parish Drama* (Amsterdam, 1996).
- 13 David George (ed), *Lancashire*, REED (Toronto, 1991), 252–66.
- 14 Further information on performance events featuring the troupes of these patrons can be found in the published REED volumes; expanded information on the patrons is given on the REED Patrons and Performances Web Site: <http://link.library.utoronto.ca/reed/>. Details of events featuring professional performers in Wales, with biographical data for their patrons, have been uploaded on the Patrons and Performances Web Site.
- 15 Charles, *Calendar*, pp 40–1, 195–6.
- 16 14 Eliz, chapter 5. *Statutes of the Realm*, vol 4, pp 590–8.
- 17 John M. Wasson (ed), *Devon*, REED (Toronto, 1986), 220–1.
- 18 So Diodorus Siculus, probably quoting from Posidonius' lost continuation of the *Histories*

- of Polybius, says in the *Biblioteca Historica*, 'They have also lyric poets whom they call Bards. They sing to the accompaniment of instruments resembling lyres, sometimes a eulogy and sometimes a satire.' See also J.J. Tierney, 'The Celtic Ethnography of Posidonius,' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C, 60 (1958–60), 251.
- 19 The poetry is published in the series *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion* in seven volumes under the general editorship of R. Geraint Gruffydd (Cardiff, 1991–6). The sections of the Welsh Laws devoted to the 'pencerdd' and the 'bardd teulu' are discussed by Dafydd Jenkins, '*Bardd Teulu and Pencerdd*,' in Charles-Edwards et al, *The Welsh King and his Court*, pp 142–66.
 - 20 Bowen, 'Dafydd ab Edmwnt,' p 446.
 - 21 Graham G.C. Thomas of the National Library of Wales has assembled a list of about seventy manuscripts though many of them (especially those dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) are antiquarian copies.
 - 22 Bowen, 'Ail Eisteddfod Caerwys,' p 144: 'Yr oedd pwysleisio hynafiaeth Ystatud Gruffudd ap Cynan yn rhywbeth yr ymroes beirdd, boneddigion, dyneiddwyr a haneswyr Cymreig yr unfed ganrif ar bymtheg iddo o lwyrfryd calon, er y gwyddai'r rhain, mae'n sicr, nad oedd fodd ei holrhain yn ôl ymhellach nag eisteddfod Caerwys, 1523, chwaethach sôn am oes y tywysog ei hun.'
 - 23 Roberts, 'Eisteddfod Caerwys 1567,' pp 23–61.
 - 24 For more on the earlier eisteddfodau see Thomas, *Eisteddfodau Caerwys/The Caerwys Eisteddfodau*.
 - 25 Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions in Wales and Monmouthshire, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Caernarvonshire*, vol 2 (London, 1960), 71.
 - 26 Peter Howell, 'Country Houses in the Vale of Clwyd II,' *Country Life* 162 (29 December 1977), 1966–9.
 - 27 William Henry Jones, *The History of Swansea and the Lordship of Gower*, vol 2, *From the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries* (Swansea, 1992), 48.
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 - 29 The heading appears on p 560 of ms Hafod 24, and the translation of 'in theatro' as 'yn yskyffaldiau' appears in several other places in the treatise as well. A hypertext edition of Case's Latin text (with English translation) has been edited by Dana F. Sutton (<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/music/>; 2003), and excerpts from Conway's Welsh translation (including the present passage) are edited by Thomas Parry-Williams, *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg Y Gyfrol Gyntaf Detholion o Lawysgrifau 1488–1609*, vol 1 (Cardiff, 1954), 147–54. John Conway (d. 1606) of Botryddan, Flintshire, served as high sheriff of the county in 1585 and 1600. He also made a Welsh translation of Leonard Wright's anti-Puritan diatribe, *A Summons for Sleepers* (London, 1589; *src*: 26033.5).
 - 30 Trevor Owen, *Welsh Folk Customs* (Cardiff, 1959), 102–10.
 - 31 For the distribution of morris dancing in southern England, see John Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing*, SEED (Toronto, 1999), 37–45.

- 32 References to Herefordshire morris dancing are collected in David N. Klausner, *Herefordshire/Worcestershire*, REED (Toronto, 1990).
- 33 On summer kings see Sandra Billington, *Mock Kings in Medieval Society and Renaissance Drama* (Oxford, 1991), 55–85.

The Documents

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- 2 Giraldus, *Opera*, vol 6, pp ix–xxxii.
- 3 The most useful introduction to the Laws is Thomas Charles-Edwards, *The Welsh Laws*, Writers of Wales (Cardiff, 1989).
- 4 Emanuel, *Welsh Laws*, pp 172–3.
- 5 The note reads 'Liber Rogeri nepotis domini Alani rectoris de Krck' in a hand of c 1300. The location was most likely Crick, Monmouthshire, just southwest of Chepstow. The volume was unlikely to have been outside Wales at this time and Kirck is not a Welsh place-name.
- 6 NLW: SA/MB/14. The Red Book is now lost and is known only from sixteenth-century transcripts; see D.L. Evans, 'Llyfr Coch Asaph,' *NLWJ* 4 (1946), 177.
- 7 Jones, 'History of the Bulkeley Family,' pp 1–99.
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- 9 R.C. Turner, 'Robert Wynn and the Building of Plas Mawr, Conwy,' *NLWJ* 29 (1995), 187.
- 10 Jones, *Brut y Tywysogion or The Chronicle of the Princes, Red Book of Hergest Version*, p xii.
- 11 Jones, *Brut y Tywysogion or The Chronicle of the Princes, Red Book of Hergest Version*, pp xxxvi–xxxvii.
- 12 Jones, *Brut y Tywysogion, or The Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth ms. 20*, p lviii.
- 13 Jones, *Brenhinedd y Saesson or The Kings of the Saxons*, pp xxix–xxx, xxxix–xl.
- 14 *First Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1840), Appendix, no 31, 97.
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- 16 *Sixteenth Report*, p 40.
- 17 *Seventeenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1856), Appendix, no 1, 40.
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- 21 Alfred Neobard Palmer, 'Notes on certain Powysian Poets,' *Y Cymmrodor* 21 (1908), 135.
- 22 M. Ellis, 'Angharad Llwyd, 1780–1866,' *JFHS* 26 (1973–4), 52–85; 27 (1975–6), 43–84.

- 23 John Milton, *Poetical Works*, vol 6, H.J. Todd (ed) (London, 1809), 170.
- 24 Brown, 'Chirk Castle Entertainment,' pp 76–86.
- 25 *Statutes*, 1 Edw vi, chapter 3.
- 26 The problems concerning the date of this second eisteddfod are discussed on p 428 in the endnote to Evans: *Report*, vol 1, pp 291–2.
- 27 Davies, 'Caerwys Eisteddfod,' pp 87–102; and David N. Klausner, 'Statud Gruffudd ap Cynan,' *Welsh Music History/Hanes Cerddoriaeth Cymru* 3 (1999), 282–98.
- 28 Llŷn also made a second copy, now NLW: NLW MS 3025 (previously Mostyn 87). I am grateful to Graham C.G. Thomas of the National Library of Wales for his assistance in identifying the hand of BL: Additional MS 19,711.
- 29 These changes are discussed by Sally Harper, 'The Robert ap Huw Manuscript and the Canon of Sixteenth-century Welsh Harp Music,' *Welsh Music History/Hanes Cerddoriaeth Cymru* 3 (1999), 130–61, especially 151.
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- 33 Roy Martin Haines, *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth-Century England: the Career of Adam Orleton, c. 1275–1345* (Cambridge, 1978), 169.
- 34 Squires et al, 'Early Montgomeryshire Wills,' p 175.
- 35 Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146–1223* (Oxford, 1982), 219.
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- 37 'A short view of the long life,' pp 49–144.
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Editorial Procedures

- 1 The best survey of the Great Sessions material, as well as the best route into it, is provided by Parry's *A Guide to the Records of Great Sessions in Wales*.
- 2 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/133/1/6, 39, 152; 4/8/4/48.
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- 6 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/20/1/18; 4/13/4/26.
- 7 Richard Arthur Roberts (ed), *The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwydd of the Reign of King Edward the First Preserved in the Public Record Office, London* (London, 1893), 2, 19, 21, 30, 31, 37, 40.
- 8 Cennard Davies, *Robin Clidro a'i Ganlynwyr*, MA thesis (University of Wales, Swansea, 1964), 7–8, 91–2, 100–4; and Cennard Davies, 'Early Free-Metre Poetry,' *A Guide to Welsh Literature, vol 3: c. 1530–1700*, R. Geraint Gruffydd (ed) (Cardiff, 1997), 78–81. Fifty-three poems are attributed to Robin Clidro; of these only nine have been published, two in *Llên Cymru: Detholiad o Ryddiaith a Phrydyddiaeth*, T. Gwynn Jones (ed), vol 3

- (Caernarfon, 1926), 69–73; two in *Cerddi Rhydd Cynnar*, David Lloyd-Jenkins (ed) (Llandysul, [1931]), 175–9 ; and five in *Canu Rhydd Cynnar*, T.H. Parry-Williams (ed) (Cardiff, 1932), 146–66.
- 9 NLW: NLW MS 13068, ff 596–8. See D. Rhys Phillips, *The History of the Vale of Neath* (Swansea, 1925), 526–7. Of Watcyn ap Hywel's nine known poems this is the only one to be published.
 - 10 Melville Richards, *Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units* (Cardiff, 1969), ix.
 - 11 Emanuel, *Welsh Laws*; Aled Rhys Wiliam (ed), *Llyfr Iorwerth*, Board of Celtic Studies, History and Law Series, no 18 (Cardiff, 1960); Stephen J. Williams and J. Enoch Powell (eds), *Cyfreithian Hywel Dda yn ôl Llyfr Blegywryd*, 2nd ed (Cardiff, 1961); A.W. Wade-Evans (ed), *Welsh Medieval Law* (Oxford, 1909); Dafydd Jenkins (ed), *Llyfr Colan*, Board of Celtic Studies, History and Law Series, no 19 (Cardiff, 1963); and Dafydd Jenkins (ed), *Damweiniau Colan* (Aberystwyth, 1973). The most useful English version is Dafydd Jenkins' composite text, *The Law of Hywel Dda: Law Texts from Medieval Wales* (Llandysul, 1990). The best general introduction to the Laws is Thomas Charles-Edwards, *The Welsh Laws*, Writers of Wales (Cardiff, 1989).
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Map 1 Map of Wales from John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611), by courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library



Map 2 Principality of Wales after the first Act of Union, 1536



Map 3 Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, and Merioneth, with principal period routes in grey



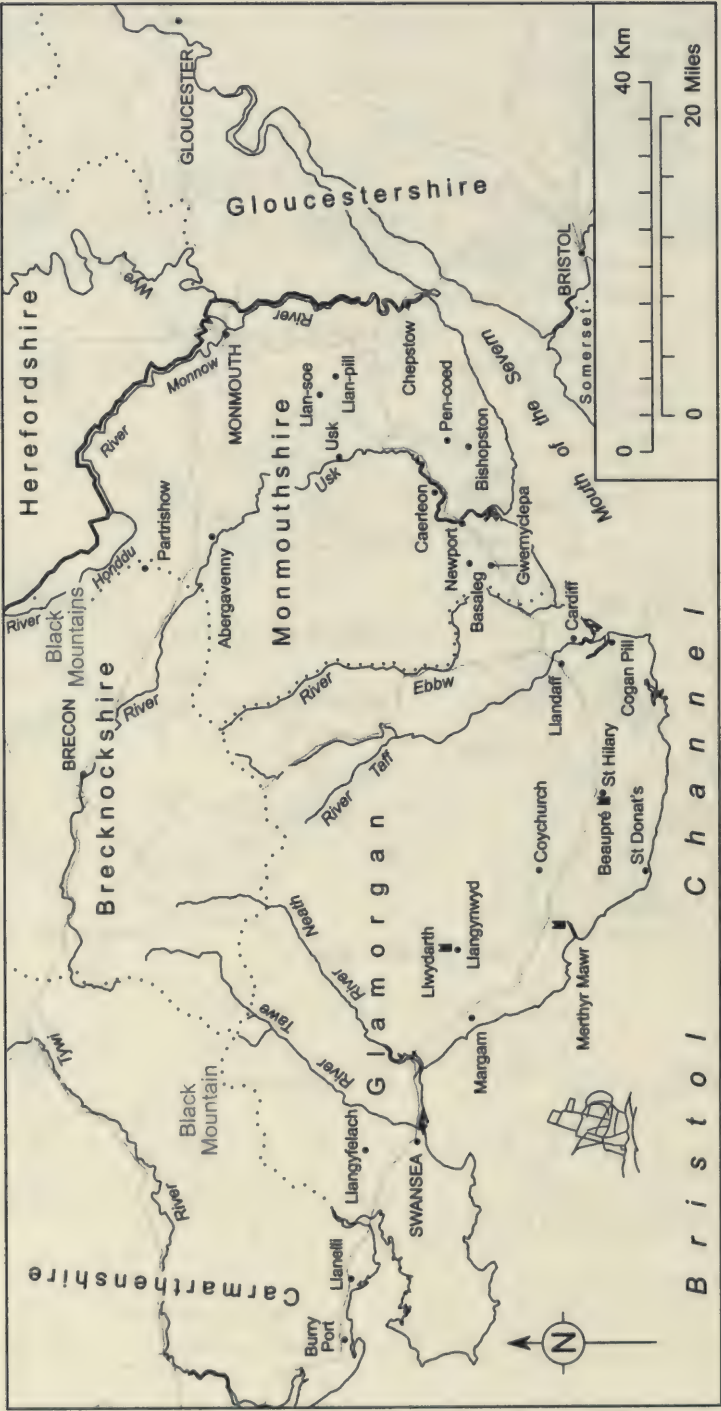
Map 4 Denbighshire and Flintshire, with principal period routes in grey



Map 5 Brecknockshire, Montgomeryshire, and Radnorshire, with principal period routes in grey



Map 6 Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire, with principal period routes in grey



Map 7 Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, with principal period routes in grey

Symbols

AN	Alnwick Castle	CUL	Cambridge University Library
BL	British Library	DRO	Denbighshire Record Office
BM	Bibliothèque municipale	FRO	Flintshire Record Office
BN	Bibliothèque nationale	GAS	Gwynedd Archives Service
Bodl.	Bodleian Library	HRO	Herefordshire Record Office
CCALS	Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies	NLW	National Library of Wales
CCCC	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	PRO	Pembrokeshire Record Office
CCLO	Christ Church Library, Oxford	TNA: PRO	The National Archives: Public Record Office
CLIS	Cardiff Libraries and Information Service	UWB	Bangor, University of Wales Library
		WGAS	West Glamorgan Archive Service
A	Antiquarian Compilation		
AC	Antiquarian Collection		
AAST	<i>Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club Transactions</i>		
BBCS	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</i>		
CHST	<i>Caernarvonshire Historical Society Transactions</i>		
DHST	<i>Denbighshire Historical Society Transactions</i>		
JFHS	<i>Journal of the Flintshire Historical Society</i>		
JMHRS	<i>Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society</i>		
MontColl	<i>Collections Historical and Archaeological Relating to Montgomeryshire</i>		
NLWJ	<i>National Library of Wales Journal</i>		
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>		
REED	Records of Early English Drama		
RST	<i>Radnorshire Society Transactions</i>		
STC	A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave (comps), <i>Short-Title Catalogue ... 1475–1640</i>		
THSC	<i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion</i>		
WHR	<i>Welsh History Review</i>		
Wing	D.G. Wing (comp), <i>Short-Title Catalogue ... 1641–1700</i>		

*	(after folio, membrane, page, or sheet number) see endnote
<...>	lost or illegible letters in the original
[]	cancellation in the original
(<i>blank</i>)	a blank in the original where writing would be expected
° °	matter in the original added in another hand
「 」	text written above the line
「 」	text written below the line
^	caret mark in the original
...	ellipsis of original matter
	change of folio, membrane, page, or sheet in continuous text
®	right-hand marginale
†	marginale too long for the left-hand margin

RECORDS OF EARLY DRAMA

Principality of Wales

1187/8

Gerald of Wales' *Itinerarium Kambriae* BL: Cotton Domitian A.1
ff 64–4v* (*Notable places in Hay on Wye and Brecknockshire*)

...

De cornu quoque sancti patricij non aureo quidem sed eneo. quod in partes 5
istas ab hybernia nuper aduenit: haut dissimiliter obstupendum. Cuius
uirtus ex fatua & inepta bernardi presbyteri cornicatione. terribili exemplo
in finibus istis: primum emicuit. Sicut & in hybernica topographia nostra
propalatur. hiis uerbis

*fforma hic de
cornu eneo
sancti patricij*

Uldimus quoque & in Gwallia unde & uehementer admiramur baiulum 10
quemdam cornu quoddam eneum quod sancti patricij fuisse dicebat: pro
reliquijs in collo gestantem. Dicebat autem ob reuerentiam sancti illius
neminem ausum hoc sonare. Cum igitur hybernico more circumstanti populo
cornu porrigeret osculandum: sacerdos quidam bernardus nomine | de manibus
eius illud abripuit. & oris apponens angulo. aeremque impellens sonare cepit. 15
Qui & eadem hora multis astantibus ore quidem auretenus paralitice retorto:
duplici passione percussus est. Cum enim torrentis eloquij prius extitisset.
& delatoris linguam detractor habuisset: sermonis cuiuslibet usum statim
amisit. Vnde & in hac parte sic lesus est: ut semper hactenus lingue fuerit
impedite. Preterea letargum patiens sic statim obliuioni cuncta tradiderat: 20
ut uix etiam se nomen habuisse meminisset. Enimuero tam enormiter in
memoria lesus fuerat: ut psalmos quos antea cordetenus optime nouerat:

Collation with BL: Royal MS 13.B.VIII (C) f 76v col 2–f 77 col 1; BL: Additional MS 34,762 (E) ff 107–7v; BL: Harley MS 359 (Hc) ff 140–40v; and BL: Royal MS 13.B.XII (Rd) ff 13–14 5 De] Rd omits 5 quoque] EHc omit 6 aduenit] obuinit CE; obruit Hc 6 haut] hanc CHc 6 obstupendum] non obstupendum Hc 8 &] CHc omit 8 nostra] CEHc omit p 3, l.9–p 4, l.5 hiis uerbis ... plena] CEHc omit 10 unde] quod Rd 15 abripuit] arripuit Rd 20 patiens] passus Rd

10/ Uldimus: enlarged decorated majuscule U followed by ordinary majuscule I

multis abinde diebus quasi de nouo recordantem uideremus. & litteras etiam quarum noticiam copiose satis habuerat: denuo mendicantem/ tamquam elementarium senem miraremur. Cui tandem in hyberniam ad sanctum patricium excessus huius causa peregre profecto: plenior ualitudo rediit. sed non plena.

CAmpanas namque baiulas. baculos quoque in superiori parte cameratos/ auro & argento uel ere contextos aliasque huiusmodi sanctorum reliquias/ in magna reuerentia tam hybernica & scotica quam & Gwallie populus & clerus habere solent. Adeo ut sacramenta super hec longe magis quam super euangelia & prestare uereantur. & peierare. Quippe ex ui quadam occulta & hiis quasi diuinitus insita. necnon & uindicta cuius precipue sancti illi appetibiles esse uidentur: plerumque puniuntur contemptores? & grauiter animaduertitur in tran^sgressores.

De cornu quoque patricij hoc equidem notabile censui. quod ad aurem appposito capite foraminis ampliore: dulcisonam audias per se sonoritatem emitti. qualis ex cythara nudata aura leniter impulsa: melodia solet educi.

...

c 1190–5

Welsh Laws: The Book of Cyfnerth BL: Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv f 38

...

Llety y penteulu uyd y ty mŷhaf ym perued y tref. canys yn y gylch ef y bydant lletyeu y teulu mal y bŷynt paraŷt ym pop reit. Yn llety y penteulu y byd y bard teulu. ar medyc....

Collation continued: 4 huius] eius Rd 6 baiulas] baiulans Rd 6 superiori] superiore C 7 contextos] contextos CEHc 8 reuerentia] ueneratione C 8 &²] C omits 11 necnon] & necnon E 11 cuius] cuius et Rd 12 animaduertitur] animaduertuntur EHc 14 quoque] CEHc omits

Collation with Bodorgan Hall: Bodorgan ms (Mk) p 7; NLW: Peniarth ms 37 (U) f 6; BL: Cotton Cleopatra B.v (X) f 169; and NLW: NLW MS 20,143 (Y) f 5 col 2–f 5v col 1 23 uyd] yŷ Mk; a dyly bot U 23 y ty] yn y ty UX 23 ym perued y] yn y MkX 23 ef y bydant] y dyly bot U 24 teulu] teulu oll U 24 bŷynt] bont U 24 paraŷt] yn barawd X 24 ym] y Y 24 reit] reid yr brenhin X 24–5 Yn llety ... medyc.] Mk omits 24 y byd] y bydant UY; y byddant X 25 bard] barad Y 25 medyc] effeiraf teulu U; medyc teulu Y

f 39v

...

Distein a geiff guisc y penteulu yn y teir gŷyl arbenhic. A guisc y distein a geiff y bard teulu. A guisc y bard a geiff y dryssaŵr....

Welsh Laws: The Book of Cyfnerth Bodorgan Hall: Bodorgan ms
p 12

...Pan gymero bard gadeir y keiff yr ygnat llys corn ha modrŷy eur ar gobennyd a dotter y danaŵ yn y gadeir....

Welsh Laws: The Book of Cyfnerth BL: Harley MS 4353
ff 9v–10*

...

Bard teulu a geiff eidon o pop anreith y bo ŵrth y dŷyn gyt ar teulu. Aran gŵr 15
mal pop teuluŵr arall. ynteu a gan vnbeinyaeth prydein racdunt yn dyd kat
ac ymlad. Pan archo bard y teyrn? kanet vn kanu. Pan archo y vreyr? kanet
tri chanu. Pan archo y tayaŵc? kanet hyt pan vo blin. Y tir a geiff yn ryd.
Ae varch yn presŷyl y gan y brenhin. Ar eil kanu a gan yn y neuad. kanys y

Collation with NLW: Peniarth MS 37 (*U*) f 7v and BL: Cotton Cleopatra B.v (*X*) f 171
3 Distein a geiff] a geiffliŵf y distein (dittography) *U*; Dylyed y distein yw *X* 3 yn
y teir] ym pob un or teir *U*; ym bob un or teir *X* 3–4 A guisc y distein ... y
dryssaŵr] *U* omits 4 bard²] bard teulu *X* 4 y dryssaŵr] y porthaŵr *X*

Collation with Bodorgan Hall: Bodorgan MS (*Mk*) pp 16–17; NLW: Peniarth MS 37
(*U*) ff 13–13v; BL: Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv (*W*) ff 45v–6v; BL: Cotton Cleopatra B.v
(*X*) f 177; and NLW: NLW MS 20,143 (*Y*) f 14 col 1–f 14v col 2 15 o pop ... teulu] y
teulu y gan o pop anreith a wnel y teulu ac y bo ef ŵrth y dŷyn *Mk*; y gan teulu o bob
anreith or y bo ŵrth y dŷyn *U*; o pop anreith yt uo yndi gan y teulu *W*; y gan y teulu o
bop anreith yd ŵndi *X* but *X2* adds ¹ar y bo wrth i dwyn gyda y teulu¹; y gan y teulu o
pop anreith yd uo yndi *Y* 16 mal] mab *Mk*, corrected to mal by *Mk2*; heuyt mal y *W*
16 arall] *MkUWXY* omit but *Mk2* inserts in left margin 16 a gan] a dyly canv *X*
16–17 racdunt ... ymlad] racdunt ŷy or byd ymlad *Mk*; racdunt or byd ymlad *UY*;
o byd ymlad rac bron y gad *X* 17 ac ymlad] abrŷydyr *W* 17 archo¹] a archo *X*
17 bard] y bard *U* 17 archo²] archo bard *W* 17 y vreyr] breyr *X* 18 tri chanu]
deu canu *Y*, corrected to tri canu by *Y* or *Y2* 18 Pan archo] Os eirch *W*; od eirch *X*; or
eirch *Y* 18 hyt pan vo blin] hyny vo blin *Mk*; yny uo lludedic *UY*; hyny uo lludedic
W; yny gysgo. *X* but *X2* adds ¹neb oni vo blin¹ 18–19 Y tir ... a gan] Ef a gan yr
eil kanu *Mk* 18 Y tir ... ryd] yn ryd y keiff y tir *U*; y dir yn ryd *X*; Yn ryd y keif y
tir *Y* 19 Ae varch] A march *UWX*; March *Y* 19 yn presŷyl] yn ossep *U*; bitwosseb
W; [i] bith osseph *X* but *X2* adds ¹neb yn bresswyl /-/ yr ail kanv a gan yn y nevadd
kanŵ y p(...) kerdd(...) ddech(...) ¹; byth oseph a geif *Y* 19 Ar eil kanu] A chanu *U*

penkerd a dechreu. Eil nessaf yd eisted yr penteulu. Telyn a geiff y l gan y
 brenhin. A modrŷ eur y gan y vrenhines pan rother y sŷyd idaŷ. Ar telyn
 ny at byt^h y gantaŷ. Uard teulu. Gostecgŷr. Distein brenhines. Dryssaŷr
 neuad. Dryssaŷr ystauell. Gwastraŷt auŷyn. Canhŷyllyd. Trullyat. Coc.
 Troedaŷc. Medyd. Sŷydŷr llys. Medyc. Morŷyn ystauell. Gŷastraŷt auŷyn 5
 brenhines. Y pymthec hyn yssyd vn vreint. Ac vn vreint eu merchet. Yn
 sarhaet pop vn o hynny y telir whe bu a whe vgeint aryant. Galanas pop vn
 ohonunt a telir o whe bu a whe [bu] vgeint mu gan tri drychafel. Ebediŷ pop
 vn ohonunt? yŷ wheugeint. A whe vgeint yŷ gobyr merch pop vn ohonunt.
 Punt a hanher yn y chowyll. Teir punt y hegŷedi. Or a merch vn or pymthec 10
 hyn. yn llathrut heb rod kenedyl: wech eidon kyhyt eu kyn ac eu hyskyfarn
 uyd eu hegŷedi. vn vreint a hynny yŷ merch pop gŷr ryd a el yn llathrut.
 ...

ff 15–15v

15

...
 Dylyet y penkerd yŷ eisted ar gled yr etling. y tir a geiff yn ryd. Ef

Collation continued: p 5, l.19–p 6, l.1 Ar eil ... yr penteulu.] Y penkerd a dechreu
 canv yn y neuad gyssenin. Eil nessaf yr penteulu vyd. *X* 1 yd eisted yr penteulu] yr
 penteulu yd eisted *Mk*; yr penteulu uyd *U*; uyd yr penteulu *W*; uit yr penteulu *Y*
 2 rother] *ŷ*stler *MkW*; *ŷ*stler *U*, corrected to *ŷ*^[y]stler by *U2*; gwystler *X*; wystler *Y*
 2 Ar] y *MkUWXY* 3 at] a *U*; ad *X*; aat *Y* 3 y gantaŷ] y ganthaŷ. nac ar werth
 nac yn rat tra vo byŷ. *Mk*; y ŷrthaŷ nac yr gwerth nac yr gobyr yny uo marŷ *U*
 3–12 Uard teulu ... llathrut.] *UXY omits* 3 Distein brenhines.] *Mk omits*
 4–5 Trullyat ... Medyc.] Medyd. Trullyat. Swydwŷr llys. Coc. Medyc. Troedaŷc.
Mk 4–5 Coc ... Medyc.] Medyd. Sŷydŷr llys. Coc. Medyc. *W* 6 yssyd vn vreint]
 yssyd [vreint] *W* 6 Ac vn vreint] vn vreint vn sarhaet vn alanas vn ebediŷ ac
 vn vreint *Mk*; vn ureint. vn sarhaet. ac vn alanas ac vn ebediŷ ac vn vreint *W*
 6–7 Yn sarhaet ... telir] Sef a telir yn eu sarhaet. *W* 7 o hynny] ohonunt *Mk*
 7–8 Galanas ... drychafel.] A whe bu awhe vgein mu gan tri drychafel yg galanas
 pop vn. *Mk* 7–8 Galanas ... a telir] Yn eu galanas y telir *W* 8 o] *W omits*
 8–9 Ebediŷ ... wheugeint] Yn eu hebediŷ y telir wheugeint aryant *W* 9 ohonunt:
 yŷ] *Mk omits* 9 merch ... ohonunt] eu merchet *W* 9 ohonunt] o hynny *Mk*
 10–12 Punt a hanher ... llathrut.] *Mk omits* 10 Punt] A phunt *W* 10 yn y]
 yn eu *W* 10 Teir] A their *W* 10 y hegŷedi] yŷ eu hegedi *W* 12 a hynny ...
 llathrut] yŷ pop merch gŷr ryd ael yn llathrut a hynny *W*

Collation with Bodorgan Hall: Bodorgan ms (*Mk*) pp 28–9; NLW: Peniarth ms 37
 (*U*) f 19; BL: Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv (*W*) ff 52v–3; BL: Cotton Cleopatra B.v (*X*)
 ff 200v–1; and NLW: NLW MS 20,143 (*Y*) f 17v col 2 p 6, l.17–p 7, l.6 Dylyet ... y
 penkerd] *Y omits* 17 Dylyet ... yr etling] *U omits* 17 ar gled] ar neill aw *X*
 17 y tir ... yn ryd] Penkerd a geiff y tir yn ryd *U*; Ef bieŷ y tir yn ryd *X*

a dyly kanu yn gyntaf yn y neuad. kyfarús neithaór a geiff nyt amgen pedeir ar hugeint y gan pop moróyn pan úrhao. ny cheiff dim hagen ar neithaór góreic a rygaffo gynt da ar y neithaór pan uu uoróyn. Sef uyd penkerd. y bard pan enillo kadeir. Ny eill neb bard erchi dim hyt y bo y penkeirdyaeth ef. heb y ganhat. onyt bard gorwlat uyd. kyt lludys y brenhin rodi da yn y gyfoeth hyt ym pen yspeit? digyfreith uyd y penkerd. Pan vynho l y brenhin gerd oe gúarandaú? kanet y penkerd deu ganu y mod duó. Ar trydyd or penaetheu. Pan vynho y vrenhines gerd oe gúarandaú yn y hystauell. kanet y bard teulu tri chanu yndisson rac teruyscu y llys.

...

10

1215

Gerald of Wales' Descriptio Cambriae BL: Cotton Domitian A.1 ff 120v–1* (Of Welsh hospitality and generosity)

...

15

Qui matutinis autem horis adueniunt: puellarum affatibus & cythararum modulis usque ad uesperam delectantur. Domus enim hic quelibet puellas habet & cytharas ad hoc deputatas. Unde & duo notabilia hic reperies. quia zelotipie vicio sicut nulla magis quam hybernica: sic nulla minus quam kambrica gens laborat. Omnes quoque de curia seu familia uiri citra doctrinam omnem l cytharizandi per se peritiam tenent. Uespere uero

20

Collation continued: p 6, l.17–p 7, l.6 Ef a dyly ... y penkerd.] Ef bieu gobyr merchet y beird a uo y danaó. Pedeir ar ugeint a geiff o gyuarús neithaór. U 1 a dyly] bieu W; bieú X 1 neuad] llys X 1 kyfarús] A chyfvaruws X 1–2 a geiff ... hugeint] nyd amgen no phedeir ar húgeint ariant a geif X 1–2 pedeir ar hugeint] no phedeir ar hugeint ariant W 2 úrhao] gymerho gwr X 2 cheiff] cheiff ef Mk 2–3 hagen ... uoróyn] oneithya wr gwreic a rygaffo gynt seuthi y yawn X 2 hagen] W omits 2 ar²] o W 3 uyd] yó W; y byd X 3 penkerd] y penkerd MkWX 3 y] Mk omits 4 pan] gúedy Mk 4 dim] dim heb ganhyad y penkerd X 4–5 hyt y bo ... ganhat.] heb ganhyat y penkerd hyt y bo y penkeirdaeth ef. W 5–6 heb y ganhat ... yspeit] kyn gwnelher kyfureith. na roder dim y vn y vn kerdawr hyd ymhen ysbein X 5 lludys] lludyo MkW 6–9 Pan vynho ... y llys] X omits 6 vynho] ymynho W 7 gerd oe gúarandaú] warandaú kerd U 7 oe gúarandaú] Y omits 7–8 kanet y ... penaetheu.] Canet y penkerd deu canu yg kynted y neuad. Yn o duó. Ac arall or teyrned. Odyna canet y bard teulu y trydyd. U 7 trydyd] arall Y 7 or] o WY 8 penaetheu] pennaetheu yn y guarthaf ty W; penaetheu yny gúarthaf ty Y 8 gerd ... hystauell] gúarandaú kerd. yn yr ystauell Y 8 oe gúarandaú yn y] U omits 8 yn y hystauell] yn yr ystauell W 9 teulu tri chanu] kerd o camlan a hynny U 9 tri chanu] tri chanu o kerd camlan Y 9 y llys] llys Mk; yny neuad. Bard a enillo cadeir uyd y penkerd. Ny cheiff bard erchi dim heb ganyat y penkerd. Pan wnel yr arglúyd R. na rodher dim y kerdoryon digyfreith uyd y penkerd. U

cessantibus iam aduentantium turbis? iuxta numerum uirorum & dignitatem
iuxta domus quoque facultatem? exhibitio procuratur....

...

ff 121v–3* (*Of Welsh acuity and subtlety*)

5

...

IN musicis instrumentis tanta sonoritatis dulcedine aures deliniunt &
demulcent? tanta modulorum celeritate pariter & subtilitate feruntur? tanta
discrepantium sub tam precipiti digitorum rapacitate consonantiam prestant?
quantum ut breuiter transeam in tribus nationibus titulo de musicis 10
instrumentis hybernica topographia nostra declarat? in hec uerba. Mirum
quod in tanta tamquam precipiti digitorum rapacitate musica seruator
proportio. & arte per omnia indempni/ inter crispatos modulos organaque
multipliciter intricata tam suauis uelocitate/ tam dispari paritate/ tam discordi
concordia? consona redditur & completur melodia. Seu dyatessaron/ seu 15
dyapente corde conlcrepent? semper tamen a .b. molli incipiunt & in idem
redeunt. ut cuncta sub iocunde sonoritatis dulcedine compleantur. Tam
subtiliter modulos intrant & exeunt. sicque sub obtuso grossioris corde
sonitu/ gracilium tinnitus licentius ludunt/ latentius delectant/ lasciuiusque
demulcent? ut pars artis maxima uideatur? artem uelare. tamquam si lateat 20
prosit? ferat ars deprensa pudorem. Hinc accidit ut ea que subtilius intuentibus/
& artis archana acute discernentibus/ internas & ineffabiles comparant
animi delicias? ea non attendentibus sed tamquam uidendo non uidentibus/
& audiendo non intelligentibus? aures potius honerent quam delectent. &
tamquam confuso inordinatoque strepitu inuitis auditoribus fastidia pariant 25
tediosa. Tribus autem utuntur instrumentis. cythara/ tybiis/ & choro.
IN causis actionibus/ & foro ciuili. captando/ insinuando/ inueniendo/
disponendo/ refutando/ & confirmando? nullas penitus naturalis rethorice
partes omittunt.

IN cantilenis rithmicis & dictamine tam subtiles inueniuntur? ut mire 30
& exquisite inuentionis lingua propria tam uerborum quam sententiarum
proferant exornationes. unde & poetas quos bardos uocant ad hoc deputatos

Collation with BL: Royal MS 13.B.xii (*Rd*), ff 114–14v 1 dignitatem] dignitatum *Rd*

Collation with BL: Royal MS 13.B.xii (*Rd*), ff 116v–19 7 tanta sonoritatis] *Rd*
omits 8–9 tanta discrepantium] tantamque discrepantiam *Rd* 12 tamquam]
tam *Rd* 25 inordinatoque] ordinatoque *Rd* 27–8 insinuando ... refutando]
insinuando, inueniendo, disponendo, et refutando *Rd* 28 naturalis] naturaliter *Rd*

® *Nota ut eximie
Londoni musica
britonum*

® *hoc certe
verissimum
est.*

7, 27, 30/ IN: enlarged decorated majuscule I followed by ordinary majuscule N

8/ tanta²: for tantamque

20–1/ si lateat ... pudorem: cp Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 2.313

® Iuuenalis vt
opinor°

in hac natione multos inuenies. Iuxta illud. Plurima concreti fuderunt carmina bardi. Pre cunctis tamen rethoricis exornationibus: annominatione magis utuntur. eaque precipue specie que primas dictionum litteras uel sillabas conuenientia iungit.

Adeo igitur hoc uerborum ornatu due nationes angli scilicet & kambri in omni sermone exquisito utuntur: ut nichil ab hiis eleganter dictum/ nullum egregium/ nullum nisi rude & agreste censeatur eloquium: si non scematis huius lima plene fuerit expoliturum. Sicut britannice in hunc modum.

Dychaun dyu da dy vnico.

¶ id est facere potest bene deus vnico. ac si diceret. hominem potest iuuare deus & si solus sit¹

erbyn dibuilh puilh paraut.

¶ id est contra insensatum? sensum prepares.¹

Anglice uero sic. Godis to gedere gamen and wisdom.

¶ id est bona est una cum iocunditate? sapientia.¹

Ne halt nocht alsor isaid/ ne al sorghe atwite.

¶ id est non attinet omne malum suum alij reuelare. nec omne alterius incommodum ei exprobrare.¹

Betere is | red pene rap and liste pene liþer streingthe.

¶ Hoc est. plus ualeat | deliberacio quam prepropera festinatio. & plus moderatio quam uiolentia.¹

IN Latino quoque haut dissimiliter eloquio eandem exornationem frequens est inuenire. in hunc modum. virgilius. Tales casus cassandra canebat. Et illud eiusdem ad augustum. Dum dubitat natura marem faceret ue puellam. Natus es o pulcher pena puella puer.

IN nullis tamen linguis quas nouerimus hec exornatio adeo ut in prioribus duabus est usitata. [i]

Mirum autem quod gallica lingua alias tam ornata/ hunc uerborum ornatum ab aliis tam usitatum? prorsus ignorat. Nec ego tamen id crediderim quod

Collation continued: 1 illud] illud poeticum Rd 2 tamen] autem Rd 6–7 nullum egregium] Rd omits 9 dy] y Rd 12 erbyn ... puilh] vrth pob kwbwl Rd 14 sic] Rd omits 14 to] te Rd 16 alsor isaid] al sel isait Rd 16 sorghe] sore Rd 19 rap] yap Rd 22–3 frequens est inuenire] frequenter inuenire est Rd 23 Et] Ac Rd 29 id] hoc Rd

1–2/ Plurima ... bardi: cp Lucan, Pharsalia 1.449

12/ erbyn: e added in space left for decorated majuscule initial

22, 26/ IN: enlarged decorated majuscule I followed by ordinary majuscule N

23/ Tales ... canebat: cp Vergil, Aeneid 3.183

25/ pena: for pene

29/ tam: added in left margin and marked for insertion here

priores populi duo tam diuersi ad inuicem & aduersi/ in hoc uerborum
ornatu ex arte *conueniant*. *sed* potius ex usu longo. qui *quia* placuit solum/
& facili *similium* ad *similia* transitu aures demulsit? *per* succedentia *tempora*
inoleuit. Sicut tullius in libro de elocutione de talibus qui *usum habent* &
non artem? loquitur dicens. Ceteri cum legunt orationes bonas/ aut poemata? 5
probant oratores & poetas. neque intelligunt *quare commoti* probent. quod
eo scire *non* possunt. ubi sit/ aut quid sit/ *quomodo factum* sit? id quod eos
maxime delectet.

de *simphonicis* eorum *cantibus* & *cantilenis* organicis.

IN musico modulamine *non* uniformiter ut alibi *sed* *multipliciter* multisque 10
modis & *modulis* cantilenas emittunt. Adeo ut in turba canentium sicut
huic *genti* mos *est* quot uideas capita? tot audi[s] carmina. discriminaque
uocum uaria in unam denique sub .b. mollis dulcedine blanda *consonantiam*/
& *organicam* *conuenientia* melodiam.

IN borealibus quoque maioris brittanie *partibus* trans *humbriam* *scilicet* 15
eboraci finibus anglorum populi qui *partes* illas *inhabitant*? *simili* canendo
symphonica utuntur armonia. Binis tamen solummodo tonorum differentiis/
& uocum modulando uarietatibus una inferius submurmurante/ altera uero
superne demulcente pariter & delectante. Nec arte tamen *sed* usu longeuo
& quasi in naturam mora diutina iam *conuerso*/ hec uel illa *sibi* gens hanc 20
specialitatem comparauit. | Qui adeo apud utramque inualuit. & altas iam
radices posuit? ut nichil hic *simpliciter*? nichil *nisi* *multipliciter* ut apud
priores. uel saltem *dupliciter* ut apud sequentes? melice proferri *consueuerit*.
Pueris *etiam* quod magis admirandum & fere infantibus cum primum a
fletibus in cantus erumpunt? eandem modulationem obseruantibus. 25

Angli uero quoniam *non* generaliter omnes *sed* boreales solum *huiuscemodi*
uocum utuntur modulationibus? credo quod a dacia & norwagiensibus qui
partes illas *insule* frequentius occupare ac diutius obtinere solebant? sicut
loquendi affinitatem/ sic & canendi proprietatem? contraxerunt.

...

30

Collation continued: 3 *similium*] *similia* Rd 3 *demulsit*] *demulcet* Rd
3 *succedentia*] *succedentie* Rd 6 &] aut Rd 6 *quod*] *sed* Rd 9 *cantibus*
&] Rd *omits* 15 *humbriam*] *Humbrum* Rd 16 *canendo*] *canendi* Rd
18 *submurmurante*] *subministrante* Rd 21 *comparauit*] *sibi comparauit* Rd
22 *nichil nisi*] *nisi* Rd 28 *solebant*] *solebat* Rd

3/ *tempora*: r indicated twice, once by abbreviation mark and once expressed

5–8/ Ceteri ... delectet: cp P.-Cicero, Rhetorica ad Herennium 4.3.4

10, 15/ IN: enlarged decorated majuscule I followed by ordinary majuscule N

c 1220

Welsh Laws: Latin Redaction A NLW: Peniarth Ms 28Bp 1 col 2* (*Officers of the court*)

...

A curia sua Rex sumpsit exordium. disponens in ea .xx^{ti}iiii^{or}. ministros 5
 officiales quorum primus est. penteylu. *secundus* offeyrat teylu. *tercius* dysteyn.
quartus Braudur llys. *quintus* hebogyt. *sextus* pengwastraut. *septimus*
 penkenyt. *octauus* gwas stauell. *nonus* dysteyn regine. *decimus* offeyrat
 regine. *undecimus* bard teylu. *duodecimus* gostegwr. *terciusdecimus* deressaur
 é newat. *quartusdecimus* deressaur stauell. *quintusdecimus* moruyn stauell. 10
Sextusdecimus gwastraut áwyn. *Septimus decimus* cannuylyt. *octauusdecimus*
 trullyat. *nonusdecimus* medyd. *vicesimus* suydwr. *vicesimus primus* coccus.
vicesimus secundus troydyauc. *vicesimustercius* medic. *vicesimus quartus*
 gwastraut regine. Hii .xx^{ti}iiii^{or}. ter quolibet in anno. debent indumenta 15
 sua á rege & regina *habere*. lanea *scilicet* á rege. & linea á regina. & hoc
 in natali & pascha et pentecosten....

p 2 col 2

...

De licito regi. 20
 Licitum regi est *habere* .xxx^a. sex homines equitantes in commitatu suo *id est*
 xx^{ti}iiii^{or}. officiales suos. & duodecim hospites. *preter* familiam & optimates
 & pueros & iocculatores & pauperes.

p 3 col 1 (*Rights and dignity of the king's heir*)

25

...

⟨.⟩eres qui post regem regno succedit. *omnibus* debet. esse. in curia honorabilior
preter regem et reginam. debet enim. esse. filius regis. uel eius frater. Locus
 eius in aula est? in opposito regis ultra ignem. Inter heredem et columpnam?
 primo loco iudex *habet* sedem. *secundo* offeyrat teylu. Ex altera uero parte 30
 heredis? penkerd patrie. Post hunc in illa parte nemo potest sibi debitum
 uendicare locum....

...

p 4 col 1 (*Protection for the king, queen, and officers*)

35

...Refugium. bard teylu est? *conducere*. hominem ad penteylu & penteylu
 usque ad finem kemwt in quo sit....

p 5 col 1 (*Location of officials' lodgings*)

40

...

Hospitium penteylu est maxima domus que in media uilla reperiatur?

familiares *enim* debent cum eo hospitari uel circa eum. ad omne regis negotium parati. cum eo debent bard teylu & medyc collocari....

p 11 cols 1–2

...

De bard teylu.

Bard teylu cum familia regis *proficiscatur* ad *predam* capiendam si sit cum eis bonum iumentum de *preda* debet *habere*. Et si belli fuerit conflictus? cantare | debet quod dicitur vnbeynayth predeyn ante familiam. Si poeta uenerit ad regem causa extorquendi aliquid ab eo? unum carmen ei *tantum* 10 decantet. Si ad *optimatem* tria. Si ad uillanum? cantet donec deficiat.

De penkerd.

Penkerd debet *habere* merces de filiabus poetarum sibi subditorum. habebit quoque munera nuptiarum *id est* kyuarus neythaur á feminabus nuper datis *scilicet* xxiiii^{or}. d. Cum regi placuerit in aula audire carmina? penkerd 15 primo et secundo carmina cantare debet. Vnum *scilicet* de deo. & alterum de regibus & hoc in anteriori parte aule *id est* huch kyntet. Postea cantet poeta familie *tercium* carmen in posteriori parte aule *id est* hyscoref. Cum regina uoluerit in sua camera audire carmina? poeta familie tria carmina de kerd amgan debet ei cantare. et hoc uoce moderata & sine clamore ne aula 20 disturbetur.

...

p 18 col 2 (*Miscellaneous ordinances*)

...

...Tria sunt que dicuntur try anhepcor bréénhyn. quibus rex carere *non* potest *scilicet* sacerdos familiaris ad missam celebrandam & ad benedicenda cibaria & iudex curie ad iudicandas causas & ad dandum consilium. & familia que prompta debet esse semper ad opus regis. Try anhepcor mab huccelur *scilicet* cythare. brecchan. caldarium. Try anhepcor tayauc *scilicet* 30 troththyw. cawyn. talbren....

p 19 col 1 (*Various triads*)

...Tres artes *sunt* que *non* licet filio villani addicere sine licentia domini sui 35 *scilicet* literatura. fabrica ars. & poesis. Si autem dominus villani paciatur ut clericus fiat & ordinetur postea non poterit eum retrahere quamvis velit....

13/ merces: *for* mercedes

20/ amgan: *for* amgen

p 20 col 1

...Tres sunt lyre legales. lyra regis & lira penkerd. quarum utraque ualet dimidium libre. Plectrum utriusque est xii. d. ualet. Et lyra optimatis que ualet lxa. d. Plectrum eius. iiii^{or}. d. legales....

5

Welsh Laws: Latin Redaction B BL: Cotton Vespasian E.xi
f 9v col 2

...Cum familia regis ad predam proficiscatur capiendam. poeta familie debet habere bonum iumentum de preda si cum eis intersit. & si bellum fuerit. cantare debet carmen quod dicitur unbeinniayth brydein ante familiam. Si poeta uenerit ad regem causa extorquendi aliquid ab eo. cantet ei carmen unum. Si ad optimatem uenerit tria cantet carmina. Si ad uillanum. cantet donec deficiat.

10

15

...

f 11 cols 1–2

...

De poeta familie

20

Bard teilu in die quo acceperit seruitium suum. rex debet dare ei citharam & regina anulum. & illa munera a se non debet dare.

De penkerd

Penkerd debet habere munera nuptiarum a puellis. scilicet xxiiii. d. & nichil a feminis. Primo debet cantare in aula. non poltest alius poeta petere aliquid in sua prouintia absque eius licentia.

25

...

f 20 col 2–f 20v col 1 (*On women and their circumstances*)

...

30

...Princeps poetarum. id est penkerd debet habere mercedes filiarum poetarum sibi subditorum. & munera nuptiarum kywarws neithiaur a mulieribus nouiter datis. id est xxiiii. d. faber curie habebit mercedes [(.)] filiarum aliorum fabrorum quia penkerd est omnium fabrorum sub se existentium. Merces filie fabri curie est dimidium libre. & est regis.

35

...

f 38v col 2–f 39 col 1

...

Bard stauell

40

Quidam dicunt quod bard stauell est de numero xxiiii & debet habere lanea uestimenta a rege & linea a regina ter in anno. & terram suam liberam &

equm. Refugium eius est conducere *hominem* ex quo primum carmen
ceperit in camera usque dum finierit *ultimum*. Iniuria est eius vi. uacce
& .vi. uncie argenti. Galanas eius est. sex | uacce & sexies .xx. uacce. In
mercede filie eius redduntur .vi. uncie. libram & *dimidium* in cowil tres
libre in eius aguedi .vi. uncie argenti ebediv bard ystauel. Nulla gens debet
iure iniuriam reddere cum aliquo de cognatione sua. dum ille *quicquam*
boni habuerit in possessione sua Si autem bona illius defecerint? tunc
genus illius debet partiri inter se quod residuum fuerit. usque *terciam*
generacionem.

...

Welsh Laws: Latin Redaction C BL: Harley MS 1796
pp 24–5

amorniam *uel* carmina
...Cum uoluerit rex audire cherd in aula
id est principalis de menastrallis
pencherd debet cantare primo duo
carmina unum de deo et alium de regibus in anteriori parte
id est. poeta familie
aule *id est* in e chentet. postea barth teulu debet
cantare trium carmen in posteriori parte scoru. |
carmina poeta familie
Cvm uoluerit regina audire cherd in kamera bart teulu
debet cantare ei. *id est*. tria carmina de carminibus
a deli canu idi trichulum o cherd
diuersis & hoc sine clamore
amgen a henni heb leuein ne disturbetur aule....

4/ libram: *for* libra15/ amorniam: *for* armoniam26/ trium: *for* tercium26/ scoru: *for* is coru35/ aule: *for* aula

c 1230–5

Welsh Laws: The Book of Iorwerth BL: Cotton Titus D.II

ff 2–2v*

...ar llys a gymyrth dechreu. petwar sŷdaŷc ar ugeynt a dely bot yndy			5
Penteylu.	Gostegŷŷr.	Dysteyn y urenhynes.	
Effeyryat.	Penkynyd.	Effeyryat y urenhynes.	
Dysteyn.	Medyd.	Penguastraŷt y urenhynes.	
Penhebogyd.	Medyc.	Gŷas stauell y vrenhynes.	
Braŷddŷr llys.	Trullyat.	Llaŷŷŷŷŷŷyn y urenhynes.	10
Penguastraŷt.	Dryssaŷr.	Dryssaŷr y urenhynes.	
Gŷas Ystavell.	Cocc.	Cocc y urenhynes.	
Bard Teylŷ.	Kanhŷyllyd.	Kanhŷyllyd y urenhynes. l	

Ar sŷdogyon kyntaf a ryuassam ny uchot yv rey y llys. ar vyth dywethaf yv
rey y urenhines. Teyr gueyth pob blvydyn delyant y petwar sŷydaŷc ar ugeynt 15
uchot herwyd kyureyth eu brethynwysc y gan y brenhyn/ ac eu llyeynwysc
y gan y urenhynes y nodolyc ar pasch ar sulgvyn.

...

ff 3–3v

20

...

Petwar cadeyryaŷc ar dec esyd yn llys petwar onadunt ys coryf a dec uwch

Collation with NLW: Peniarth ms 29B (A) p 2; NLW: Peniarth ms 32 (D) f 1v; and
BL: Additional ms 14,931 (E) ff 1–1v 5 a¹] y D 5 gymyrth] kymerasant D
5 petwar ... yndy] ac e gosodes peduuar ar ugeyn o guasanaethguyr en llys A;
ac oossodes pedwar ar gwyr ar rugein o wasanaethwyr (3 *minims in Ms*) yn llys E
5 sŷydaŷc] gwassanaethwr D 5 a dely bot yndy] yssyd iaŷn y vot yndi. nyt
amgen. D 6–14 Dysteyn y urenhynes ... Kanhŷyllyd y urenhynes.] *before the list
of officers in col 3, D adds* Swydogyon y vrenhines ynt y rei hynn.; *E adds* Sŷydwy
y yrenines. 6 y] *D omits* 7 Effeyryat¹] *D adds* teulu 7 y] *D omits* 8 y]
D omits 9 Penhebogyd] Hebogyd ADE 9 y vrenhynes.] *D omits* 10 y
urenhynes.] *DE omit* 11 y urenhynes.] *AD omit* 12 y urenhynes.] *AD omit*
13 y urenhynes.] *AD omit* 14 Ar] *DE omit* 14 kyntaf] y llys D; *E omits*
14 ryuassam] dywedassam D 14 yv rey y llys.] *DE omit* 14 ar vyth] *E omits*
14–15 yv rey y urenhines] wuyt ynti E 15 rey] swydogyon D 15 Teyr] Tery A
15 pob blvydyn] ene uuluyn A; yn y wluydyn E 15 delyant] y dylly D 16 uchot]
D omits 16 herwyd] kafaŷ heruuy A; cafaŷ herwyd E 16 llyeynwysc]
llyeynguytc A 17 urenhynes] vrenhines. nyt amgen. D 17 y nodolyc ... sulgvyn]
nodolic. a phasc a sulgvyn E 17 ar ... sulgvyn] a pasc a sulgvyn A

Collation with NLW: Peniarth ms 29B (A) pp 5–6; NLW: Peniarth ms 32 (D) ff 3–
3v; and BL: Additional ms 14,931 (E) ff 2–2v 22 Petwar ... esyd] Peduuaŷet ar
dec syt A 22 cadeyryaŷc] gwyr E 22 llys] y llys D 22 onadunt] *D omits*

coryf kyntaf ew y brenhyn. Ef a dely eysted yr colouyn. ac yn nessaf ydau
 enteu y kyghellavr guedy henny yr osp. guedy hynny er edlyg. guedy hynny
 e penhebogyd. ar troedyavc y am y dysgyl ac ef. ar medyd y l kolovyn y tan
 ac ef. En nessaf yr keluy arall yr effeyryat teylu vrth uendygav y byyt a chanu
 y pader. ar golouen uvch y pen ef a dely y gostecgŵr y maedu. En nessaf 5
 ydau enteu yr egnat lles. En nessaf ydau enteu y bard kadeyryavc. E gof llys
 em pen y ueyng rac deu glyn yr effeyryat. E penteylu a dely eysted ar y tal
 yssaf yr neuad ay lav assv ar y taldrvs ar rey a uenho or teylu y gyt ac ef. ar
 rey ereyll y parth arall yr drŵs. E bard teylu ar y neyllav. E penguastravt y
 am y keluy ar brenhyn. E penkynynd y am y keluy ar effeyryat teylu. 10
 E penteylu a dely bot yn uab yr brenhyn neu yn ney neu yn kywuvch gvr
 ac y galler pen teylu ohanav. Ny dely mab uchelwr bot yn penteylu sef achavs
 nas dely vrth uynet y ureynt ef vrth y brenhyn ac nat a un mab uchelwr.
 Vrth henny y duc guyr gŵyned e penteylu o eyryf y petwar svydavc ar ugeynt
 y adan y dysteyn. E werth yŵ trayan guerth y brenhyn. E sarhaet yv trayan 15
 sarhaet y brenhyn eythyr eur. E navd yv dvin y dyn a wnel y kam hyt yn
 dyogel. E le yv ay lav assv ar drvs y neuad. Ef a dely y telyn en llav y bard
 teylu en e teyr gvyl arbennyc...

Collation continued: 1 kyntaf] yn gyntaf *D* 1 ew y] e *A*; y *D* 1 Ef] *ADE omit*
 1 eysted] eyste en nessaf *A*; eisted yn nessaf *D*; eysted yn nessaw *E* 1 colouyn]
 keluy *A*; kelui *D*; celyi *E* 2 guedy¹] a guedy *AD*; a gwedy *E* 2 guedy²] ac guedy *A*;
 a guedy *D*; a gwedy *E* 2 guedy³] ac guedy *A*; a guedy *D*; a gwedy *E* 3 troedyavc]
 troyauc *A* 3 medyd] medyc emon *A*; medyc ym mon *D*; medyc ymon *E* 3 y
 tan] y am e tan *A*; y am y tan *DE* 4 ac ef] ar brenhin *D* 4 arall] *D omits*
 4 uendygav] uendygur *A* 5 ef] *AE omit* 6 egnat] enat *A*; ynat *E* 6 ydau
 enteu²] y hŵnnŵ *D* 7 em] y *E* 8 ay] ac *D* 8 ar rey] ar hyn *AE* 8 y gyt]
 yhyd *A* 9 y¹] or *E* 9 E¹] ar *D* 9 ar y neyllav] ar neyllau e penteulu *A*; ar
 neyllau y penteulu *E* 10 teylu] *ADE omit* 11 E penteylu] Pepenteylu *A*;
 Penteulu *E* 11 neu yn ney] *D omits* 11 kywuvch] kenne *A* 13 nas dely]
 yŵ *D* 13 y¹] *D omits* 13 ef] yn *A*; y penteulu *D*; *E omits* 13 nat a un mab
 uchelwr] na dyly mab uchelŵr bot yn benn ar y gilyd *D* 14 eyryf] ryf *A*; riw *E*
 14 y petwar] iiiio^r *A* 15 adan] am *D* 16 sarhaet] 'sarhaet' *A* (possibly inserted
 in a later hand); y sarhaet *E* 16 y brenhyn] *AE omit* 16 eythyr] dieithyr *D*
 16 eur] yr eur *E* 16 yv] yw yn y llys *D* 16 y dyn] dyn *AE* 16 a wnel y kam]
AE omit 16 yn] eny *A*; yny *E* 17 dyogel] hokel guedy guenel kam *A*; niogel *D*;
 dyogel gwedy gwenel cam *E* 17 ay lav] yn y llys ac laŵ *D* 17 y neuad] *ADE omit*
 17 dely] dele dody *A*; dyly dodi *DE*

f 6

...

Pemhet yŷ er egnat llys ef a dely e tyr en ryd ae uarch bressŷel ae urethenwysc
 e gan e brenhyn ae lyeynwysc e gan e urenhynes. E le yŷ y am e tan ar
 brenhyn en nessaf yr effeyryat teylu. E lety yŷ estauel e brenhyn er hon e bo 5
 en kescu endy a chlustoc e gan e urenhynes a llenllyeyn ar gobennyd yd
 eystedho e brenhyn arnaŷ e dyd adan e pen enteu e nos. Ereyll a dyweyt na
 dele ef e lety or neuad. E uarch a dele bot erŷg march e brenhyn ar paret a
 dŷe ran or ebran ydaŷ. Ef a dely taŷlbvrd o ascŷrn moruyl e gan e brenhyn
 a modrŷe eur e gan e urenhynes ac arall e gan e bard teylu ar ouertlesseu 10
 henny ny dele ef nac eu rody nac eu guerthu tra uo byŷ....

f 6v*

...

Chuechet yŷ e penguastraŷt.... Ef a dele pedeyr keynnyaŷc o pob march a rodho 15
 e brenhyn eythyr e gan try dyn. sef yŷ e rey henny er escop ar penhebogyd ar
 croessan. sef achaŷs nas dele e gan er escop vrth y uot en peryglaŷr er brenhyn
 a chyuoody racdaŷ ac eysted en e ol a dale e lewys tra emolcho. Sef achaŷs
 nas dele er penhebogyd ŷrth deleu or brenhyn e wassanaethu o try achaŷs
 breynnyaŷl. Sef achaŷs nas dele er kroessan canes ef a dele rŷymaŷ e kebyster 20

Collation with NLW: Peniarth ms 29B (A) pp 11–12; NLW: Peniarth ms 32 (D) ff 7–7v; and BL: Additional ms 14,931 (E) ff 4v–5 3 er] *D omits* 3–4 ae uarch ... urenhynes] ay lyeynguysc y kan e urenynes ay uredhenguyisc y kan e brennyn A; a lieinwisc y gan y urenhines ay urethynwisc y gan y brenhin E 3–4 urethenwysc ... urenhynes] deirgŷisc yn y vlŷydyn D 4 y] *D omits* 5 yr effeyryat] yr keluy efeyryat A 6 chlustoc] llenlliein a chlustoc D 6 a llenllyeyn] *D omits* 7 eystedho] eysted E 7 adan ... enteu] ef A 7 adan ... nos] adanav ynteu y nos E 7 adan] a vyd dan D 8 a²] ay AE 9 or ebran ydaŷ] ydau or ebran AE; idaŷ or ebran D 9 ascŷrn] ascurt A 9–10 e gan ... eur] A omits 9–10 brenhyn ... gan e¹] *E omits* 10 a modrŷe ... urenhynes] *D omits* 10 e gan²] yean A 11 nac eu rody ... guerthu] nay guerthu nay rody A; nac eu gŷerthunaceu rodi D; nac eu gwerthu nac eu rodi E

Collation with NLW: Peniarth ms 29B (A) p 13; NLW: Peniarth ms 32 (D) ff 8–8v; and BL: Additional ms 14,931 (E) ff 5–5v 15 Chuechet] E chwechet D 15 yŷ] AE omit 15 o] a A; am E 15 a²] or a D 16 eythyr] dieithyr D 16 gan] ADE omit 16 sef ... henny] *D omits* 17–18 er brenhyn a] yr brenhin a dylyu or brenhin D 19 nas dele] a deleyr A 19 er] y gan y D 19 e wassanaethu] y gua y guasanaytu ef A; wasanayth ew E 19 o] or AE 20 breynnyaŷl] e deuedyr nas a dely e brenyn A; y dywedir yny vreint D; y dywedir nas a dyly y brenin E 20 Sef ... kroessan] Nys dely e croysan sef acaus nas dely A; Nys dyly yr croysan sew achau nas dyle E 20 er] y gan y D 20 canes ef a] ŷrth D

am e geyllyeu tra el or llys ac vrth er achŷssyon henne ny dyleant talu
aryant guastrodyon...

ff 7–7v

...

Uythuet yŷ e bard teylu ef a dely e tyr en ryd ae uarch bressvel ae urethenwysc
e gan e brenhyn ae lyeyn|wysc e gan e gan e urenhynes. Ef a dele eysted en
nessaf er penteylu en e teyr arbennyc vrth rody e telyn en e laŷ. Ef a dele dyllat
e dysteyn en e teyr gŷyl arbennyc. Pan ŷenher canu kerd e bard kadeyryaŷc
a dechreu en kentaf o duŷ ar eyl or brenhyn byeyffo e llys ac ony byd ydaŷ 10
ef a ganer canet o urenhyn arall. Guedy e bard cadeyryaŷc e bard teylu byeu
canu try chanu o kerd amgen. O deruyd er urenhynes mennu kerd aet e bard
teylu e canu ydy en dyuessur. a henne en araf mal nat aulonedo e neuad
ganthaŷ. Ef a dele buŷch neu ych or anreyth a wnel e teylu eg gorwlat. guedy
e del er brenhyn e traean. ente u a dele pan ranhoent hŷy er anreyth canu 15
unbeynniaeth Prydeyn udunt hŷy. Ef a dele er brenhyn taŷlbvrd o uoruy l a

Collation continued: 1 am e geyllyeu] am y keyllyeu yr run a uo em pen e march
a rhodher ydau A; a vo am benn y varch a rodher idaŷ am y dŷygeill D; am y geillyeu.
y run auo y pen y march a roder ydau E 1 tra el] yn mynet D 1 vrth er] or AE;
am yr D 2 guastrodyon] yr gŷastrodyon D; y gwastrodyon E

Collation with NLW: Peniarth MS 29B (A) pp 15–16; BL: Cotton Caligula A.III (C)
f 149; NLW: Peniarth MS 32 (D) ff 9–9v; and BL: Additional MS 14,931 (E) f 6
6 Uythuet] Or bard teylw ay vreynt. ay swyd. ay delyet e traetha hynn. Uvythvet C
6 e¹] A omits 6 bressvel] eu pressuyl A 6–7 ae urethenwysc ... urenhynes]
ay lyeynguysc y kan e urenyñnes ay urethenguysc y kan e brenyn A; ay lyeynwysc y
gan e vrenhynes ay vrethynwysc y gan e brenyn C; ae wisgoed mal y rei ereill D; ay
lieynwisc y gan y vrenhines ay urethynwisc y gan y brenhin E 8 en e teyr arbennyc]
en e teyr guyl A; en e teyr gwyl arpennyc C; yny teirguyl arbennyc E; D omits
9 arbennyc] AE omit 9 ŷenher] vynhont D 10 a dechreu ... o duŷ] a dely
dechrew. ar kanw kyntaf o dyw. C 10 a] ae D 10 en kentaf] ar canu kyntaf
D; ar canu kyntaw E 10 en] ar A 10 ac] neu ADE; new C 11 ef] D omits
11 cadeyryaŷc] kadeyryau A 11 byeu] a dyly D 13 ydy] ydy kerd AC; kerd
idi D; ydi gerth E 13 araf] yssel AE; clwst C; dawel D 13–14 e neuad ganthaŷ]
yny neuad D 14 Ef a dele buŷch] ef a dele y bacc A 14 e teylu] teulu y
brenhin D 14 guedy] A hynny gŷedy D 15 er¹] y D 15 e traean] ae rann D
15 ente u] C adds ac before this word; E adds y 15 a dele] bieu D 15 hŷy] AE
omit 16 udunt hŷy] ACDE omit 16 dele] dely ygan C 16 er brenhyn] D
omits 16 uoruy l] o asgŷrn moruil y gan y brenhin D

7/ e gan e gan: *ditigraphy*

8/ teyr: *for* teyr gyl

modrŵe eur er urenhynes. E lety yŵ egyt ar penteylu. E naŵd yŵ hyt ar e penteylu. Ene kerdho egyt a beryd ereyll ef a dele ran deu ŵr. E sarhaet yŵ chue buŵ a chue ugeynt o aryant. e werth yŵ chue buŵ a chue ugeyn muŵ gan e ardyrchauael.

...

5

f 9v

...

Petweryd ar dec yv e dressaŵr ef a dele e tyr en ryd ae uarch pressvel ae urethenwysc e gan e brenhyn ae lyeynwysc e gan e urenhynes. Ef a dele ran o aryant e kŵynnos. Ef a dele gŵyraŵt kyureythyaŵl. Ef a dele arweyn negesseu a dywetter vrthaŵ or porth hyt e neuad neu hyt en e lle arall e bo e brenhyn. Ef a dele dyllat e bard teylu en e teyr gŵyl arbennyc....

f 12

15

...

Uchhof retraethassam ny or petwar sŵydaŵc ar ugeynt a perthyn ar e llys. eman e traethŵn ny or sŵydogyon aruer ar rey deuaŵt a uyd emevn llys. Kentaf yv or rey henne e guastraŵt awen. Eyl yŵ e troedyavc. Tredyd yv maer e bysweyl. Petweryd yŵ e ryghyll. Pemhet yŵ e porthaŵr. Chuechet yŵ e gŵyllvr. Seythuet

Collation continued: 1 eur er] yr A; y gan e C; y gan y D 1 eur] *E omits* 1 yŵ¹] *AE omit* 1–2 E naŵd ... deu ŵr] yny gerdho y gyt ar beird ereill. Ef a dyly rann deu wr. y naŵd yŵ hyt ar y penteulu D 1 E naŵd yŵ] y nud A; y navd ew dwyn e dyn a gwnel e kam C 2 kerdho] kerho A 2 E sarhaet] *D adds* Ereill a dyweit pan yŵ or canu kyntaf hyt y diwethaf. *before these words* 3 o] *AD omit* 4 gan e ardyrchauael] *AE omit*; gan y ardrychafel unwerth D

Collation with NLW: Peniarth MS 29B (A) p 19; NLW: Peniarth MS 32 (D) ff 11v–12; and BL: Additional MS 14,931 (E) f 7v 9 Petweryd ar dec] pen decuet A 9–10 pressvel ... urenhynes] ae wisc megys y lleill D 9 pressvel] en bresuyl A 10 urethenwysc] uredyn A; urethyn E 10 lyeynwysc] lyeyn A; liein E 11 gŵyraŵt] *D adds y before this word* 12 negesseu] pop neches A; pob neges DE 12 a dywetter] or pan adeuet A; or a dywetter D; or a dyweter E 12 en e] e A; y D; yn E 13 e brenhyn] y brenhin yndaŵ D

Collation with NLW: Peniarth MS 29B (A) p 23; BL: Cotton Caligula A.III (C) ff 154–4v; NLW: Peniarth MS 32 (D) f 28; and BL: Additional MS 14,931 (E) f 9v 17 Uchhof retraethassam] Vuchot e traethassam C; Uchot y traethassam D 17 or] o A 17 sŵydaŵc] *A omits* 18 traethŵn ny] trayhun A 18 ny] *D omits* 18 aruer ... deuaŵt] devavt ac arver C 18 ar rey ... llys.] aruer a vydant yny llys. D 18 ar rey] o AE 18 emevn] en A; in E 18 llys] e llysoed C p 19, l.18–p 20, l.2 Kentaf ... olchuryes.] *D omits* 19 e¹] *A omits* 19 Eyl] er eyl AC; yr ell E 19 e²] *AE omit* 19 Tredyd] e tredyt A; Tryd C; y trydyt E 19 yv] *AE omit* 19 e³] *AE omit* 20 yŵ e¹] *AE omit* 20 Pemhet] v hed A 20 yŵ e²] *AE omit* 20 yŵ e³] *AE omit*

yó y kynnuttey. Vythuet yó e poburyes. Navuet yó e gof llys. Decuet yv e penkerd. Unuet ar dec yó er olchuryes.

...

ff 14–14v

5

...

Decuet yu e penkerd ef a dele e tyr en ryd. E le yu ar neyll laó er egnat llys. ef a dele dechreu kerd en kentaf o duó ar eyl or argluyd byeyffo e llys neu o arall. Ny dele erchy namen penkerd ac oy kytennyll ae kedemdeythyon dóe ran a dele ef e gaffael. | Ef a dele e gan pob kerdáur guedy yd emadavho ae dysc ef pedeyr ar ugeynt. Ef a dele pedeyr ar ugeynt e gan pob gureyc a kysco gan ór or nys regaffo e genthy gynt. Ef a dele amober merchet e kerdoryon. E lety yó egyt ar edlyg. E naóð yó or pan dechreuho ef e canu kentaf en e llys hyt [p] ene teruynho e dywethaf. E sarhaet yó chue buó a chue ugeynt aryant e werth yó chue buó a chue ugeyn muó.

10

15

...

*bellach am
drid*

Vchof retraethassam ny or suydogyon a perthyn ar e llys ar rey aruer ar rey deuaút ac eu breynt ac eu dylyet. eman e traethun ny o petheu ereyll. Try anhepcor brenhyn ynt e effeyryat urth uendygaó e uuét a chanu efferen. ar

Collation continued: 1 yó y] *AE omit* 1 Vythuet] ix *A (error for viii)* 1 yó e'] *AE omit* 1 yó e'] *AE omit* 1 yv e] *AE omit* 2 Unuet ar dec ... olchuryes.] *ACE omit*

Collation with NLW: Peniarth ms 29B (*A*) pp 28–9; NLW: Peniarth ms 32 (*D*) ff 17v–18; and BL: Additional ms 14,931 (*E*) f 11v 7 e'] *D omits* 7 egnat] enanat *A*; ynat *E* 8 kerd en kentaf] *AE omit* 8 argluyd] brenyn *A*; brenhin *E* 9 kytennyll] kyd *A*; gyt *E* 10 a dele ef e gaffael] a geiff ef *D*; y dau ew *E* 10 a dele e gan] a dyly kafeal y gan *E* 10 emadavho] emadauh *A* 10 ae] a *D* 11 ef] *ADE omit* 11 pedeyr ar ugeynt²] iiiior *A*; pedeir ceinnyauc *E* 11 kysco] rodher *D* 12 gan ór or] y wr ac *D* 12 gan ór] guyr *A*; gwyr *E* 12 or nys regaffo e] *AE omit* 12 regaffo e] caffo *D* 12 genthy gynt] gynt genthi *D* 12 kerdoryon] cerdoryon ereill *E* 13 E lety ... edlyg] y kyd ar edlyg e dely kysku *A*; y gyt ar etlig y dyly kyscu *D*; y gyt ar edlig y dyly gysgu *E* 13 ef] *E omits* 13 e'] *AE omit* 13 kentaf] *AE omit* 13–14 en e llys hyt] *D omits* 14 ene] pan *AE (this variant may explain struck-out p in base text)* 14 e] ef e kanu *A*; y canu *E* 14 E sarhaet] vn sarhaet ac vn werth yó ar gof llys *D* 14 yó] *D omits* 14 aryant] ar *A* 15 e werth] y sarhaet. y werth *D* p 20, l.17–p 21, l.3 Vchof ... ae pentan] Uchof y thraethassam ni or sóydogyon ac eu bremheu. yma weithyon y traethún o gyfreitheu gylat *D* 17 e llys] ellys arey kefrehythaul *A* 17 aruer] cyureithyaul *E* 17–18 ar rey deuaút] *A omits*; ar rei aruer *E* 18 traethun] trayhun *A* 19 brenhyn] brenynyn *A* 19 ynt e] eu *A*; yny *E*

egnat llys urrth deosparth petheu pedrus ae teylu urth y agheneu. Try anhepcor [brenh] gurda e telyn ae ureccan ae kallaŵr. Try anhepcor taeauc e kauen trotheu ae pentan....

f 15

5

...Teyr telyn kyureythyaŵl esyd telyn e brenhyn a thelyn penkerd a thelyn gurda. guerth e due gyntaf chue ugeynt a pedeyr ar ugeynt ar eu keweirgorn. telyn gurda try ugeynt a deudec keynnyauc ar e kyweirgorn.... Teyr keluedyt ne dele mab taeauc e dyscu hep ganhyat e arglued a chet as dysco ef a dele eu duen tra cheuen. onyt escolheycataut guedy e kemerho urdeu. sef yŵ y rey henny escolheycataut a gouannaeth a bardony....

c 1250–1300

Welsh Laws: Latin Redaction D Bodl.: ms. Rawl. C. 821

15

pp 27–8

...

De bart teulu

SI bart teulu rogacionis *causa* ad regem venerit? vnum solum carmen ei decantet. Si ad optimatem? tria. I si ad uillanum, cantet donec deficiat. Bart teulu si cum familia regis ad predandum proficiscatur, animal optimum habebit de preda. & si belli conflictus imineat? carmen ante familiam cantet quod dicitur vnbeinaeth prydein. Quando bart teulu datur officium suum. rex dabit ei citharam. & regina anulum. numquam a se cytharam dimittet. Merces filie eius .x. Sol. partem uiri sicut quilibet de teulu habiturus. Et quia penkert incipiet? iuxta penteulu sedebit proximior.

...

Collation continued: 1 egnat] ynat *E* 1 petheu] pop ped *A*; pob peth *E* 1 agheneu] negesseu *AE* 3 trotheu] tru'y'deu *A*; druydeu *E*

Collation with NLW: Peniarth ms 29B (*A*) p 29; NLW: Peniarth ms 32 (*D*) f 81; and BL: Additional ms 14,931 (*E*) f 11v 7–9 Teyr ... kyweirgorn] *ACE* omit 7 e] *D* omits 8 chue ugeynt] chŵeugeint bop vn *D* 8–9 a pedeyr ... kyweirgorn] kyŵeirgorn pob yn pedeir ar hugeint a dal *D* 9 try ugeynt ... kyweirgorn] trugeint a dal ae chyweirgorn deudec keiniawc *D* 10 e dyscu] *E* omits 10 e¹] eu *D* 11 eu] y *A* 11 escolheycataut] escoleyc *A*; yscolheic *DE* 11 e] *D* omits 11 yŵ] ynt *D* 11 y rey] *AE* omit 12 a gouannaeth a bardony] a bardoni a gouannyaeth *D*

19/ SI: enlarged decorated majuscule S followed by ordinary majuscule I

25/ habiturus: for habiturus est

pp 31–2

De penkert l

PEnkert patrie de filiabus poetarum sibi subditorum mercedes habebit. Ipsi-
 est habere munera nupciarum de puellis maritatis scilicet kyuarŷs neithaŷr id 5
 est xxiiii.^{or} d. Iste non est de numero sŷytocgyon. Cum regi placuerit carmina
 audire. duo carmina scilicet vnum de deo. alterum de regibus in anteriori parte
 aula id est kyntet. penkert patrie habet decantare primo. tercium inferiori
 parte bart teulu decantet. Cum regina in talamo carmina voluerit audire tria
 carmina de kert angaŷ bart teulu ei decantet voce scilicet moderata non clamosa 10
 ne aula disturpetur. terram suam habebit liberam. Non debet habere quicquam
 de nupciis mulieris que ^ouxor^o fuit ante. sed quando puella maritata fuit
 de ea habuerit munus suum. Bart erit penkert cum in certamine cathedre
 victor fuerit. Non licet alicui bart rogare absque licencia illius aliquid in
 potestate sua nisi fuerit de aliena patria. Liber erit a prohibicione quam rex 15
 fecerit scilicet ne rogatoribus usque ad tempus aliquid detur.

...

c 1300

Welsh Laws: The Book of Iorwerth NLW: Peniarth MS 35

20

f 108v–f 109 col 1

...

Y telyn. chweugeint. Y chweirgorn pedeir ar ugeint Telyn y penkerd. chweugeint
 Y chyweirgorn. pedeir ar ugeint. Taŷlbort y brenhin. chweugeint. Y korn yd
 yno y brenhin ohonaŷ. punt a tal. ae korn kychwyn yny kyweithas yn wastat. 25
 punt heuyt y werth. l Corn y penkynynd. punt. Av rei chorn hynny a dilyant
 uot yn buelin.

...

Y telyn. thri ugeint.

...

O byd korn eidyon deudec. keinaŷc a tal?

30

...

Welsh Laws: The Book of Colan NLW: Peniarth MS 30

f 19v cols 1–2

35

...

gAlanas brennyn aberffrau ev y sarhaet teyr gueyth. Galanas gureyc y l
 vrennyn. ay uab. ay penteulu. ay edlyng. ay ney trayan galanas y brennyn

4/ PEnkert: enlarged decorated majuscule P followed by ordinary majuscule E

8/ inferiori: for in inferiori

37/ gAlanas: g supplied next to space left for decorated majuscule initial

heb eur heb arian a trayan y sarhaet ev sarhaet pob un or rey henny. Galanas merch e brennyn hanner galanas y braut ay sarhaet tra uo guedy hanner sarhaet y braut. Dysteyn a keghellaur. ar penkynyt ar penguastraut a braudur llys a penkerth a guas ystauell guerth pob un onadunt .ix. muy. a ix ugeyn muy gan ardyrchauel teyr gueyth. ac eu sarhaet .ix. muy. a ix ugeynt arianant.... 5

f 48 cols 1–2

pob kerdaur arall o byt en herwyt y deleet ehun e byt nac alldut ûo na treftadauc uelly y telyr y amobyr y uerch ay ebedyv ehun. pob penkerd or a estynno 10 argluyd suyt ydau. e brennyn a dyly keyssyau offer ydau. nyt amgen telyn yûn a cruth y arall. a bybeu y ereyll. ûyn-teu pan uont uarû a delaant eu hadau ydau ente. pob penkerd telyn a dyly er kerdoryon yeûeyng a ûynno emadau a telyn raûn a mynnu en kerdaur keweythas a bot en eyrchat. .xxiiii. ev gobyr penkerd ac ef a dyly o pob douot nac o erchy nac o kyûarlus neythaur ran deûr nac ef 15 auo en y lle nac ny uo os gouyn. Sef ev kyuarus neythaur .xxiiii. or neythaur gyntaf e[...)] gureyc a hynny yr beyrd a hynteu a dyly guassanaeythu hunnu ual gur medyanûs arnadunt.

...

20

c 1325

Welsh Laws: The Book of Blegywryd BL: Cotton Titus D.IX

f 5v*

...Gwrthtrychyat nyt amgen. yr etlig yr hûnn a dylyho gûledychu guedy 25 ef a dylyr y enrydedu ymlaen paûb yn y llys eithyr y brenhin ar vrenhines. A hûnnû vyd mab neu vraût yr brenhin. Y le a uyd yn y neuad am y tan ar brenhin. Ac ynassaf ydaû y braûdûr yr rydhaû ar golofyn. Ac yn eil nessaf

Collation with Massachusetts Historical Society: MS E187 (*Bo*) p 6; Jesus College, Oxford: MS 57E (*J*) p 6; NLW: Peniarth MS 33 (*M*) f 3v; NLW: Peniarth MS 36A (*O*) p 6; NLW: Peniarth MS 259A (*P*) f 2 col 2; NLW: Wynnstay MS 36 (*Q*) f 9 cols 1–2; NLW: Peniarth MS 31 (*R*) f 3; BL: Harley MS 958 (*T*) f 2; and Trinity College, Cambridge: 0.7.1 (1329) (*Tr*) f 2 25 yr hûnn] y neb *O* 25 dylyho] dyly *P* 26 eithyr] dieithyr *J* 27 vyd] a vyd *Bo/PQ*; a uyd *MOR* 27 neu vraût] neu vrawt. neu nei ab brawt *Tr* 28 yr rydhaû] y ryngthaû *J* 28 eil] *O* omits

14/ mynnu: *for* mynnu bot

16/ nac: *for* nac ef

idaŵ yr offeirat teulu. Ac or parth arall yr etlig pennkerd y wlat. Guedy
hŏnnŏ nyt oes le dilyedus y neb or parth hŏnnŏ....

f 7v*

5

...NAud y bard teulu yŵ? hebrŏng y dyn at y pennteulu....

f 8v*

...Sarhaet pob vn or rei hynn nyt amgen. Distein. Pennkynynd. Pennguastraut. 10
Braŵdur llys. Hebogyd. Guas ystauell. Morŏynn ystauell. yŵ naŵ mu. an naŵgeint
aryant. Guerth pob vn ohonunt yŵ? naŵ mu. a naŵgein mu. gan tri drychael.
Ereill a dyŵeit am y distein y telir sarhaet. A galannas deudyblyc idaŵ. Sarhaet
pob vn or sŏydŏyr ereill oll yŵ whe bu. a hŏeugeint alyant. Galanas pob vn
ohonunt yŵ whe bu a wheugein mŏ gan tri drychael.... 15

ff 16v–17*

...

...Or daŵ bard teulu y erchi at y brenhin. canet idaŵ vn canu. Os at vchelŏr

Collation continued: 1 idaŵ] *R omits* 1 yr offeirat ... arall] *M omits* 2 nyt oes
le dilyedus] lle dilyedus nyt oes *BoM* 2 dilyedus] dilis *J*; dilys *OTr*; dlyedus *P*
2 y neb] *Tr omits*

Collation with Massachusetts Historical Society: ms E187 (*Bo*) p 12; Jesus College,
Oxford: ms 57E (*J*) pp 11–12; NLW: Peniarth ms 259A (*P*) f 3v cols 1–2; NLW:
Wynnstey ms 36 (*Q*) f 10 col 2–f 10v col 1; NLW: Peniarth ms 31 (*R*) ff 5–5v; and BL:
Harley ms 958 (*T*) ff 4–4v 10 Sarhaet ... amgen] Sarhaet pen teulu yŵ traean
syraet y brenhin Ae werth yŵ traean guerth y brenhin a phob vn heb eur a heb
aryant *P*; Sarhaet pen teulu yŵ trayan sarhaet y brenhin Ae ŵerth yŵ trayan gŵerth y
brenhin A phop vn heb eur a heb alyant *Q* 10 hynn] hyn yŵ *T* 11 yŵ] *BoJPQRT*
omit 11 naŵ mu] na mu *Q*, corrected by *Q2* to na^w mu with marginal note *id est*
nouem vnciæ argenti added 12 alyant.] alyant yŵ sarhaet pob vn ohonunt. *Q*
12 drychael] dyrchael *T* 13–15 Ereill ... drychael] *R omits* 13 Ereill ...
idaŵ] *PQ omit* 13 dyŵeit] dywtaut *T* 14 sŏydŏyr] sŏydogyon *BoJ* 14 oll]
J omits 14 yŵ] *P omits* 14 alyant] o alyant *J* 15 mŏ] *J omits* 15 drychael]
dyrchael *T*

Collation with Massachusetts Historical Society: ms E187 (*Bo*) pp 29–30; Jesus
College, Oxford: ms 57E (*J*) pp 30–1; NLW: Peniarth ms 33 (*M*) f 31; NLW: Peniarth
ms 259A (*P*) f 8 cols 1–2; NLW: Wynnstey ms 36 (*Q*) f 14 col 2–f 14v col 1; and NLW:
Peniarth ms 31 (*R*) ff 12v–13 19 Or] *O P* 19 y¹] yr *QR* 19 at] *P omits*
19 y²] yr *P*

6/ NAud: enlarged decorated majuscule N followed by ordinary majuscule A

10/ Sarhaet: enlarged decorated majuscule S followed by ordinary majuscule A

y daŵ. canet tri. Os at vilaein y daŵ canet hynny diffyccyo. Os bard teulu l a gan bardoni y gyt a theulu y brenhin vrth dŵyn anreith. Y llŵdyn goreu or anreith a geiff. Ac or byd darpar ymlad arnunt canet y canu a elŵir vnbeinyaeth prydein racdunt. Pan el bard teulu yny sŵyd y keiff telyn y gan y brenhin. a modrŵy eur y gan y vrenhines. ar telyn nys gat y ŵrthaŵ vyth. Gobyr y verch yŵ: wheugeint. Y choŵyll yŵ: punt a hanner. Y heguedi? teir punt. Ebediŵ bard teulu yŵ: punt. Rann gŵr a geiff mal pob teuluŵr. a chanys penkerd a dechreu pob kerd: yn nessaf yr penteulu y dyly eisted....

ff 18–18v*

10

...
Pennkerd y wlat a dyly caffel gobreu merch y kerdoryon a fŵynt y danaŵ. Ac a dyly caffel kyuarŵs neithaŵr o pob morŵyn pan wrhao. nyt amgen. pedeir ar hugeint aryant. Ny hanyŵ y penkerd o rif y sŵydogyonn llys. Pan vynho y brenhin waranndaŵ canueu. canet y pennkerd deu ganu idaŵ yg kynted y neulad. Vn o duŵ. ac arall or brenhined. cannys ef a dyly dechreu kerd yn llys. a bard teulu a dyly canu y trydyd canu is gynnted y neuad. Pan vynno y vrenhines gerd oe gŵaranndaŵ yn y hystauell. canet y bard ydi tri chanu o

Collation continued: 1 canet¹] canet idaŵ *J* 1 Os¹] Ac os *R* 1 at vilaein] vilaein *BoM*; at y vilaen *R* 1 diffyccyo] vo blin *PQ* 2 y gyt] gyt *JPQ* 2 dŵyn] dŵy *Q* 3 y canu a elŵir] *PQ* omit 4 telyn] teulu *Q*, corrected by *Q2* to telyn with marginal note *id est* telyn added 4 y gan] gan *J* 5 eur] *P* omits 5 y¹] *J* omits 5 vrenhines] vrenhines o eur *P* 5 telyn] teulu *PQ*, corrected by *Q2* to telyn with marginal note *id est* telyn added 5 nys gat] ny at *QR* 5 y ŵrthaŵ vyth] byth y gantaw *P*; byth y gantaŵ *Q*; byth y ŵrthaŵ *R* 5 vyth.] *BoM* omit 6 yŵ²] *Q* omits 6 punt a hanner.] wheugeint a phunt *BoMR*; chŵeugaint a phunt *P*; ŵheugeint a phunt *Q* 6 heguedi] heguedi yŵ *BoJM* 6–7 Ebediŵ ... punt.] *J* omits 6 Ebediŵ] y Ebediŵ *R* 7 yŵ: punt] chŵeugaint *P*; ŵheugeint *Q*; punt *R* 7–8 Rann ... eisted] *PQ* omit 7 Rann gŵr] kann gŵr *M* 7 mal] mab *BoJM* 8 pob kerd] kerd *R*

Collation with Massachusetts Historical Society: ms E187 (*Bo*) p 31; Jesus College, Oxford: ms 57E (*J*) pp 33–4; NLW: Peniarth ms 33 (*M*) ff 32v–3; NLW: Peniarth ms 259A (*P*) f 8v col 2–f 9 col 1; NLW: Wynnstey ms 36 (*Q*) f 15 cols 1–2; NLW: Peniarth ms 31 (*R*) ff 14–14v; and BL: Harley ms 958 (*T*) ff 7v–8 12–14 Pennkerd ... aryant] *M* omits 12 a dyly caffel] a gaiff *P*; a geiff *Q* 12 merch] merchet *JPQR*; (...)chet *T* 12 fŵynt] vont *J* 12 y danaŵ] yn daŵ *PQ* 12 Ac] Et *PQ* 13 a dyly caffel] a gaiff *P*; a geiff *Q* 13 pedeir] uo phedeir *J* 14 aryant] o aryant *J*; *PQRT* omit 14 hanyŵ] henyŵ *JPQRT* 14 y sŵydogyonn] sŵydogyon *BoJMPQ* 14 llys] y llys *PQ* 15 waranndaŵ canueu] kerd oe gwarandaŵ *BoM*; ŵarandaŵ kerd *PQ* 15 waranndaŵ] wandaŵ *J* 15 ganu] ganueu *BoM* 16–17 Vn o duŵ ... neuad] *J* omits 16 brenhined] brenin *P* 16 kerd] *M* omits 16 yn] yny *P* 17 a bard] Ar bard *PQRT* 18 bard] bard teulu *JPQRT*

gerd vangaŵ trŷy lef kymhetraul. megys na rŷystro ar y neuad. Y tir a geiff yn ryd. ac ny cheiff dim ar neithoryeu gŷraged gŷryaŵc. kynn o hynny. Sef vyd pennkerd. bard gŷedy ennillo cadeir. Ny dyly bard erchi dim heb ^[y] gannyat ef. hyt y bo y sŷyd. onnyt bard gorŷlat. kannys ryd vyd hŷnnŷ. kyt gŷahardo brenhin rodi dim y eircheit yn y wlat hyt ym pen yspeit. ryd vyd y penkerd. 5

...

f 51*

...

...KErdoryonn gŷlat arall? a gaffant gylch ar vilaeineit. y tra uŷynt yn arhos eu rodyon y gan y brenhin os dyry....

...

c 1350–1400

Welsh Laws: Latin Redaction E CCCC: MS 454

f 9*

...De quolibet equo a rege dato iiij d. habet exceptis sacerdote familie & iudice curie. & kerdaur. & pincerna. Croissan eciam excipitur a reddicione iiij d. *quia* capistrum equi debet ligari circa testiculos eius eunti de curia.... 20

Collation continued: 1 vangaŵ] angaw *PQRT* 1 kymhetraul] *J omits* 1 megys na] rac *PQ* 1 na rŷystro] nalesteiryo *J* 1 ar y neuad] yn y neuad *PQ* 2 cheiff] cheiff ef *MRT* 2 ar] or *PQ* 2 o] noc *P*; no *QT* 3 ennillo] i nenillo *P* 3 dyly] dichon *P*; dichaŵn *Q* 3–4 heb ... sŷyd.] hyt y bo y sŷyd ef heb y gennat. *P*; hyt y bo y sŷyd ef heb y ganhat. *Q* 4 gannyat] gennat *J* 4 y²] yn y *J* 4 onnyt] ony byd *P* 4 gorŷlat] gorwlat vyd *BoM*; gorwlat uyd *RT* 4 kannys ... hŷnnŷ] vyd *PQ* 4 vyd] *J omits* 5 gŷahardo] gŷrandaŵo *PQ* 5 brenhin] y brenhin *JPQT* 5 ym pen] pen *PQ* 6 penkerd.] (...).kerd o gyfureith. *Bo*

Collation with NLW: Peniarth MS 38 (*I*) f 29v; Jesus College, Oxford: MS 57E (*J*) p 109; NLW: Peniarth MS 33 (*M*) f 54v; NLW: Peniarth MS 36A (*O*) f 33; BL: Harley MS 958 (*T*) f 31; and Trinity College, Cambridge: 0.7.1 (1329) (*Tr*) 11 gŷlat] gorlat *M* 11 arall] *M omits* 11 gaffant] gahant *OT* 11 ar] ar y *IOT* 11 y tra uŷynt] y brenhin tra vont *JT*; tra uont *IOTr*; tra vŷnt *M*

Collation with Merton College, Oxford: MS 323 (*E2*) ff 7v–8 19 sacerdote familie] Sacerdoti ij s. qui dantur familie *E2* 20 iudice] Iudici *E2* 20 & kerdaur. & pincerna] *E2 omits* 20 Croissan] et Croessaeneit *id est* Cruciger vel Minister Sacrifici *E2* 21 *quia*] *questio E2*

ff 9v–10

...Bard teulu si cum familia regis ad predandum eat animal optimum *id est* deŵis habebit. Et si conflictus iminet. I carmen ante familiam cantare debet quod dicitur unbeinniaich predein. & preter illud animal aliud habebit. 5
Quando seruicium suum accipit debet habere a rege citharam. & a regina annulum quo nunquam a se debet alienere. Mercedes puellarum filiarum sub se poetarum *scilicet* xxiiij debet habere sed nichil a feminis. Prius in aula debet cantare. Nullus poeta potest in eius potestate aliquid petere sine eius licencia. Si aliquis bard ad regem rogandi uenerit causa vnum solum carmen cantet. 10
Si ad optimacem? tria. Si ad uillanum? cantet donec deficiat....

f 10v

...Penkerd patrie mercedes filiarum sub se kerdorion habebit & de nupcijs 15
feminarum xxiiij d. Cum regi [p]lacuerit carmina audire vnum de deo. alterum de regibus debet cantare in anteriori parte aule *tercium* ab inferiori parte bard teulu cantet. Cum regina in thalamo carmina de kerd ymgaru bard teulu cantet uoce mediocri ne clamosa uoce aula disturbetur....

Collation with Merton College, Oxford: ms 323 (E2) ff 8v–9 3 Bard teulu] E2 adds *id est* Bardus Domarius *after these words* 3 familia] E2 adds *aut satellitijs after this word* 4 si conflictus iminet] quando manubiæ Distribuantur E2 4 carmen] *camenam* E2 4 familiam] E2 adds *id est* Satellites *after this word* 5 unbeinniaich predein] Vnbeniaeth Prydein *id est* Monarchica Brytanniæ E2 5 preter] propter E2 5 illud] *illam* E2 6 seruicium] Officium E2 7 annulum] annulum aureum E2 8 *scilicet* xxiiij] E2 omits 8 sed nichil a feminis] E2 omits 8 Prius] Primus E2 10 bard] Bardus E2 10 uenerit causa] causa venerit E2 11 optimacem] *optimatem* E2

Collation with Merton College, Oxford: ms 323 (E2) ff 9–9v 15 Penkerd] E2 adds *id est* Archimusicus *after this word* 15 kerdorion] E2 adds *id est* Musicorum *after this word* 15 de] in E2 16 feminarum] E2 adds *ad primas nuptias after this word* 18 bard teulu] E2 adds *id est* Bardus Domesticus *after these words* 18 de kerd ymgaru] audire velit *camenas* E2 19 bard teulu cantet] cantet Bard teulu E2

5/ unbeinniaich: *for* unbeinniaith5/ preter: *for* propter (?)7/ quo: *for* quos8/ xxiiij: *for* xxiiij d.8/ Prius: *for* Primus; *abbreviation mark missing*11/ optimacem: *for* optimatem18/ carmina: *for* carmina uoluerit audire tria carmina (?)

c 1400

Welsh Laws: The Book of Blegywryd NLW: Wynnstey MS 36
f 107 col 1

...

...Pob kerdar a ystynno arglôyd pennkeirdaeth idaŵ. yr arglôyd bieu keissaŵ 5
ofer idaŵ. nyt amgen. Y vn bibeu. y arall grôth. yr trydyd telyn. Ac wynteu a
dylyant pan uont ueirŵen uadaŵ yr arglôyd. Pob penkerd telyn a dyly y gan y
kerdoryon ieuieing a vo ŵrth gerd telyn a mynnv ymadaŵ a thelyn raŵn. Ac y bot
yn eirecheit. Y pennkerd a dyly pedeir ar hugeint y gan pop vn ohonunt. Ac y
dyly o pob dyuot. nac o erchi vo. nac o gyuarŵs neithaŵr. rann deuŵr a geiff. nac 10
ef a uo yn y lle. nac ef ny bo os gouyn. Sef yŵ kyuarŵs neithaŵr. A hynny yr beird
pedeir ar hugeint. Ar penkerd a dyly gŵassanaeth val gŵr medyanus arnaŵ....

1402

Henry iv's Statute on Minstrels TNA: PRO C 74/5
mb 15* (30 September)

15

...

Item pur eschuir plusieurs diseases & meschiefs qont aduenuz deuant ces
heures en la terre de Gales par plusieurs westours Rymours Ministrals & autres
vacabondes ordeigne est & establiz que nul westour Rymour Ministrall ne 20
vacabond soit acunement sustenuz en la terre de Gales pur faire kymorthas
ou coillage sur la comune poeple illeoques...

...

c 1567

List of Notable Crwth Players, Harpers, and Poets NLW: NLW MS 17,116B
f 61v*

25

llyma henwav yr athrawon [^]tylenorion[^] kerdd dant yr hai a wnaethant gerdd
hafrifed swydd ythrylith ac o awdvrddod y dysk yn fesvrddig o gelfyddyd ag 30
o leisiav val i mae llywenydd a digrif gan benaithioed advythion ag eraill i
klowed y gerdd hono gan y gwyr a fv y sydd ag addaw ar ol [(.)] nid amgen i
henwav. [^]hildir ag[^] adda ap hildir/ [^]val[^] Ieuan ap y gof/ davydd athro llywelyn
ap Ieuan ap y gof/ gwilm ap llywelyn ddv/ gronw bach/ o gefn y rros/ hwlkyn
dylynior o fwllch koed y mynydd/ kydwgan/ a chyhelyn y naill oedd [yn trigo] 35
vwch gwrfai ar llall oedd is gwrfai ond ynwir kydwg[^]a(.)[^] a fv yn trigo ym
hentref ymwythig ag a wnaeth kapel yr hwn aelwir heddiw kapel kadwgan/ y
llwydteg/ [^]ach[^] kynverig benkerdd ag edward cherke [(.)] a davydd Nancklyn//
ar athrawon hyn/ [^]wedi athrawon eraill[^] a wnaeth kelfyddyd yn fesvrol ac yn
warantedig val i mae eraill ar i hol yn kael graddav or plygid ac yn ynill i 40
bowyd oddi wrthi (...) ddyskant hi val i gwedde i wyr (...) kelfyddid...

xiiij

f 65v*

...bellach i traethwn o henwav yr Athrawon kerdd grwth
Rydderch foel oloff

kabwlka grythor gwas dewi/ Ankws/ llef gwr/ gwrnerth/ grythor gruffudd/ 5
grythor/ y pasant/ athro nant [eniog] enion ap Adda/ gruffudd ap enion ap
Adda/ madoc krythor/ Allwelyn grythor hen/ Reinallt grythor/ hoell llanfor
penllyn/ ¹bedo ap madog grythor¹ a thomas ap madoc// yr hain a wnaeth
kelfyddyd warantedic ac arosen ddysk i eraill val i mae yn kael i bowyd wrth
y ddysk hono rrag llaw &c 10

c 1572–98

State of North Wales Touching Religion BL: Lansdowne MS 111

ff 10–10v*

The state of North Wales towching religion/

The people naturallie are vearie deuoute, havinge in harte doubtles engrafted
as greate feare regarde and reuerence of a supernall power, as anie people
in the wourld els where have, but more than the name of god they knowe
noethinge att all and therefore as vtterlie ignorante of him or their saluacion 20
doe still in heapes goe one pilgrimage to the wonted welles and places of
supersticion, and in the nightes after the feastes, when the ould offeringes
weare vsed to be kepte at anie idolles Chappell albeit the Church be pulled
downe, yet doe they come to the place where the Church or Chappell was,
by greate iorneyes barefoote vearie superstitiouslie &c. 25

The meane for the meatinge and knowledge of the time whan the Pilgrimes
shall come is Cheeflie wrought by their Pencars or heade minstrelles, whoe
at the direccion of some ould gentle wooman doe ordenarilie geve the somons
of the time certaine for suche meatinges./

Vpon the sondaies and hollidaies the multitude of all sortes of men woomen 30
and Childerne of everie parishe doe vse to meete in sondrie places either
one some hill or one the side of some mountaine where their harpers and
Crowthers singe them songes of the doeinges of their Auncestors namelie
of their warrs againste the kinges of this realme and the English nacion,
and then doe they ripp vpp their petigres at lenght howe eche of them is 35
discended from those their ould princes. Here alsoe doe they spend their
time in hearinge some parte of the lives of Thalaassyn Marlin Beno Kybbye
Iernin, and suche other the intended Prophettes and Saintes of that cuntrie./

4/ Rydderch ... oloff: added between existing lines of text by same scribe

26/ meane: for meanes

37–8/ Thalaassyn ... Iernin: in display script

38/ Iernin: 4 minims in MS

The Common sort of *gentleman* of that cuntry doe ordenarilie in everie place, and eche Companie aduance the habilitie of the Dominion of wales preferringe the same to be more than the valor of the kingdome of Scotlande and the habilities of the people of that province or parte of this realme, to be more able to mainteyne a Regall estate than be the Scottes./ And here is 5
to be noted whan they lie idelleie one the mountains sides howe than they talke of the fastnes and naturall strenght of everie waie place and hill of theire Cuntrey./ |

Trewlie at this daie yf you loke throwlie to the whole number of *gentlemen* and others of all sortes in northwales ye shall scarcely finde anie (the Byshops 10
and some fewe others excepted) yet in anie sorte well instructed in the faithe of chryste: for of the whole multetude such *which* be vnder xxx^{ty} yeres of age seeme to have noe shewe of anie religion, the others well neare generallie all dare to professe and to mainteyne the absurdest pointes of popishe heresie accordinge to *which* knowledge (moste lamentable to be spoken) the greatest 15
number of them doe frame theire lives in loosnes licenciousnes contencion and other suche like./

yf the enemies of god and trewe religion shall ever endeuor the disquiett of the setled state, they are in policie to practise the same, where ignorance 20
moste aboundeth, and where the gospell hath bine leaste preached, *which* suerlie is in wales./

1584

David Powel's Historie of Cambria STC: 4606

pp 190–2*

25

...

Also towards the end of the same yeare died Gruffyth ap Conan king or prince of Northwales, | the onelie defense and sheeld of all Wales ... He reformed the disordered behauior of the Welsh minstrels, by a verie good Statute which is extant to this daie.

30

* There are three sorts of minstrels in Wales

1 The first sort named Beirdh, which are makers of songs and odes of sundrie measures, wherein not onelie great skill and cunning is required; but also a certeine naturall inclination and gift, which in Latine is termed Furor poëticus. These doo also keepe records of Gentlemens armes and petegrees, and are best esteemed and accounted of among them.

35

2 The second sort of them are plaiers vpon instruments, cheefelie the Harpe and the Crowth: whose musike for the most part came to Wales with the said Gruffyth ap Conan, who being on the one side an Irishman by his mother and grandmother, and also borne in Ireland, brought ouer 40

with him out of that countrie diuers cunning musicians into Wales, who deuised in a manner all the instrumentall musike that is now there vsed, as appeereth as well by the bookes written of the same, as also by the names of the | tunes and measures vsed amongst them to this daie.

3 The third sort called Atcaneiad are those which doo sing to the instrument 5
plaied by another, and these be in vse in the countrie of Wales to this daie.

This statute or decree here mentioned, dooth not onelie prescribe and appoint what reward euerie of the said minstrels ought to haue and at whose hands: but also of what honest behauour and conuersation they ought to be, to wit, no make bates, no vagabounds, no ale-househanter, no drunkards, 10
no brallers, no whoorehunters, no theeues, nor companions of such. In which things if they offend, euerie man by the said statute is made an officer, and authorized to arrest and punish them, yea and take from them all that they haue then about them. They are also in the same statute forbidden to enter 15
into anie mans house, or to make anie song of anie man without speciall licence of the partie himselfe. And this statute or decree hath beene oftentimes allowed by publike authoritie of the cheefe magistrats of that countrie, as appeareth by sundrie commissions directed to diuers Gentlemen in that behalfe.

A verie good
lawe against
abuses in
Musicians.

1594

A *Petition to the Council in the Marches* Evans: *Report*, vol 1
pp 293–5* (20 May)

...

To the Right Honorable the Lord President and others the Queenes 25
majesties Councell in the Marches of Wales.

Right Honorable our Duties vnto your good *Lordship* remembred whearas within the principallitie & marches of wales by all the tyme wherof the memorie of man ys not to the contrarye it hath bene founde that for not only the expressinge notifieinge & acerteninge of the truethe of pettidegrees 30
armes & discentes within the same Certayne men there termed Byrdh or as they be termed welshe poetes But also skillfull honest and sober men exercised & brought vpp to plaie on the instrumentes called the harpe and Crowth [and the atcaneaid which doe singe to the instrumentes played by them] haue bene kept maintegned & suffred to travell emongest the men 35
of worshipp gentillitie & power therin inhabitinge which with their sciences proffessed & learned not only did greatlie repast & recreate the mynde of the same men of worshipp gentillity and power but also by their studie to attayne their skill & sciences were from age to age & tyme to tyme men of greate & certen experience to sett furth pettidegrees & discentes the better 40
to knowe the trooth in cases of greate antiquitie in question and to sett furth & explayne the language of the same partes the better: and men of excellent

good nurture behaviur & modestie to geave example emongest the youthes
 to make & instructe them the better nurtured & manered & more hable to
 serve prince or subiecte And that late prince of wales Gruffith ap Kynan of
 auncient & worthie memorie did stablishe & sett downe lawes ordinaunces
 & decrees for their continuaunce and maynteignance that did serve for the
 purposes aforesaid and to seclude & vtterlie to abrogate from the same sciences
 all others that weare not of the said allowed & advanced skill sobrietie and
 good behaviur which his decrees were euer sithence mainteigned in euery
 honest parte and not abrogated/ And the same proffessors in euerie degree
 from tyme to tyme to move them to attayne to perfeict knowledge had
 grunted vnto them seuerall syluer prises as Masters or Doctors of the same
 sciences as for poetrie the sylver chayre for harpeinge the silver harpe for
 Crowthinge the sylver Crowth ¹ & for the atcane or singinge the silver tonge
 as a price to be geaven to the best to be by him worne and other degrees
 gyven to the rest fitt to be in that sort mainteigned/ And other loyterers and
 drones seeminge to professe the same sciences & not beinge experienced
 therin but rather to be taken knowen & termed for rogues made knowen for
 rogues & not to be suffered to travaille & chardge the subiectes but ponished
 if they travayled & driven to laboure for their lyveinge/ And whearas those
 sylver games & prices remayned in the Cuntrey in the handes of gentlemen
 not professed in any of the said sciences and ready to be deliuered to those
 professors maynteingeing the same prices (as we be enformed by them) The
 same proceedinges beinge geiven from some of the Queenes maiesties most
 noble progenitors originallie for mayntenance of the same sciences at furst
 because the worthier sorte might be advaunced & maynteigned & the badd
 therof repressed & ponished heretofore seuerall Comissions haue bene graunted
 & directed out by your Lordship & executed thone in the tyme of the late
 kinge Henrie the eighte father to her Maiestie and thother at, or aboutes
 the eighte or nineth yere of her Maiesties Raigne that now ys ¹ dureinge the
 gouernement of the honourable & worthie knight Syr Henry Sydney then
 Lord President ¹ the recordes wherof (as we take) remayne with your good
 Lordship And for that vnder colour of professinge the same sciences many
 badd vnsobere vndiscreete & vn timerly persons, nothing deservinge in that
 degree do travaille within the marches chardgeable to her graces subiectes
 which be not fitt for any thintentes aforesaid And therefore the worthier sorte
 of theym whom we fynde greate cause & necessitie to cherishe & maynteigne
 for the purposes aforesaid (because by the multitude of the vnskillfull their
 callinges & sciences are not studied or regarded) have bene earnest suters vnto
 vs to signifie the same to your good Lordship and to Crave that the like
 Comission as the last was maye be adwarded to men of worshipp & experience

11/ grunted: for graunted

22/ maynteingeing: for maynteigninge

to call before theym all the persons within wales *professinge* any of the said sciences musicke or poetrie at a Convenient place & tyme & there to trie & examine who be worthie to weare & beare awaye the same silver prices & to rewarde theym therwith, & to grace the rest that be worthie to be suffered and fynallie to repress suche as be vnskillfull & leade a roguishe life by that colour that the same maye be knowen accordinge to the auncient vsage within Wales & ponished & driven to laboure vpon with their requestes & suytes & because we fynde the better sort worthie mayntenaunce & the chardge of the rest veary necessarie to be Cutt of we praye that the same Comission may be graunted accordinge as the last was with provision therin as in former Comissions were the rather because we fynde no chardge therby ensueinge to the subiectes but rather an vnnesessarie chardge Cutt of & the rest suffered to be founde more skillfull & paynfull And so referringe all to your good Consideracions I we Committ the same to godes blessing Dated the xxth daye of Maye 1594.

Your Lordships most humble at Comaundment

Peris gruffyth John Conwayne

William Salusburye

John Conwayne

John Gruffyth

John Wynne of Gwyder

Thomas Price

Ed' Theloald

hugh hookes

ffowk lloyd

Thomas Salusbury

R. Turbridge.

1601

Elizabeth I's Instructions to the Council in the Marches

TNA: PRO SP 46/3/12

ff [6v–7]* (12 June)

...

14.
Against
devisers and
spreaders of
sclaunderous
Libells bookes
lettres or tales./

And whereas dyvers lewde, and mallicious personnes haue heretofore, and of late daies more, and more devised spread abroad, reported, or published many faulse and seditious tales, sayinges, writings, bookes, letters and libells, which amonge the people haue wrought, and hereafter may worke greate mischieffe and inconveniences to the entent the like may be advoyded hereafter, and that the Inventers, and setters forth thereof may be condi[n]g^llye ponished: Her Maiestyes pleasure is that the Lord president or vicepresident, and Councell as is aforesaid shall haue I due regarde thereof, and carefull respecte therevnto: And that whensoever any such false, and seditious tales, sayinges writings bookes, letters, or libells shalbe devised, reported, published or dispersed that the publishers dispersers, and reporters thereof be fforthwith staied, and all meanes vsed to attache them all from one to another vntill the ffirst Author may be apprehended, and duely and openly ponished. And

yf the same extende to treason, then to cause the lawe to *proceede* and
 execucion to be done accordinglye. And yf yt be of lesse moment, and yett
 such as may woorke some inconvenience to the dishonour of her *Maiestye* of
 the state publike, or government. Then the said *Lord* president or vicepresident
 and Councell as is aforesaid, or any three of them whereof the *Lord* president, 5
 or vicepresident for the time beinge, or in their absence, or vacancy the Chief
 Iustice of Chester to be one) shall punishe the parties soe offendinge by the
 pillory, cuttinge, or naylinge of their Eares, whippinge, or otherwise by their
 discrecions as in such like cases hathe bin vsed or as shall accorde with the
 lawes in that behaulf provided./

10

...

Early 17th century

Three Memorials of Britain NLW: Llanstephan MS 144

pp 1–5* (*Chapter 1*)

15

...

This Chapter treateth of the Three antiquities of Bryttaen.

The Office and functione of the Bruttish or Cambrian Bardes was to keepe
 and preserve. Tri çof ynys Brydain: That is the Three Recordes or Memorials
 of Bryttaen, which otherwise is called the Bruttish antiquitie which consisteth 20
 of three partes and is called Tri çof./

ffor the preservacion wheareof | when the Bards were graduated at there
 comencementes, they were rewarded wyth treble reward one reward for every
 Cof: as the auncient Bard Tudur Aled doth recite of this Tri çof and his
 reward for the same at his comencement and graduation at the Royall 25
 wedding of Ieuan ap Davyd ap Ithel vychan of Northopp in Ingfield in
 flintshire which hee vppon the Cerç marunad of the sayd Ieuan ap Davyd
 ap Ithel recited thus

Cyntaf neuad im gradwyd

vy oror lys feryr luyd

30

am Dri cof im dyrçafod

yn neitior hwnn a țair çod

And soe you may see that hee was exalted and graduated at the sayd wedding
 for his knowledge in the sayd Tri çof, and was rewarded wyth thre severall |
 rewardes one for every Cof./

35

The one of the sayd three Cof is the History of the notable Acts of the kinges
 & princes of this land of Bruttaen and Cambria;/

And the second of the said thre cof is the language of the Bruttons for which
 the Bardes ought to giue accompt for every wo^l_l^rd and sillable there in when

6–7/ beinge, or ... one): comma used for opening parenthesis

18/ The: in enlarged display script

they are demaunded thereof and to preserue the auncient tonge & not to intermix ytt wyth any forrayne tonge or to bring any forrayne word amongst yt to the preiudice of there owne wordes wheareby they might eyther be forgotten or extyrped./

And the Thyrd Cof was, to keepe the genealogies or Descentes of the Nobitie, there Division of landes and there Armes; for there Descentes Armes and Divisione of landes were but one of the Three Cof./

The auncient Bardes had a stipend out of every plowland in | the countrey for there mayntenance And the sayd Bardes had alsoe a Perambulacione or a Visitacione once every three yeares to the houses of all the Gentlemen in the Countrey (which was called Cylç clera) for preseruinge of the said Tri cof./

At which Perambulacione they dyd collect all the memorable thinges that were donne & fell out in every Countrey that concerned there profession to take notice of & wrotte yt downe: soe that theye could not be ignorant of any Memorabl actes, the death of any greate persone, his descent, Division or porcione of landes, Armes and Children in any Countrey wythin theyre Perambulacione./

At which Perambulacione the sayd Bardes receaved there Rewardes beinge a sett and a certenn Stipend from every gentlman to whose house they were intertayned in there Perambulacione which Stipend or Reward was | called Clera./

...

A *Rev. Evan Evans' Notebook* NLW: Cwrtmawr MS 34B
pp 25–6*

The three most famous Musicians in king James 1st's time were Lewis Penmon that was sir Henry salusbury of Lleweny's harper. and one Heilin an excellent player on the crowd; and another called Dic Bibydd an excellent player on a pipe or flagellet of silver.

They did twice or thrice every year all three together go to king James's Court, and played often before the king, who was so much delighted with their music, that the king allowed each of them 12 d. a day as long as they lived. They had very rich instruments, the Harp and Crowd plated and studded with silver &c.

Wiliam sion alias Wiliam Deilin of Coed yr Allt was one of the old fidlers; he was son | of Mr. Jones of Elsemere, who had been in the service of the

5/ Nobitie: *for* Nobilitie

37/ Coed yr Allt: *forest lying across the River Conwy from Llanrwst, Caernarvonshire*

38/ Elsemere: *Ellesmere, Shropshire*

Countess of Derby and was a good Musician on the violin, and his son now a dancing Master.

He had another son called Hoytyn and was a Harper kept by Mr. Edward Eytyn of Watstay, who used to send him often to Anglesey to the Eisteiddfods there to learn his parts and to take his degrees in Music.

5

Another Musician in those times was one Copperleni a Harper, he was brother to the father of Mr. Wynn of Copperleni that was the councillor. Also David Dabner and Morgan Dabner were both Tabourers in their times.

Ex M.S. Johannis salusbury d'Erbistock

Dioceses

DIOCESE OF BANGOR

1634

Articles of Inquiry of Bishop Edmund Griffith STC: 10135

sig B1 (*Concerning the behaviour of the laity*)

5

2. Whether any person haue played at Tennis, daunced, played at football, lurked, or tipled in Tauernes or Ale-houses on Sundayes, or other Holy-dayes before Euening Prayers, or vsed his or their manuall craft or misterie, or any bodily labour, or kept the shops open vpon the said dayes, or any of them, especially in the time of Diuine Seruice, or suffered his or their seruants to sell any wares or victualls in that time, or to offend in any of the premisses?

...

1640

Articles of Inquiry of Bishop William Roberts STC: 10136

sig B1 (*Concerning the behaviour of the laity*)

15

2. Whether any person have played at Tennis, daunced, played at football, lurked, or tipled in Tavernes or Ale-houses on Sundayes, or other Holy-dayes before Evening Prayers, or used his or their manuall craft or mystery, or any bodily labour, or kept the shops open upon the said dayes, or any of them, especially in the time of Divine Service, or suffered his or their servants to sell any wares or victualls in that time, or to offend in any of the premisses?

...

25

DIOCESE OF LLANDAFF

1640

Articles of Inquiry of Bishop William Murray STC: 10246

sig C1 (*Concerning the behaviour of the laity*)

30

...

13 Whether haue you or your Predecessors Church wardens there, suffered

any Plays, Feasts, Banquets, Church-Ales, Drinkings, or any other prophane Playes, to be kept in your Church, Chappell, or Church-yard, or Bels to bee rung superstitiously on Holidayes or Eues, abrogated by the Booke of common Prayer?

...

5

DIOCESE OF ST ASAPH

1311

- A *Red Book of St Asaph* NLW: Records of the Church in Wales SA/MB/1 f 4v col 2* (13 December) (*Distribution of cloth*) 10

...

Gregorius Baughan citharista

Ririt Discipulus eius

...

15

1556

- A *Injunctions of Bishop Thomas Goldwell* Wilkins: *Concilia*, vol 4 p 145 col 1

...

20

Item, That no pryst do from hensfurth haunt, resort, or repayre to any disinghouses, or commyn bouling allies, or any other suspect houses or places, or do use common or unlawfull games or playes, or otherwyse behave themselves unpriestly or unsemelie, upon payne of depriuation of theyr benefices, after that they shall be thrise monyshed or peremptorie ons, and yff they be not beneficed, to be suspendyd ab officio for six months.

...

25

1637

- Articles of Inquiry of Bishop John Owen* STC: 10324 sig A3 (*Concerning the church and churchyard*) 30

...

[®] Fencing and keeping the Church-yard.

5 Item, Whether be your Church-yards well fenced & kept without abuse: if not, whose default is it? hath any person encroached upon the ground of the Church-yard: have any used a place consecrated to holy use, prophanely or wickedly: have any quarrelled or stricken another in Church or Church-yard? or abused and prophaned them with any unlawfull games, as bowles, Tennis, foot ball, hand ball, dancing and such like.

35

[®] Profaning and annoying the Church-yard.

...

40

DIOCESE OF ST DAVID'S

1622

Articles of Inquiry of Bishop William Laud STC: 10325sigs B3–3v (*On churchwardens and sidesmen*)

5

...

1 Whether you and the Church-wardens, Quest-men, or Side-men, from
time to time, do, and haue done their diligences, in not suffering any idle
person to abide either in ye Churchyard, or church-porch, in seruice or
sermon time, but causing them eilther to come into the church to heare 10
diuine seruice, or to depart and not disturbe such as be hearers there? And
whether haue they, and do you diligently see the Parishioners duly resort to
the church euery Sunday and Holyday, and there to remaine during diuine
seruice and Sermon? And whether you or your predecessors, church-wardens
there, sufferd any plaies, Feasts, Drinkings, or any other prophane vsages, to 15
be kept in your church, chappell, or church-yards, or haue you suffered to
your and their vttermost power and endeuour, any person or persons to be
tipling or drinking in any Inne or victualling House in your parish, during
the time of diuine Seruice or Sermon, on Sundaies and Holidiaies?

...

20

7/ Whether: *corrected by hand* to Haue7/ and: *deleted by hand*7/ Side-men,: *comma added by hand*8/ do ... their: *corrected by hand* to done your10/ causing: *ing corrected by hand* to ed11–12/ And ... diligently: *corrected by hand* to Haue you taken care to *and marginally numbered* 214/ And ... or: *corrected by hand* to Doe you, or haue *and marginally numbered* 315/ sufferd: *d added by hand*16/ you: *added by hand*

Counties

ANGLESEY/MÔN

County

c 1613

- A *A Brief Relation of Grievances* Halliwell: *A Minute Account*
pp 10–15

...

And first to speake of beggars, rogues, vagabonds and idlers, we have an infinite number of them, and of divers sorts that live and lead an idle life, 10
wandring abroad over all the countrey from house to house, and from place to place, in heaps and troops, some men, some women; some old, some young; some weak, some strong; some poor, and some rich; and all at their own will and pleasure, without any rule, order, restraint or prohibition. Their number is grown infinite, as well of our own home bred beggars, as also 15
incomers from all parts of our neighbour countreys; and at some time of the year they swarme and fill the whole island, insomuch that many housholders are forced, in answering them, to bestow more food in a month then would serve their own family in 1 a fortnight. And as the time groweth on, so do they increase in number dayly, and no marvel, for they live the best and 20
easiest life of all others, in the carnall judgment of witty worldlings. For they can get by begging not only their necessary food and rayment with ease, but also many of them will spend largely upon good ale, in these our blind tipplings; and what they cannot get by begging, shall be largely supplied by stealing and pilferings. I have heard of late an understanding Gentleman to 25
observe that the third part of our people in this Island are beggars, and half those to be thieves and stealers. And truely his supposition was not much amiss, if we do but consider of all sorts of men that with reason may be comprehended under the name of beggars, for alas! those that have no means of themselves, and yet live, and lead an idle life, whatsoever they pretend, 30
may go for currant under that title of beggars, whereof to omit the weak

and impotent, as well old as young, and those that are blind, lame, impotent,
 and diseased, and all that may be lawfully admitted to beg. There are many
 sorts of strong, sturdie, and rich beggers, as namely to remember some of them,
 there are many counterfeit soldiers, and these by shewing some artificial scars
 of their own makeing must have meat, and of some will I have money: There
 are also a great many Bedlems, that be strong, active, and lustie fellows; these
 go well apparell'd, and have a kind of set speech and rhetoricall oration to be
 delivered at every door, and can sing out some odd song withall; And they,
 forsooth, must have the best meat and speciallie the best drink in every
 house, and money of the better sort; they are skillful in pedegree, and have
 an exquisite cuning in glavering and flatterie, and by that means, can with
 great facility bring some of our Justices of peace and others into a fools
 Paradise, and so live at will, and wallow in drunkenness, lecherie, thieverie,
 and all other villanie sans check or controulment. We have also many Idlers
 that will be counterfeit soldiers, nor cannot be Bedlems, but go abroad from
 house to house, under the name of labourers wanting place of services, and as
 soon as a man takes up one of these, and puts him to work, he will presently
 make a sure escape far from those parts, such felicity they find in this idle
 drowsie life of begging. Some there are also so blinded with insatiable avarice,
 that in time of dearth can leave their own houses, and grain yards stored with
 corn, and grain, and their fields with cattle, and put themselves, their wives,
 and some of their family in beggerlie apparell, I and so betake themselves to
 the furthest parts of the Countrey, where they are less known, to cry, crave
 and beg for a month or two, that their store at home may be the better spared.
 I might here speak of pedlers, tinkers, and fiddlers, with a whole rabblement
 of such idle devouring drones that wander abroad and live idlie to devour
 and wast that which the painfull husband-men get with the sweat of their
 browes, travell and industry; All these for the most part, besides their beastlie
 drunkenness, carry a rout of queans, whores, and children after them, and
 have more skill in lying, cogging, swearing, blaspheming, and stealing, then
 the infernal devills themselves. And where art, and cunning, fail them, they
 will not stick in time and place convenient to threat, and commit force, or
 violence. Of this we have lately had so many experiments, that it would seem
 incredible to those that live where order and discipline is observed, to hear
 the tenth part thereof recounted, especially of stealing; for in winter last, from
 the beginning of November till the end of February, when the nights were
 long and dark, there was nothing so common as complaints in all parts of
 the countrey, of some stealing or other; there was almost none free from some
 losses in that I behalf, for mutttons, gees, turkies, capons, hens, pullets, ducks,
 and all kinds of poultries, were stoln in abundances, and for an instance,
 there was one gentleman that had 36 capons stoln from him in less than 20
 days; Breaking of barns, and grain-yards, and stealing of corn and grain

by loads and horse loads, was too common; Stealing of cloth, linnen and
 apparell, and pilling of sheep was over riffe. To be brief, the loss of the
 Countrey is infinite, and if it were possible to gather a collection of all, it
 would growe to a thing incredible; for it is certain and affirmed by many,
 that there was more felonies and petit larcenies committed in this Island, 5
 this last winter, than in any seaven years of this age, before this time. And
 all this mischief proceedeth from the neglect of officers, in suffering such
 offenders to escape with impunity. And if this remiss cours will be still
 continued with these men, it will encourage them to wax the more and more
 audacious in their villanies. And what then shall we expect? But that at last, 10
 they will combine and gather into societies, if not into a head, among
 themselves, and, in a short space, bring the whole Island into confusion. Let
 God provide some speedy remedy, to prevent this, | and other mischiefs....

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

15

BEAUMARIS

1585

Council Orders and Minutes UWB: General Collection 478B
 f 6* (14 April)

20

...

Die mercurij in hebdomeda pasche Anno Domini 1585 coram maiore Rolando
 Thiknes altero Balliudrum & burgensibus

Ricardus Price sherman electus & Iuratus filius burgensis his fyne is x s. 25
 Which is remitted him by the hole voyce in consideracion that he is lord
 of the mery pastymes

...

c 1652

Rev. William Williams' Commonplace Book NLW: NLW MS 15,140A
 ff 54–5*

30

To the Honoured Captayne William Wray
 Governour of Bewmares.

35

The petition of Bewmares schoole for the libertie
 of a cockfight in the beginning of Lent

You are commaunded to secure the Peace,
 Yett 'tis our hope that wee shall not displease

If wee make humble suite to you for warres
 For bloudie battles & intestines jarres.
 But know the warres wee crave, are harmelesse fights
 Not broiles of men but onely cocking fights. |
 Lett martiall birds within our Schoole bee foes
 The blowes they strike in Lent may spare vs blowes;
 For children's sports some men are too too [f]Curious
 & by Commission would bee furious.
 In these disarming tymes they keepe great stirres
 And would disarme our fighting cockes of spurres.
 But what needes this? feare you not plotts nor armes
 From children in the Nonage of all harmes.
 Your Castle's neare to see all our offence,
 Those walls shall testifie our Innocence. |
 May each stone there our heinous crimes betray
 If wee shall meane ought else but harmelesse play./

5

10

15

...

ff 116–17v*

20

The Prologue to ye Tragœdie of
 Massanello by Thomas Baylie D.D.

Court'ous spectators, you must know yat hee
 Who is the writer of this Tragœdie,
 Was Actor & spectator in't: who meanes
 Here to præsent it into Acts & Scenes.
 If you are pleased with truth, ye storie's true
 And if with novelties, ye Subject's new. |
 If wonders doe delight you, on this stage
 Acted is ye great wonder of our age.
 Or if you'r pleased with seasonable things
 Here's fightings 'twixt ye people & their Kings,
 Or if sad melancholy hath you sent
 Hither for pastyme, here is merrymment
 And if truth, wonder, novelties, mirth, season
 Doe not content you (Sirs) you haue noe reason. |

25

30

35

A Translation

Benevoli spectatores
 Ecce datur vobis spectanda Tragœdia ab illo,
 Qui quondam hoc scripsit, vidit & egit opus.
 Quicquid erat vario populi discrimine gestum
 Hoc coram vobis Scena vel Actus erit.

40

Quòd si vera placent, hæc est Historia vera,
 Si nova, quàm celebre est hoc novitate suâ. |
 Si rebus miris vestri capiuntur ocelli,
 Nostra Theatra hodiè nil nisi mira sonant.
 Si vos delectant nostrorum exempla dierum,
 Ecce manus miscent Rex populusque suas.
 Vel si lætitiâ mærentia corda velitis
 Fallere, nec lætis hæc mea Scena caret,
 Horum aliquid vestræ menti arridere necesse est
 Ni mens vestra suæ sit rationis inops.

5

10

1655

Rev. William Williams' Commonplace Book NLW: NLW MS 15,140A
 ff 68-9v*

15

A Prologue to the Muses Looking Glasse;
 A Play acted by the schollers of the Free
 schoole att Bewmares in Lent 1655.

I know that children's playsome innocence
 Needes noe Apologie or defence.
 But least the Brotherhood might on vs frowne
 And say that playes & players are pwtt downe.
 I'le vindicate my selfe & my schoolefellowes
 From those yat doe against vs blow their bellowes. |
 As for the play 'tis excellent; for know it
 That Randolph Muses darling is our Poett.
 Here wee præsent the vices to bee hated,
 The sacred vertues to bee imitated
 Lett noe man this Play censure; ere wee end it
 Two zealotts (you shall heare) will commend it.
 Flowerdew & Brother Bird will testifie
 That this our Comedie will edifie.
 And 'cause it is a very daungerous age
 Hating all sorts of plotts, therefore our stage, |
 To please all jealous Auditors, hath gott
 A pleasant Comedie without a plott.
 Here wee præsent noe plotts but medly humors
 Humanities diseases, natures Tumors.
 And each Spectator yat this day drawes neare
 May find his naturall humor acted here.
 After the vicious humors acted bee
 You shall vpon this Stage the Vertues see.

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Most kind Spectators ere from hence you goe
 Pardon our vices & our Vertues too. |
 Though all my schoolefellowes have scenicke parts,
 And act them not with skill but yett with hearts;
 Though I a player personate this day
 Yett know wee act not Players but a Play/
 ...

5

Households

10

BULKELEY OF BARON HILL

1572

History of the Bulkeley Family NLW: NLW MS 9080E
 pp 12–13* (*Pedigree listing*)

15

...
 This Lady was vnfortunate towards the end of her husbands dayes & likewise
 after his Decease for shee was charged by her sonne in Law (then Richard
 Bulkeley Esquier with noe lesse crimes then poysoning of her husband &
 committing Adulterie with severall persons. For which shee hath beene
 troubled & persecuted in severall Courts as in the Court of the Burrough of
 Bewmares, In the Consistory Court of Bangor & in the Arches, In the Court
 of Marches att Ludlow, And in the great Sessions held for the Countie of
 Anglisey att Bewmares as appeares by the dates of Examinations & other
 proceedings against her
 ...

25

I say two great Crimes were Layd to her Charge, Adultery & Poysoning of
 her husband.

1. Adultery & that with severall persons. 1. with one William Kenericke
 a young gallant, in whose companie the sayd Ladye Agnes was knowne to
 bee alone many & sundrie nights in the parlour of the mansion house
 without candle-light or other companie. And they two were often found[en]
 together & alone in the garden of the same House & in the stilling-House
 of the same garden many nights. The sayd Lady Agnes declared to Rowland
 Kenericke the father of the sayd William, That shee would marrie 'his sonne'
 [the sayd] William, when her husband Sir Richard should die. The sayd
 William Kenericke [declared & putt it vnder his hand that hee had layne
 with the sayd Lady Agnes] did vse to walke vnder the sayd Agnes her window
 in the night tyme, play vpon an Instrument & make loue to her when Sir

35

17/ This Lady: *Agnes Bulkeley, second wife of Sir Richard Bulkeley*
 18–19/ (then ... Esquier: *closing parenthesis omitted*)

Richard was from home in the Parliament *Anno Domini* 1571. The sayd William Kenericke declared & putt it vnder his hand that hee had layne with the sayd Agnes in the blew bed in Sir Richard Bulkeley's chamber, being sent for thither by the said Ladie. And Iane Wen a wayting mayde of the sayd Ladie saw William Kenericke & the sayd [Wi] Ladie lying together on the bed in her owne chamber, with the curteynes drawne about them & that about 11 a clocke att night. And the sayd Iane Wen heard a [foule] [^]great stirre vpon the bed, with many other foule Circumstances. 2. The 2^d person was one Sir Thomas Morgan a Priest, with (>)hom the Ladye (>)d to bee (>...) houres (>...) | great lewdness betweene her & the sayd Priest. And that the sayd Priest had made diverse rymes & ballads of dishonest loue to her which shee gladly received & accepted. 3. The 3^d was a young man called Arthur Fletcher with whom the sayd Ladie did vse to bee locked vp alone for two houres or more without any other companie. And vpon search there were in the sayd Ladie's Coffers & other secrett places, severall wanton ballades written with the hand of the sayd Arthur to her, with her name diversely & Craftiely expressed therein as by one Coppie herevnto annexed doth appeare (A) *Hæc omnia probata sunt per testes.*

2 Poysoning of her husband Sir Richard Bulkeley....

...

1631

History of the Bulkeley Family NLW: NLW MS 9080E

p 49*

...

In processe of tyme & after the death of the sayd [^]Sir Richard Bulkeley the Elder the sayd Thomas Cheadle vnmindfull of all Gratitude due from him to that familie, wherein hee had his breeding & advancement, entred into an vndecent frindshipp & familiarity with the Lady Anne Bulkeley the wife of Sir Richard Bulkeley the younger in his life tyme, who dyed of a sad & somewhat wonderfull sickenes, not without great presumption of being poysoned by the sayd Cheadle & Lady who longed to enjoy one another with greater freedome.

Hee the sayd Thomas was an active, stirring & ingenious man; & after intermarrying with the sayd Lady lived very handsomely, bought neare 80 li. per annum Landes in Penmon, Langowda, Llanvaes &c. Built good houses as the Red house in Bewmares, The House [in the] adioyning to the Church of Penmon, The House att Lleniog, And the Castle att Lleniog &c. Kept good Hospitalitie, a handsome attendance, a great Houshold, An Organist

36/ Penmon: *Penmon, Anglesey*

36/ Langowda: *Llangawrda, Anglesey*

38/ Lleniog: *Lleiniog, Anglesey, 2 miles northeast of Beaumaris*

& Musicke [in his house], & had prayers & anthymnes every ten a clocke in the Morning in his [same] house....

...

1643

History of the Bulkeley Family NLW: NLW MS 9080E

p 58*

...

[4]5: His [fourth trouble] greates trouble was from Robert Earle of Leycester. I told you heretofore that Sir Richard Bulkeley (this Lordes father) was been much troubled by Robert Dudley Earle of Leycester about the businesse of the Forrest of Snowdon. And now (as if fate did desire to continue animositie & enmitie betweene the names of Leycester and Bulkeley from generation to generation) another Earle of Leycester *videlicet* Robert Sidney Viscount Lisle descended of a sister of the sayd Robert [^] 'Dudley' Earle of Leycester began new troubles to this noble person in manner following The sayd Robert Earle of Leycester in the yeare 164 $\frac{4}{3}$ had a Commission to bee Lord Lieutenant of Ireland & in order to his going over sent his goodes as farre as Anglisey; but the divisions betweene King & Parliament att that tyme increasing too high, obstructed his iourney; his person comming noe further then Chester. But as for his goodes sent to Anglisey, the number of them & the manner of their losse with the suite commenc'd for the same, you will vnderstand by the Breviat of both parties, [so] delivered to their Counsellors to bee pleaded in Westminster-Hall.

...

The Particulars of the Goodes were these. As the Earle of Leycester putt them in

2 Trunkes conteyning Plate <i>videlicet</i> :	14 Sylver Pie-plates	20	
1. Sylver-dishes	18	15 Bell-candlestickes of sylver	3
2 A sylver Voyder		16 A sylver Cupp-bearer	Plate
3. A sylver Knife.		17 Sylver Trumpetts	2
4. sylver basons	5.		
5. sylver Ewers	5		
6 A sylver Kettle		Trunkes contayning Apparell	
7 A sylver Ladle		Suites of Apparell	20
8 sylver Trenchers	5 dozen		
9 sylver Candlestickes	5	Cloakes	20
10 smaller sylver Candlestickes	3	Velvett Foote cloathes	2.
11 Bell Candlestickes of sylver	2	1 Trunke contayning	
12 Fruite-dishes of sylver	16	Payres of Bootes	20
13 sylver Creame-dishes	(blank)	Shoes	3 dozen

9/ His: *Thomas, Lord Bulkeley*

10/ was: *corrected over had*

10/ been: *probably intended for cancellation*

p 60 col 2

...

Mr. Robert Iones hath taken from mee
 12 Knifes with sylver handles
 2 scutcheons for Trumpettes &
 2 rich strings with Tasselles of crimson &
 A rich purse.

5

BULKELEY OF DRONWY

10

c 1621

Letter from Evan Edward to Robert Bulkeley UWB: Penrhos II/122
 single sheet*

Mr Buckley my harty Commendations remembred vnto you, and to the
 rest of your Company [yat] in your Iourney *videlicet* mr Richard Gwyn and
 mr Iohn Lloyd. This to desire you of [^]enquire¹ Herry *dauid* (if your self
 knoweth not) what is becom of my brother William his harpe, and (making
 no mention of my name) to bargeine it for your self, and if you see it worth
 the money demaunded for it, to [by] buy it and so to send by the bearer
 heereof, and withall a note whate it stands in, and (god willing) I will with
 the next messenger I will dischargd you from it, my ould father remembreth
 himself [(.)] vnto you. so with with my prayers for you I rest

15

20

(signed) your frend Evan Edward

my Cousen Iuan is gone to Ireland, but at his departure remembred himself
 vnto you

25

1631

Diary of Robert Bulkeley NLW: NLW MS 3150B

p 17* (29 June)

30

...

wednesday 29

mane I rid cum *francis lewis* to speake with Iohn lewis, & spent 8 d. *francis lewis* lent me 2 d. I dined at home, & rid to a play at *llanddaysant*, I spent 2 d., Begws rid home behind me, great rayne Besse gaue me 4 d.

35

...

3/ Mr. Robert Iones: *high sheriff of Caernarvonshire*3/ mee: *John White, a member of Leicester's retinue*17/ of [^]enquire¹: *for to enquire of*21–2/ I will ... I will: *second occurrence of I will redundant*23/ with with: *distography*33/ *llanddaysant*: *Llanddeusant parish, 2 miles east of Dronwy*34/ Besse: *Bulkeley's wife, Elizabeth*

p 19 (25 July)

...

munday 25: mr *williams* trist lighted at Dronwy I rid with him & to *dauid* ap *owen* & spent 6 d., lane uerch *william* payd me for a bushel wheate 6 s. 6 d., whereof I payd her, 4 s. 8 d. *scilicet* euen, thence to *llywenan* & *Hugh powell* with vs 5
& spent 2 d., thence *Hugh powell* & I to a play at Bodedern & spent 3 d. & soe home I payd Robert ap *william* price 5 d., for ditching, raynie

...

1631/2

10

Diary of Robert Bulkeley NLW: NLW MS 3150B

p 30 (6 January)

...

friday 6: I slept all diner tyme, vesperi I went to *llanvoorog* & was at Richard gray thence cum Pierce hughes to Robert Ieffreyes, & stayd there till midnight 15
coing home I dranke at Richard gray, H: ap *Iohn* ap howell payd 2 d. for me for musicke fayre

p 31* (9 January)

...

20

munday 9: I rid cum *Howell lewis* ap Hugh to *llanvair* to agree with *Roland* ap hugh. ye agreement is thus, I haue a mare & a youngh heyfer for 5 li. the next all *saintes* to pay 44 s. & 50 s. euerie allsaintes after for two yeares he is to acknowledge this in ye sherifes bookes, & to giue me a release of his tenement, I spent 2 d. at *llanvair* cum *Iohn Moyl*, & Hugh gray ap *Moris* 25
coming home I spent 2 d. at *Howell* ye harper fayre

...

p 33 (13 February)

...

30

munday 13: mane I set towardes mercer *Iones* cum *Howell lewis* & *Rees lewis*, vesperi [I] we went to mr *owen* but found him not at home we lay at mercer *Iones* to stay hime home, *Howell lewis* payd 2 d. for me to a crouder, very fayre

...

35

p 35 (10 March)

...

saturday 10: vesperi I was a drinking at *Rees lewis* cum *Hugh powell* & *Howell lewis* being

5/ *llywenan*: farm 2 miles east of Dronwy

6/ Bodedern: parish 2 miles southeast of Dronwy

14/ *llanvoorog*: *Llanfurog*, tref in *Llanfaethlu* parish, 3 miles north of Dronwy

16/ coing: for coming; abbreviation mark missing

darke night we parted but Rees & I went to Hugh powell & I sc: [6] 10 d.
between vs, Ieuan ap william dauid harper lay at Dronwy

p 36* (11 March)

sunday 11

mane I rid to bring Ieuan harper towards llywenan, I spent at francis Rowland
4 d., thence to Ieuan Edwardes & spent 6 d., comparebant Rees lloyd, Hugh
powell, Robert dauid lloyd, &c., some varience between Hugh powell &
Richard ap william dauid, Coming home I lost my cloke on this side rhyd
dronwy & not perceiued it windy

...

1632

Diary of Robert Bulkeley NLW: NLW MS 3150B

p 49* (24 August)

...

friday 24

mane a hey making, vesperi to a play at pont r/arw, & spent a peny mr owen
vncl Hugh, &c comparebant, thence I & H: Pryce ap Hugh went with Rees
lewis to Richard gray for an answere concerning Elin Moris money: very fayre

...

p 51 (16 September)

sunday 16:

mane I payd 8 d. haruest, I set to the buriall of vncl Edmund Bulkeley I
offered 2 d., & a peny almes. I payd william Iohn thomas 25 d. for a cheese to
send frater Edward Bulkeley, I dined at Richard lewis, vncl Hugh, william
Iohn thomas &c comparebant, coing home I spent 4 d. at Hugh powell cum
william proch, & gaue Howell the harper 2 d., home before sunset, fayre

...

1633

Diary of Robert Bulkeley NLW: NLW MS 3150B

p 77* (7 September)

...

saturday 7

mane I rid to karreg lwyd, & backe to dinner, post prandium I rid to the
schoole to heare a play, I spent 4 d. with william Brwynog fayre

...

1/ sc:: for spent

6/ llywenan: farm 2 miles east of Dronwy

27/ coing: for coming; abbreviation mark missing

35/ karreg lwyd: Plas Carreglwyd, manor in Llanfaethlu parish, 3 miles north of Dronwy

1633/4

Diary of Robert Bulkeley NLW: NLW MS 3150B

pp 86-7* (14-22 January)

...

tuesday 14: mane I bestowed 2 d. vpon some fidlers, I sent to ye tan-house a cowes hide, 5
 2 heyfers hide, I offered a peny at the buriall of Christian gray, I spent at pen
 y lon 6 d. cum william Brwynog, Hugh powell &c we [dined] 'supt' at Hugh
 powell, thence william Brwynog, Howell lewis & I came to dauid ap owen,
 I spent aboutes 12 d., fayre home in the mornynge

...

sunday 19 mr Humphrey & Richard ap william lewis Dined at dronwy, being darke, I
 went with them to Bodwigan, & stayd till after supper, I lost 6 d. at Mwm,
 which I borrowed of Richard ap lewis, I gaue 2 d. to dauid lloyd harper, windy

...

wednesday 22 mane I [...] borrowed of cozen Iane thomas 5 s., I dined at the sute court 15
 with the sherife it cost me 2 s., I spent more at ye baylifes 2 d., & 3 d. at
 H: probt. Iohn, thence cum H: price ap Hugh, sir Iohn price &c to Hugh
 powell & spent 4 d., sir Iohn l dauid lloyd harper & mr dauid apparitor lay
 at dronwy, Besse tooke 5 d. out of my pocket, fayre

...

1634/5

Diary of Robert Bulkeley NLW: NLW MS 3150B

p 110* (6 January)

...

tuesday 6: very earely from dauid ap owen house I rid cum mr owen to visite william pue 25
 to holyhead, we dined at trearddur, in the eue we came aboutes llanvoorog to
 Dronwy, & presently we were sent for to edward ap Hugh, there we were a
 while after supper, thence to Robert Iaffrey I held vp all night I gaue the musick
 6 d., fayre & frost, comparebant mr humffrey Rees lloyd, hugh ap Rees &c 30

...

p 111* (21 January)

...

wednesday 21 mane I met Richard owen trevadog at edward ap hughes & did set him the 35
 pasture in kae glas for 4 li. & 20 d. chiefe I haue not to doe with the stuble &c

12/ Bodwigan: farm 1 mile northeast of Dronwy

27/ llanvoorog: Llanfwrog, tref in Llanfaethlu parish, 3 miles north of Dronwy

30/ humffrey: 4 minims in ms

35/ trevadog: Trefadog, tref in Llanfaethlu parish, along the north coast

36/ kae glas: Cae-glas, a farm on the east side of Holyhead

till he be gone, post *prandium* I went to prysse Where mr lewis did enter into a Bill to unckle *Hugh*, thence we & *Rees lewis* & H. pryce to Boderne I spent 4 d. at pen. thence to *Hugh powell* & spent 14 d., strange harpers & a Bard being there

1635/6

Diary of Robert Bulkeley NLW: NLW MS 3150B

p 135 (6 January)

...

wednesday 6.

mane I was at Gro: *thomas* to vncle *Hugh* & there meeting *Hugh powell* we went all three to *Edward* ap *hugh* to diner, there I stayed till midnight, thence to *dauid Iohn* ap *hugh* & spent 6 d., I lost at dice 6 d. I gaue musician 3 d. & 3 d. I lent *hugh powell* fayre soror *Catherine* lent me xij d.

...

LEWIS OF PRYSAEDDFED

1594/5

William Lewis' Accounts BL: Additional MS 14,918

f 9v*

1594

(.)ar was tew grythor of llanalliane at gristmas even gevn	ij s.
will bellis the harper of nywieris day	xij d.
Item geven to on Iohn fyllips prydyth and Richiard owmffre	25
gogh harper the iiij th of Iannuary	ij s. vj (.)
Item geven the x th of Iannuarye to one Ryse thatgennid and	
Iohn mers harpere	ij s.
Item ¹ geven ¹ the xiiij th of Ianuarye at bywmares in the	
quartere sessions to peillin and Iohn llivone harpers	ij s. 30
Item geven the xxv of Iannuarye to one william llwyd of llane	
dyrnoge harpere and on that was with him vj d.	xvij d.
Item geven the xxvij th of Iannyuarye to hugh benant and	
william ap ydnyved grythor	ij s.
Item gevn the same daye to Ivane llavare and mrydyth ¹ xvij d. ¹	35
and Thomas ap elis harpere of sir ymwithige xij d.	ij s. vj d.
Item geven the xxvij th of Iannuarye to Iames connwye harper	vj d.
Item geven to one that was mr edwardes is man at prysathved	
the [(...)] ij th of febryuarye bing a harpere	xij d.

1/ prysse: probably the farm Prysan Fawr

2/ Boderne: parish 2 miles southeast of Dronwy

29/ bywmares: Beaumaris, Anglesey

30/ harpers: added later in the same hand

31–2/ llane dyrnoge: Llandyrnog, Denbighshire

Item geven the vth of februarye to Iohn allawe

xviii d.

Item geven to a boye of llan ythyssante bing (<.) harpere

vj d.

BRECKNOCKSHIRE/ SIR FRYCHEINIOG

5

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

BRECON/ABERHONDDU

10

1187/8

Gerald of Wales' Itinerarium Kambriae BL: Cotton Domitian A.1
ff 66–6v*

...

Erat autem antiquitus regionis illius que brecheiniauc dicitur dominator 15
uir potens & nobilis cui nomen Brechanus. a quo & terra brecheniauc
denominata. de quo mihi notabile uidetur quod ipsum xxi^{ti} iii^{or} habuisse
filias hystorie britannice testantur omnes a pueritia diuinis deditas obsequiis.
& in sancitatis assumpte proposito: uitam feliciter terminasse. Extant autem
basilice adhuc per kambriam multe: earum nominibus illustrate. Quarum una 20
in prouincia de brecheniauc non procul a castro principali de aberhotheni in
collis cuiusdam uertice sita. que sancte aeliuedhe ecclesia dicitur. hoc etenim
uirginis sancte nomen extiterat. Que & ibidem terreni regis nuptias respuens/
eterno nubens regi: felici martyrio triumphauit.

Celebratur autem sollempnis eiusdem dies eodem in loco singulis annis in 25
capite kalendarum augusti. ubi & eodem die multi de plebe longinquis ex
partibus conuenire solent. Et uarijs languentes infirmitatibus meritis beate
uirginis optatam recipere sanitatem consueuerant. Illud autem hoc in loco

Collation with BL: Royal Ms 13.B.VIII (C) f 77v col 2–f 78 col 1; BL: Additional Ms
34,762 (E) ff 109v–10v; BL: Harley Ms 912 (G) f 209v; BL: Harley Ms 359 (Hc)
ff 143v–4v; and BL: Royal Ms 13.B.XII (Rd) ff 16v–17v 15 brecheiniauc]
brecheniauc C 15 dominator] G omits 16 Brechanus] brachanus CEGHcRd
17 denominata] C adds est; EGHc add est after this word 17 xxi^{ti} iii^{or}] G omits
19 sancitatis] sancitate C 19 autem] Rd omits 20 basilice adhuc] adhuc basilice
CEGHcRd 21 de brecheniauc] memorata G 21 aberhotheni] haberhotheni C
21 in] G omits 22 aeliuedhe] ailphethe C; eiliuethe E; aelued G; Eiliueche
Hc; Almedhe Rd 22 etenim] enim Hc 23 sancte nomen] nomine sancte Hc
24 martyrio] matrimonio Rd 25 singulis annis] G omits 27 conuenire solent]
uenientes adorant G 28 hoc in loco] G omits

mihi notabile uidetur. quod in omni fere sollempnitate huius uirginis accidere
consuevit. videas enim hic homines seu puellas nunc in ecclesia. nunc in
cymiterio. nunc in chorea que circa cymiterium cum cantilena circumfertur?
 subito in terram corruere & primo tamquam in extasim ductos & quietos.
 Deinde statim tamquam in frenesim raptos exilientes? opera quecumque festis 5
 diebus illicite perpetrare consueuerant? tam manibus quam pedibus coram
 populo representantes. Uideas hunc aratro manus aptare. Illum quasi stimulo
 boues excitare. Et utrumque quasi laborem mitigando? solitas barbare
 modulationis uoces efferre. videas hunc artem sutoriam. illum pellipariam
 imitari. Item uideas hanc quasi colum baiulando nunc filum manibus & 10
 brachiis in longum extrahere? nunc extractum occando tamquam in fusum
 reuocare. Istam deambulando productis filis quasi telam ordiri. Illam sedendo
 quasi iam orditam oppositis lanceole iactibus & alternis calamistre cominus
 ictibus texere mireris. Demum uero intra ecclesiam cum oblationibus ad
 altare perductos. tamquam expectrectos & ad se redeuntes? obstupescas. 15
 ...

c 1635

Philip Powell's Commonplace Book CLIS: MS 3.42

p 157*

20

Lute Leasons

Iohn come kisse me
 Sir Phillip Siddneys delight 25
 Blame not my Lute
 Selingers Rownd
 Blue bells of Irland
 goe dance the rounde
 Thursday night 30
 Plaine daunce
 loffe to depart
 Doctor Bulls farwell
 Madd Capp
 Skape me narowe 35

Collation continued: 1 *huius uirginis*] *uirginis huius C*; *uirginis huius E*; *uirginis huius GRd*; *uirginis huius Hc* 2–3 *nunc ... circumfertur*] *G omits* 5 *frenesim*] *phrenesi Rd* 6–7 *coram populo*] *G omits* 7 *aptare*] *adaptare G* 8 *utrumque*] *utrique Rd* 9 *modulationis uoces*] *uoces modulationis G* 10 *imitari*] *emulari Rd* 10 *uideas*] *G omits* 13 *iactibus*] *ictibus G* 13 *alternis*] *alterius Hc*; *laternis Rd*

Light of loue lady	
farwell Ieauan glyn Tiny	
Huntes Vpp	
Green sleeues	
Measure of .2.	5
Measure of -3.	
Measure of -4:	
Measure of -6:	
Skower Sydanen	
Qui Passy Galliard	10
King of Denmarks Galiard	
Passim Measures galiard	
Callino: Rogero:	
fortune my foe:	
Princ Arthurs delight	15
Queen of Iirishe	
Sonday Morninge	
Lysty Kate	
Saint Dauids day	
Trench Bull	20
Spanish pauine	
Lusty Galant	
Spanish Letto	
willsons wilde	
Greef and sorowe	25
o god thart my righteous ^{nes}	
Scotish Igge	
40 Sweet thing is love	

LLANSBYDDYD

30

1596/7

Bill of Complaint in Williams v. John Games et al

TNA: PRO STAC 5/W38/27 item 4

single sheet*

35

...

...And whereas the said Iohn Games being euil disposed in Religion & noe favorer of your Maiesties most honorable & godlie proceedinges but

greatlie vsing & professing the readinge of welshe superstitious bookes and
 pikeing out of the said bookes to serue his owne turne many vaine songes
 & rymes tendinge by signes badges & Cognizaunces to alteracion of estates
 & religion hath often & sondrie tymes openly & at comen tables sithence
 your Maiesties said last generall pardon published & declared that by the
 Contentes thereof some alteracion or innovacion should speedilie happen to
 the great discontentment and dislike of suche as professe true religion & to
 the great pleasing of him selfe and of theis suche like discontented persons...

Answer of John Games TNA: PRO STAC 5/W38/27 item 3
 single sheet (31 January)

...
 ...without that that this defendant beinge evill disposed in Religion and noe
 favorer of her maiestie most honorable and godly proceedings but greatly vsing
 and professinge the vsinge and readinge of welshe superstitious bookes and
 pykinge out of the said bookes to serve his owne turne manye vayne songes &
 Rymes by signes badges and Cognizances to alteracion of estates & Religion
 hath often and at sundrye tymes openly and at comen tables sithens her
 highnes pardon published and declared that by the Contentes theirowf some
 alteracion or innovacion should speedilie happen to the great discontentment
 & dislike of such as professe [^]good Religion[^] and to the great pleasinge of
 him self and of otheres such discontented persons in maner and forme as
 in the said Complaint most falslie and scandalouslye by his said vntrue bill
 setteth forthe...

Interrogatories for John Games TNA: PRO STAC 5/W64/3 item [3]
 single sheet (4 February)

- ...
 16 Item have not yow at sundrie tymes within theis three yeres past vsed to reade
 any welshe superstitious bookes & have not you gathered out of suche bookes
 manie vaine songes and rymes tendinge by signes badges or Cognizaunces to
 alteracion of estates or religion And have not yow published & declared to any
 person or persons that by the Contentes of suche bookes some alteracion or
 innovacion or Chaunge shall happen...

3/ Cognizaunces: 3 minims for un in MS

14/ maiestie: for maiesties

17/ by: for tending by

Examination of John Games TNA: PRO STAC 5/W64/3 item [1]
f [4] (*Taken 12 February*)

...

To the xvjth Interrogatory he refuseth to answer [(...)g as the Church ys]
^ saying that the [same Int]¹ matters therein conteyned are not examinable in 5
this honorable Courte as this *Defendant* thinketh

(*signed*) *John Games*

PARTRISHOW

10

1187/8

Gerald of Wales' *Itinerarium Kambriae* BL: Cotton Domitian A.I
ff 72–2v* (*On crossing through the Forest of Gronwy and Abergavenny*)

...

...Contigit autem parum post obitum anglorum regis Henrici primi/ nobilem 15
& magnificum uirum Ricardum clarensem. qui cum honore de clara kereticam
regionem in australi kambria possidebat? ab anglia in walliam hac transire. Et
cum prouincie illius tunc dominum brienum uidelicet Gualinfordensem cum
militibus multis usque ad passum predictum socios habuisset & deductorem?
tam ipsum inuitum in ipso silue ingressu cum suis remisit? quam contra eiusdem 20
monita siluam inermis intrauit. Ex nimia quoque securitatis presumptione/
fidicinem preuium habens & precentorem? cantilene notulis alternatim in
fidicula respondentem. Nec mora Gualenses qui aduentum | eius explorauerant/
Iereuerdus scilicet Morgani frater de kairleon cum eordem familia/ siluosis e
latebris irruentes in improvisos/ statim ipso cum suorum multis interempto? 25
preda potiti sunt cruentissima.

...

Collation with BL: Royal MS 13.B.VIII (C) f 81 cols 1–2; BL: Additional MS 34,762 (E) ff 117v–18; BL: Harley MS 359 (Hc) ff 154v–5; and BL: Royal MS 13.B.XII (Rd) ff 26–6v 15 parum] paulo CEHcRd 16 de clara] EHc omit 17 in australi] Hc adds parte after these words 17 kambria possidebat] possidebat Kambria Hc 18 Gualinfordensem] Guilfordensem Rd 19 socios] socium EHc; socium Rd 19 deductorem] conuiatorem CE; conuiatorem Hc 20 ipsum] perpetuum Hc 21 securitatis] sanctitatis Hc 22 fidicinem] tibi cinem Rd 24 de] at Rd 24 kairleon] kairluen C; kairleun E; kirlein Hc 24 eordem] eorundem CE; eorum Hc

16–17/ kereticam regionem: *Cardigan, bestowed upon Richard FitzGilbert in 1107*

19/ passum predictum: *ie, the passage through the Forest of Gronwy*

19/ socios: *for socium*

24/ eordem: *for eorundem; abbreviation mark missing*

CAERNARVONSHIRE/ SIR GAERNARFON

County

c 1550

Instructions for the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace NLW: NLW MS 9051E
single sheet*

Issued by Sir William Herbert, lord president of the Council in the Marches, for the county of Caernarvonshire

...

Item that during the tyme of the seruice in the churche of Anye towne and anye *preaching* tha(.) yow see and cause that their shall not be any assembly or frequenting of alehouses tavernes or other game or play

...

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

CONWY

1588/9

Will of Robert Wynn UCB: MS Mostyn 302
ff [1v–2v] (24 January)

...now I the said Roberte wyne bearinge a Charitable mynde and good meaninge for the amendement of the estate of the said bourough of Conwey and the erection of a ffree schoole theire by this my laste wille and testamente in writinge beinge Sealed in the presence of three Credible witnesses. I geeve graunte lymyte and appointe to the bailiffes and burgesses of the bouroughe of Conwey and theire successours the vse of all and singuler the mesuages landes tenementes and hereditamentes with the appurtenaunces Called or knowne by the name of havod y llan which I the said Roberte wyne before the executinge of the said Charter held by lease from her maiestye for tearme of yeeres. And also the patente or assignement which I have of the premisses and all my interreste to surrender and purchase a new lease of the same. And also one house of myne in the tenure or occupacion of lane mershe widowe To have And to houlde all and singuler the premisses with the appurtenaunces to the said baillives and burgesses and theire successoures. And my wille is that the said Richard gwyn hugh gwyn. Thomas williams and Ieffreye

gryffithe theire executors and administrators shalle permyte and suffer that the
 said bailives and burgesses and theire successours to take perceave receive and
 enioye the Rentes issues and proffites of the premisses withoute enye lette
 suyte vexation interruption or trouble whatsoever, to the ententes and purposes
 hereafter expressed. *videlicet* that they the said bailives and burgesses and theire
 successours shall theirewith and in respecte theireof erecte and mainteine a
 ffree schoole in the said bouroughe of Conweye and shalle yeerely paye or
 Cause to be payde to a schoolemaster sufficientlye learned for the education
 of scholers in the Arte of grammer and | Other instructions requisyte for a
 grammer schoole the annuell Rente or annuytye of fyfteene poundes of good
 and lawfull moneye of England quarterlye by evene porcions And my wille
 is that yf a man sufficientlye learned in the premisses and in the Arte of
 musycke maye be had to be schoolemaster for the said Annuytye in the said
 place that such a man from tyme to tyme be preferred before enye other for
 the erection of a Queere in the Churche yf it maye be of the said boroughe,
 And the said schoolemaster Chardged with the education of eighte of his
 scholers whose voices are moste apt for musicke in the said science vpon
 payne of forfeiture of the said annuytye ... Item my wille is that my Righte
 heires shalle from tyme to tyme nominate appointe and bringe thyther such
 a sufficiente man to be schoolemaster theire as the Bushope of Bangor for
 [that] the tyme beinge shalle allowe and approbate to be a meete man for the
 place accordinge to the meaninge of this my laste wille and testamente. And
 in case my Righte heires after monition or vnderstandinge that the said place
 is Vacante of a schoolemaster shalle surcesse to nominate appoynte and bringe
 thyther enye suche schoolemaster | within the space of three monethes then
 I geeve the like authoritye to the said bailives and burgesses and theire
 successours for the nominacion appointement and bringinge thyther of
 suche a schoolemaster and my Righte heires for that turne to be debarred of
 that authoritye. And my wille is that the said fourme be observed from tyme
 to tyme at everye vacancye of the said schoole And further my wille is that
 my Righte heires from tyme to tyme vpon monition or vnderstandinge of a
 schoolemaster more experte in grammer and musicke then the schoolemaster
 which dothe possesse the said place maye vpon a quarters warninge displace
 hym and place the more sufficiente man accordinge to the meaninge of this
 my laste wille and testamente the lyke authoritye in defaulte or refusalle of
 my Righte heires beinge theireto required I geve vnto the said bailives and
 burgesses and theire successours and the allowance and approbacion of
 the sufficiencie of the said schoolemaster accordinge to the meaninge of
 this my laste wille and testamente I referre to the bushop of Bangor and
 his successours....

9/ Other: also appears as catchword at foot of f[1v]

25/ within: also appears as catchword at foot of f[2]

DEGANNWY

c 540

Gildas' Liber de excidio et conquestu Britanniae BL: Cotton Vitellius A.vi f 14* (Chapter 34: The failure of Maelgwn's conversion) 5

...

...arrecto aurium auscultantur captu non dei laudes canora Christi tyronum uoce suaviter modulante neu^{ma}que ecclesiastice melodiae: sed proprie que nihil sunt fuciferorum referto mendaciis: simulque spumanti flegmate proximos quosque roscidaturo preconum ore ritu bachantium concrepante. ita ut vas 10 dei quondam in ministerio preparatum uertatur in zabuli organum: Quodque honore celesti putabatur dignum: merito proiciatur in tartari barathrum/...

...

DOLBENMAEN

15

1654

Presentment against Ellis Wynne GAS: X/QS/1654/93
single sheet* 20

Caernarvon
sessions

The Iurors for his highnes the Lord Protector of the Comen wealth of England Scotland & (...) vpon theire oath present That whereas within the Towneshipp of llecheiddior in the County (...) there is and tyme of mind there hath beene a Certeine [^] auntient mesuage & tenement called derwyn (...) an being now the freehold & inheritance of one Hugh ap William ap Ieuan gentleman And 25 that the (...) and by all the tyme whereof the memorie of man is not to the Contrary there hath beene a Cer (...) vsuall way leadeing from the said mesuage to a meadowe called yr Hendir thence to a Certeine bridge called Pont derwyn vechan lyeing over the river called afon lecheiddior runneing betweene the parishe of Clynnock and the Towneshipp of Pennyved within 30

Collation with Avranches, BM: MS 162 (A) f 54v and CUL: Dd.1.17 (C) f 85v
7–9 arrecto ... sunt] Tum uero captant auditum non dei laudes. neque ecclesiastice melodie canora uoce christi tironum suauiter modulate sed que proprie nichili sunt & A 9 fuciferorum] furtiferorum C 9 referto] referta A 9–10 simulque ... ore] A omits 10 roscidaturo] rusci daturum C 10 preconum] preconi C 10 bachantium] bachantum A 10 concrepante] concrepate AC (abbreviation mark missing) 10 ita ut] Ergo A 11 dei quondam] quondam dei A 11 in!] AC omit 11 uertatur] sic uertitur A

9/ fuciferorum: for furtiferorum

23/ llecheiddior: Llecheiddior, Caernarvonshire

29/ afon lecheiddior: River Dwyfach

29/ runneing: 5 minims for unn in ms

30/ Clynnock: Clynnog, Caernarvonshire

30/ Pennyved: Penyfed, Caernarvonshire

the *said* County thence over a close of one Ellis Wynne *gentleman* called yr allt goch lying in Pennyved aforesaid within the *said* County thence to the [hi] Comen high way leadeng from the Towne and markett of Carnarvon within the *said* County vnto the Towne & Burrough of Cricketh within the *said* Countie And alsoe by all the *said* tyme the occupiers & *inhabitan*tes of the *said* mesuage did vse and were accustomed as well to ride & goe and with their Cartes & Cariadges to passe as alsoe their Cattle to drive along the *said* way from the *said* mesuage vnto the *said* Comen high way and from thence backe agayne vnto the *said* mesuage at all tymes of the yeare at their will and pleasure neuerthelesse the *said* Ellis wynne late of Pennyved aforesaid in the *said* County *gentleman* the first day of ffebruary in the yeare of our Lord 1653 at Pennyved af(...) in the County aforesaid with force and armes &c Did stopp & interrupt the *said* Hugh ap william (...) with his Cattle to passe & goe that way over the *said* Close Called yr allt goch and the(...) and his *servantes* & Children at seuerall tymes afterwarde to passe along the *said* way over (...) aforesaid called yr allt goch with force & armes aforesaid did likewise interrupt & hin(...) greivous damage of the *said* Hugh & Contrary to the publicke peace &c

Recognizance of Hugh ap William ab Evan GAS: X/QS/1654/99
f [1] (13 May)

Hendre M(..) the 13th 1654

County
Carnarvon

Be it remembred that one ye day & yeare aboue written Hugh ap william ap Evan of derwine veachan in the County aforesaid in his owne proper person came before me ye Iustice of peace subscribed & hath assumed ¹for himselfe vpon paine of twentie poundes and William Gruffyth of llanystyndwy & Iohn Evan of llanvehengiel likewise then & their in their owne proper persons came & haue vndertaken for the aforesaid Hugh ap william ap Evan to it euery one of them seuerally vpon paine of tenne poundes that ye *said* Hugh ap william ap Evan ¹doe personally apperre before ye Iustices of peace of ye *said* County at ye next generall Sessions of the publicke peace holden in ye Countie aforesaid to doe and receive then and their what shall be enioyned vpon him by the Court and yat in the meane time he behaue himselfe towards his highnesse the Lord protector of Englande &c and his people & espeshially towards Ellis Wynne & yat he doth not doe nor procure to be done any bodily harme damage or vexation either by himselfe or by any other vnto ye *said* Ellis Wynne or to any other of ye people of this Commonwealth by layinge

"To the next
of the good
behaviour"

"bayled"

4/ Cricketh: Cricieth, Caernarvonshire
11/ first: for first
27/ llanystyndwy: Llanystumdwy, Caernarvonshire

28/ llanvehengiel: Llanfihangel-y-Pennant,
Caernarvonshire
36/ Ellis Wynne: in display script

waite insultinge or by any other way or means yat shall [be] in any wise be
 Conducinge vnto the perturbacion of the peace the which summe of twentie
 poundes the aforesaid Hugh ap William ap Evan & euery of ye aforesaid
 vndertakers haue ye seuerall summes of tenne pound<..> acknowledged to owe
 to his highnesse the Lord protector of ye Commonwealth of England &c &
 to be made & leauied out of ye lands goods & chattells of either & euer<..> of
 them vnto whose handes soeuer they shall come if it shall hapen <...> said
 Hugh ap William ap Evan shall infrindge ye premises or any part or part<..>
 thereof & be thereof lawfully conuicted In witnesse whereof I haue put my
 hand and seale
 (signed) E<...>
 °<..>ohn ap Will<...> ap Evan of llannor yeoman
 <...> [Hughes of derwyn]
 <...> Williams of Clynnocke drouer°

Recognizance of Ellis Wynne GAS: X/QS/1654/99
 f [1v] (13 May)

Hendre May the 13th 1654

°To be bound for a yeare°

County
 Carnarvon
 "Bayled"

Be it remembred that one ye day & yeare aboue written Ellis Wynne of
 llestynrhyn in the Countie aforesaid in his owne proper person came before
 me the Iustice of peace subscribed & hath assumed for himselfe vpon paine
 of twentie poundes and Meredydd meredydd of pentywerne gentleman &
 William Gruffyth of llanystyndwy baylliffe[s] likewise then & their in their
 owne proper persons came & haue vndertaken for ye aforesaid Ellis wynne
 to it euery one of seuerally vpon paine of tenne poundes that the said Ellis
 Wynne shall personally apperre before the Iustices of peace of the said Countie
 at the next generall Sessions of the publicke peace holden in the [said] County
 aforesaid to doe & recive then & thire what shall be enioyned of him by the
 Court & yat ^hhe in [the] meane tyme [he] keepe the publicke peace towards
 his highnesse the Lord protector of England &c and his people & espshally
 towards Ellynne verch Robert & that he doth not doe or procure to be done
 any bodyli harme damage or vexation either by himselfe or by any other vnto
 the said Ellynne or to any other of ye people of this Comonwealth yat may
 in any wise be Conducinge to the harme or perturbacion of the publicke
 peace the which summe of twentie the aforesaid Ellis Wynne & euery of the

22/ llestynrhyn: *Llystyn-gwyn, Caernarvonshire*
 22/ in the Countie: *corrected over* of the peace
 24/ pentywerne: *Pengwern, Caernarvonshire*
 25/ llanystyndwy: *Llanystumdwy, Caernarvonshire*

27/ one of: *for* one of them
 32/ espshally: *for* espeshally
 37/ twentie: *for* twentie poundes

aforesaid vndertakers haue the seuerall summes of tenne poundes acknowledged to owe vnto his highnesse the Lord protector of England & soe forth & to be made & leevied out of the lands goods & chattles of either & euery of them vnto whose hands soeuer they shall come if it shall happen that the said Ellis shall inffrindge the p<...>es or any part or particle thereof and be there of 5 lawfully co<...> wittnesse whereof I haue herevnto put my hande <...>
 °<...>led by Boner Evans of llanayn<...>°
 °[Evan] Iohn lloid of llannor gen<...>°

Recognizance of Jane verch Hugh GAS: X/QS/1654/120
 f [1] (13 May)

10

Hendre May the 13th 1654

County
 Carnarvon

Be it remembred that one ye ¹day & yeare aboue written [Hugh ap] Iane verch Hugh of derwine vechan spinster in the Countie aforesaid in her owne 15 proper person came before me ye Iustice of peace subscribed & hath assumed for herselfe vpon paine of twentie poundes & Hugh ap william ap Evan of derwine vechan & Iohn ap Evan of the same likewise then & thire in their owen proper persons came & haue vndertaken for ye aforesaid Iane verch Hugh to it euery one of them seuerally vpon paine of tenne poundes that ye 20 said Iane verch Hugh personally apere before ye Iustices of peace of ye said County at ye next generall Sessions of ye publicke peace holden in ye Countie aforesaid to doe & receiue then and their what shall be enioyned vpon her by the Court and yf in the meane time she behaue herselfe well towards his highnesse ye Lord protector of England &c and his people & espshally 25 towards Ellis Wynne & yat she doth not doe or procure to be done any bodily harme damage or vexation either by herselfe or by any other vnto ye said Ellis Wynne or to any other of ye people of this Commonwealth by layinge waite insultinge or by any other way or meanes yat shall [be] in any wise be Conductinge vnto the perturbatione of the peace the which summe of twentie 30 poundes the aforesaid Iane verch Hugh & euery of ye aforesaid vndertakers haue ye seuerall summes of tenne poundes acknowledged to owe to his highnesse the Lord protector of th<...> Commonwealth of England &c & to be made & leauied out of ye lands goods & chatte<...> [<...>] of either & euery of them vnto whose handes soeuer they shall Come if it shall hapen yat ye said Iane verch Hugh 35 shall infrindge ye premises or any part or particle there of & be t<...>reof <...>fully conuicted In wittnesse whereof I haue hereon put my hand & Seale °<...> Iohn ap william ap Evan (signed) Edmund Glynn
 <...>ames yeoman & Hugh ap
 <...>am ap Evan of derwyn° 40

To Continue

bayled

*the good
 behaviour*

Recognizance of Ellen verch Robert GAS: X/QS/1654/120
f [1v] (13 May)

County
Carnarvon

"bayled"

"To Continue
of her good
behavior"

Hendre May the 13th 1654

Be it remembred [...] t(.)at one ye day & yeare aboue written Ellynne verch 5
Robert the wife of Hugh ap william ap Evan of derwinfechan in ye Countie
aforesaid in her owne proper person came before me the Iustice of peace
subscribed & hath assumed for herselfe vpon paine of twentie poundes and
Rowland Wynne of Pengwern gentleman and Humphrey Meredydd of the 10
same gentleman likewise then & theire in thei(.) owne proper persons came &
haue vndertaken for ye aforesaid Ellynne to it euery one of them seuerally vpon
paine of tenne poundes that the said Ellynne verch Robert ^[shall] personally
apere before the Iustices of peace of ye said County at ye next generall Sessions
of the publicke peace holden in ye Countie aforesaid to doe & receive then 15
and ther what shall be enioyned vpon her by the Court and yat in the meane
tyme she behaue herselfe well towards his highnesse ye Lord protector of
England &c and his people & espeshally towards Ellis Wynne & that she doth
not doe or procure to be done any bodily harme damage or vexation either
by herselfe or by any other vnto the said Ellis Wynne or t(.) any other of ye
people of this Commonwealth by layinge waite insultinge or by any other way 20
or meanes yat shall [be] in any wise be Conduceinge vnto the perturbation
of the peace the which summe of twentie pound(.) the aforesaid Ellynne
verch Robert & [euery] Hugh ap william ap Evan & euerie of the aforesaid
vndertakers haue the seuerall summes of tenne poundes acknowledged to owe
to his highnesse the Lord protector of England &(.) & to be made (...) out 25
of ye lands goods and chattells (...) them vnto whose handes soeuer they
shall (...) that the said Elline shall (...) part or (...) there of an(...) In
wittne(...)hereof I (...)
°Hugh ap w(...) a(...)°

30

Articles of Misdemeanour GAS: X/QS/1654/115
single sheet

Articles of Misdemenors presented to the Iustices of the peace of (..)e
County of Carnarvon or any two or more of them against hugh ap 35
william ap Evan Ellin his wife & Harry hughes defendantes by
the relacion of Ellis wynn relator on his highnes behaulf

Sheweth that the said defendants are lewde & desordered persons comon
affray makers and infringers of the [maiesties] lawes peace and statutes 40

worthie of severe ponishment to the example of others the like offenders for more Manifestacions of the *said deffendants* behaiour your *said Informer* sheweth

That the *said Defendants* standinge bownd of their good behaiour att seuerall Lords Dayes vzt. on [sundayes] the 28th day of May last past 1654 & vpon Monday [f] and tuesday followeing did vpon the *said* lords day at the howse of the *said* hugh ap william ap Evan entertayne enterlude[s] 'players' at the *said* howse where there were three persons vnknown disguised in chaunge of apparell that acted sometymes in one habyt & sometymes in an other habitt behaving themselues very diso^(.)erly and vncivill to the Manifest breach of ther good behaior (...)d that vpon the *said* monday and tuesday they acted (...)nner at Dolbenmen an^(.) elsw^(.) abusiue maner they did (...)s of the comon wealth

Deposition of Morris ap William David GAS: X/QS/1654/100
single sheet* (2 June)

June the 2^d:
1654

Examination taken before Edmund Glynne esquier one of his highnes Iustice of ye peace for the Countie of Carnarvon.

Moris ap william dauid of llanvihengiell aged 46 or there abouts sworne & examined deposeth as followeth That this deponent vpon munday the 29th day of may last past at night was at the dwellinge house of Hu^(.) ap william ap Evan of Derwynfechan where was then present the *said* Hughe ap william ap Evan & Elline his wife & all ye familly: & three straungers two of them men & one ladde which three this deponent saw act an enterlu^(.) the night afforesaid: all three beinge disguised & some tymes one of them in womans apparell all three at seuerall [^]'tymes' apperinge in seuerall changes of apparell after divers sorts & in ye shape of others some tymes in blacke some tyme^(.) in redde & some tymes in all other Collours yet this deponent knoweth the actors were the three straungers whoe Continued thus actinge; and diliueringe seuerall parts by heart for an houre or two together in the presen^(.) of Hugh ap william ap Evan & Elline; Entringe into one roome & thence departinge into another roome as their seuerall partes required the *said* Hugh & Ellyne his wife beinge all the while present & further sayeth he heard yat the Clarke of the parish of dolbenman vpon the last lords day after morn^(.) Exercise gaue the inhabitants of that parish & all other then present notice yat an Enterlude should be played and acted at Dolbenman on teusday the 30 of may instant & allsoe this deponent heard yat ye *said* 3 stra^(.)gers were ye

18/ Iustice: *for* Iustices

21/ llanvihengiell: *Llanfihangel-y-Pennant, Caernarvonshire*

actors who acted that tuesday at dolbenman & yat there w<.> great concourse
of people then mett to behould the enterlude & thi<.> deponent heard some
report ye company then present gave ye actors <...> shillinge & sixe pence &
some reported more & further hee <...> Depose &c/
Item that th<...> 5
<...> William ap <...>
<...> & there did <...>

Depositions of Harry John and Edmund Jones GAS: X/QS/1654/96
single sheet* (1 July) 10

Hendre [lune] ...
lul. j^o Harry Iohn of derywn <...>ne deposeth the same & <...> that one Harry
Hughes of derwyn f<.>han Came upon Monday the 29th <...> co<...> the
ho<...>ge: & after ha<...> wherbye he would come and <...> of the <...>
played that night at the house of Hugh ap will<...> fechan which he did 15
accordingly as above &c and yat they Continu<...>

Edmund Io<.> of the same depos<...> yat upon the 28 of may las<.> beinge the
Lords day h<...> the morning Exercise was called in int<...> where [^]Elline¹
the wife of the said Hugh desired h<...> sh<...>d [^]aforesaid Richard william 20
of llan<.> to¹ proclaime openly at llan<...> <...>le at Dolbenman on tuesday
then next <...> an Enterlud<.> and yat <...> to dabite the<...>

Households 25

GRIFFITH OF CEFNAMWLCH

1614
Robert Griffith's Accounts GAS: MS Cefn Amwlch 217
f [2] (14 August) 30

...
xiiij^o Augusti 1614
ffor bread and Drincke at dynner and before dyner [vij s.] [^]viiij s.¹ vj d.
To the poore at 3 seuerall tymes ij s. vj d.
ffor bread and drincke at Supper before and 35
after supper vij s.
To the fidler vj d.
ffor meat to the poore at [18 s./ 6 d.] dyner being
bread & Cheese xij d.
... 40

3/ <...> shillinge: for two shillinge; see p 408, endnote to GAS: X/QS/1654/96

1616

Robert Griffith's Accounts GAS: MS Cefn Amwlch 221

f [5v] (21–7 July)

...

Item to geve to the piber

vj d. 5

...

MAURICE OF CLENENNAU

1606/7

10

Letter from Edward Price to Sir William Maurice

NLW: Clenennau Letters 121–240

single sheet* (14 February)

Right Worshipfull. Your wine was deliuered to master Iustice and to my Ladye 15
 his wyfe which was thankfullye taken he at the fyrst dyd not know yow but
 master Iustice Leighton was in place who comended you to the skyes and
 master Iustice then remembred that one of your daughters dyd learn to playe
 on the [(<.)] Lute & virginalles where hys daughters dyd learne We find Iohn
 Thomas will not doe anything to ease you in harry lloydes matter you are not 20
 well advysed in that you doe not pay the money and discharge yourself God
 kepe you in good health ffrom Ludlow xiiij [(<.)] february 1606

your kinseman and
 asured frend to comand
 (signed) Edward Pryce 25

WYNN OF GWYDIR

1597

Letter from Thomas Martyn to Sir John Wynn NLW: NLW MS 9052E 30

f [1]*

My duty premised vnto your worship and to your good bedfelowe prainge God
 to blesse you and all yours and I hartly thanke you for my good cheere and your
 liberaltye shewed me &c [Th]Touchinge your sonne mr Iohn wynne I haue 35
 been at Tedford withe mr Pagett and your brother mr Ellis wynne was withe me,
 and this order folowinge is observed for lerninge and for dyett in that schole.

lerninge	{	preceptes of religion	40
		latten Grammar	
		Greke and Ebrewe	
		musicke bye voice and Instrument	
		ffrenche and Italian	

for meate drincke, lodginge and lerninge – xiiij li. ij s. iiij d. *per Annum* halfe a
 yeres payment afore hand, he most haue beddinge of his owne, wiche he shall
 haue thence to him selfe at his departure, he most haue a silver spone wiche
 he may vse while he is there and at his departure, he most leave that behinde
 him There is none there be he neuer soe great in livinge or birth suffered to
 haue a man, only suche (...)ttende them of the house are to doe them *service*./
 if you be determi(...) send him he shall want nothinge that I can doe for him./
 and this Springe is better then towardes michelmas. mr Pagett tould vs that in
 Seaven yeeres not one of his house or scholers as yet dyed notwithstandinge
 the great plague that hathe been for soe longe hathe he kept schole there./
 Touchinge the tablinge of you and others I talked withe my wife, and she
 saithe that she is ignorant to take suche a matter in hande, besides that havinge
 litle children she cannot possibly take suche a charge but if you please [_^](...)¹
 to take my house I will provide sufficient roome for a dossen persons at lest,
 and six fetherbeddes (two more then euer I had or granted to any other) also
 pewter, Brasse, and plate withe any other ease or comoditye that I haue and
 this you shalbe assured of and welcome without any charge vnto you soe I may
 be sure you will come I will purposely provide for you, and besides betwene
 this and Trinitye terme I and your brother will herken out to see if any other
 will vndertake to table you and your companye in suche sort as you wishe/
 You shall receave your letter sent to Ioh(.) williams goldsmythe, send word
 what you will bestowe vpon a band for (...) wynne for here is of all prices
 and you may haue a reasonable fane one of pearle & gold for xx s. the hatt
 is redy but I want a messenger to carye yt/
 I paid mr Ellis wynne as it appereth bye his note herewithe sent you xxxvj s. I
 thinke I shall not in hast haue money from mr williams nor of mr lewis owen,
 but at last I purpose withe gods helpe to be paid./ I haue donne what I can
 for Evan ap Robert and assure your selfe I will doe and I hope Powell nor the
 plantife shall not prevaile against him nor his suertye. 14 Aprilis 1597

your worshippes euer assured 30

to Commande (*signed*) Thomas Martyn.

for the payment in the exchequer I will haue care for you to putt yt of vntill
 michelmas terme./

1606/7

Letter from John Wynn to his Father, Sir John Wynn NLW: NLW MS 9053E
 ff [1–1v]

Lovinge father my humble duty premised. &c./

I have dealt with mr hare Concerninge the forbearance of the money you 40

borrowed of him, & in what sorte the bondes should bee renewed./ who was
 Content to referre yt to *your* own choise, whither you would have on of mr
 hares menn sent purposly to wales to take *your* bonde, as the last weare./ or els
 to take a note vnder mr hares hande signifiinge that yf the money wear payed
 at the day appoynted that then there should be noe forfeitur My vncle vpon 5
 my intreaty ys not only content to be bow(\\d(\\) with you to mr Hare, but
 alsoe will procure Sir Robert Ban(\\...) to forbear his hole dewe, *which* ys eight
 hundred powndes viz. ye three hundred borrowed by *your* selfe when you
 weare [(\\)] in London & the money last hadd *which* was in michaelmas./
 vppon the [same] ¹like¹ bondes & [like] securitie he last had; & what Course 10
 you agree [for] vppon for mr Hares money & the like shalbe don for his, the
 same man yf you will shall come to the Cuntrey to ¹take¹ *your* bonde for
 them both./ My vncle wisheth you in eny case to pay Sir Thomas middletons
 statute and mr Howardes money, of the money you now receave & the
 surplusage shall serve for *your* present use, *which* ys three hundred powndes, 15
 in *which* Case you shall not need ¹to¹ borrowe any for this tyme./ I protest I
 can not tell where to take vp money, I spake with Robert geffreys concerninge
 that you willed mee, who sayd that he would doe his best, what that ys I can
 not tell. I delivered him *your* letter and note, and tooke of him *your* letter
 with his dischargd vnto you written with his own hand./ *which* I send you by 20
 the bearer. Moris evans writte vnto mee that yf he hadd noe occasion to vse
 his money, he would forbear yt accordinge to *your* desire what trust may be
 reposed therein. I Can not tell I knowe not the man./ I return you the copy
 of Hugh lloyds lease, where this did disagree I caused yt to be mended, as
 you may see by yt where yt hath been mended./ I wonder you tak not some 25
 order for reecat of *your* money from my mother in lawe./ *your* ridinge suite
 ys made and delivered to Ivan ap Richard they Could not be made sooner
 then they weare Pulford ys non of the hastinges and as yt seemeth careth
 not for worke.

My Brother was never with me to borrowe any money yf he had told me 30
¹that he stood in want¹ he should not have wanted for so much of myne,
 although I had had noe money of *yours* in my Custody./ You may send my
 bretheren when you will, there place ys provided for them, there are other
 places [whe] besides the schoolemasters wher they may be boarded better
 cheap and be taught to singe and to play vpon instruments & all this for 35
 xi li. ten shillinges [a] yerely./ There died of the plage this weeke thirty
 three | Yf you have occasion to send vp any more, I pray you forbear to
 send to me this notorious roge Ivan ap Richard. he hath [in] divers [sortes]
 ways abused me and in such sorte, that I have vowed never to open those
lettres that [weare] should be sent by him, the Circumstance whereof I will 40
 ommitte vntill I shall see you my selfe In the mean while I take leave and
 ever rest

in my chamber in kings street
(...)s 24th of March

your obedient sonne
Iohn Wynn

You found fault with me in your *lettre* that I had not writte vnto you concerning Sir Robert Bannister I protest I neather receaved *lettre* or any other direction concerninge Sir Robert of whither you made mencion thereof in the *lettres* last, I can not tell but I am sure I receaved non./ Therefore I pray you finde noe fault but when you haue occasion./

You note of the Parcells that I have layed out I will eather send, or bringe with mee when I come into the Cuntrey./ I sende alsoe the Coppy of the lease of Ellise vaghan./ your Pattent ys renewed and don in your own name, yt cost about four or five and twenty shillinges the doyinge, I dare not send yt nowe lest yt should miscary by the way./

JW/

the bearer

This roge would have borrowed v shillinges but I denied him/ because I am sure he hath money

1617

Letter from Robert Wynn to Lady Sydney Wynn NLW: NLW MS 9054E
f [1]* (19 November)

...

Most deare mother. my humble duty premised./

You may chaunce wonder at this my sudden Resolution sithence that this tyme twelue moneth I was as eager to the lawe as nowe to the gospel. But of that I haue sufficientlie satisfied you in my fathers *lettre*, which if it please you to peruse I doubte not but that you will out of it & others receaue ful satisfaction

If I were to sore vp to the skies (I meane) after wordlie prefermentes, the lawe is the onlie way: but with me the Case is altered, for (thoughe I knowe mine owne nature is as other mens be to hunte after wordlie & transitorie dignigites) yet I thought if I woulde be gods seruant Indeede, I must Restrayne al these wordlie humors with the serious meditations of those heauenlie Ioyes & honours which god hath [prefered] ¹proposed¹ for them that [leaeue] (not once lookinge backe to the wordle ¹affayres¹) do [doe] ¹execute¹ his will to the vtmost of their power in soe good so worthie a callinge & in the true vprightenes & Sinceritie of minde./ If I were wel settled [here] in Cambridge & if my father did equalye wayghe me in the same balance with the Rest of my brethren not diminishinge any of his pretended [portion] childers portion

28/ satisfaction: *for* satisfaction
29, 31, 33/ wordlie: *for* worldlie

32/ dignigities: *for* dignities
35/ wordle: *for* worldle

(for that is the onlie thinge that makes cleargie men be so ill thought on, because beinge first poore & hauinge not competencie of liuinge they will runne throughe fire & water for a benefies: + & not Regardinge by what meanes)+ I shoulde Thinke my selfe a happier man than my elder brother: I receiued your *lettre* with al other thereunto appertayninge, for the which I can but pray with yow[e]:

The sudden newes of my brothers death did much greaue me, neuertheles hopinge that you wil wiselie beare ^{it} thankinge god that it hath pleased him of his Infinite goodnesse to take him to his mercie for doubtlesse nowe his angell beholdes the face of god: Of al my brethren I loude him best, & I shall neuer forgette him while I liue:

I pray you satisfie my brother mostin concerning my Resolution: for I holde him & my sister bodwill to be my best wel wishers: Thus prayinge god for you & deliueringe your blessinge: I Rest your louinge sonn

(signed) Robert Wynne

I pray you commende me to my brother Iohn & thanke him for my violl: not forgettinge al my bretheren my sister boduil my sister in lawe my vncler william Iohns, which al the Rest beinge able to Rayne a whole showere of teares for litel Roger, if it were not neadlesse. my brother william by gods grace shall wante nothinge that I may doe for him:

(...) nouember 19: 1617

(I knowe he is glad that I Returne +

1619

Sir John Wynn's Instructions for London Purchases NLW: NLW MS 9053E single sheet*

...
buy me a [^]syluer¹ trumpet with a flage or arms to follow hyt Camdens Britania with mapps & more toms of Sir Walter Rawley's Cronycles som Rare books as yow can lyght on & too fetherbed tyls a hat with a gowld band for nell powell a Clok & gowne & a Laute for thomy mostyn. seall to bonds to Sir Robert Banyster for the use & leave them with my son Rychard to take vp the owld bond vysyt mr Hare my coosyn williams send home the Commissyon in williams Cawse./ buy som tobacco for frends & your self. by my coosyn Rice williams geldynge./ buy a number of bed Coverynge & some plate/ some Rare planttes to fare brushes & pans for close stools. Remember to deall with fyshburne & Sir Baptyst hycks for the mon(...) for allyn hathe deceved me./

16-20/ I pray ... for him:: postscript written lengthwise along left edge of sheet

22/ (I ... +: intended placement of insertion uncertain

34/ tobacco: first c corrected over t

Sir John Wynn's Personal Notes NLW: NLW Additional MS 467E
single sheet*

A note of such thinges as Owen Wynn ys to provide at london.

...

A trumpett for Hoell Iones and a flagg with my armes therto./

...

Sir John Wynn's Travel Expenses from London to Gwydir CLIS: MS 4.69
f [1v]* (1-4 June)

...

To the fidlers both at St. Albans and at dayntree by
william owen

ij s.

...

To the fidlers at Coventree by william owen

ij s: 15

...

to the fidlers at hampton

xij d.

...

f [2]* (6 June)

20

...

To pay the fidlers & the prisoners at shrewsburie by
william owen one sunday vj. Iunij

ij s. vj d.

...

Letter from William Wynn to Sir John Wynn NLW: NLW MS 9056E
ff [1-1v]* (15 June)

25

Sir my humble duty premised etc/

I have sent away a Hampier with my Mothers Saddle and furniture & other
things well packed vpp vppon Saterdag last The key wherof and a noate I
send to yow herein Closed.

My Coosyn Edmund Vaughan refuseth to seale such a bonde as yow required
for the payment of fourtie pounds./ (which yow layd out for mr Prys) and
to bee repayed yow the first of August next; he telleth mee that hee vnderstood
^¹by my Coosyn Foulke Prys^ after your departure hence that yow weare
bound to save mr. Prys Harmelesse (notwithstanding ^¹that^ yow tould him
the Contrary, which Caused him to make yow a promise ^¹then^ of sealing
such a bonde) which might bee a preiudice to him, if he did seale for mr.
Prys. the Case being soe, as he is informed;/ but he will satisfie yow ere it

bee longe at Gwyder, for hee Cometh to the Countrey presently after the tearme, as he telleth mee, wherof I doe not doubt hee will fayle./

I have been with the byshopp diuers times, for those papers & bookes in Chauncery pro et Contra, *which* at last I receiued of him, onelie two papers of noates or breuiatts of his obiections against your lease I gott of him besides the bookes; *which* is all hee had to his knowledge yet, if he chanced to finde anie papers (that Concerned that busines) heerafter, hee would send them to yow;/ I brought mr. Baylie fowre acquittances for fowre payments to bee sealed according to *your* letter, *which* hee did./ but I could not gett [^]of the bishopp¹ the names of the parshioners [^]of llanvayr¹ with whome he had Compounded, for (hee sayd) hee could not doe that before his Comming to the Countrey, *which* wilbee shortlie after the tearme, he goeth with my Lord President to Ludlow, and I doe not thinke but hee will take Gwyder in his waye to bangor./

I cannott learne certaine what time my Lord Cromwell setteth foorth from the Courte, having altered his first resolucion of the time of his Coming² [for] [^]to¹ our Countrey in his way for Ireland but it is certaine, that hee will Come, and noe doubt but yow shall heare of him before his Comminge./

My brother Sir Richard wynn [de] remembreth his duty vnto yow, and desireth yow to Cause three stronge horses to bee provided, to goe for three trunkes to Chester, *which* [^]doe¹ sett foorth hence vppon Saterday next, the one is Sir ffraunces Darcyes trunke, the other my brothers, and the third mine owne, wherof I hope mr. Drinkwater will send woord when he receiueeth them: verte |

My brother and I (wee hope) have bought a good Trumpett for Howell with fayre Cords/ *which* Cost five pounds; *which* shalbee Carried in my Trunke home, but there is no flagg bought, for it will require a fourtnights doing or more as I am tould, besides I have noe money to paye for it, for I layd out most of that little I had for your things, and I must bee fayne to borowe to Carrie mee home./

If yow please to have a flagg to the Trumpett, yow may send presently to Chester and have it as well done there as heere; they demaund three pounds for the doing of the same heere; my brother sayth it needeth not, that it will serue without, for none [^]ordinarily¹ but Players vse flaggs to their trumpetts./ if I can gett your Armes ingraued vppon the Trumpett, without harme to the trumpett; I will; *which* will make it knowen without the flagg, that it bee not heerafter Chaunged./

3/ the byshopp: *Lewis Bayly, bishop of Bangor 1616–31*

10/ llanvayr: *Llanfair, Caernarvonshire, site of William Wynn's house*

12–13/ my Lord President: *William Compton, earl of Northampton, lord president of the Council in the Marches 1617–30*

My brother brought mee to Sir Lyonell Cranfield uppon Wednesday last, who
 entertayned mee, and asked my brother when I would Come to staye with
 him, my brother sayd at Michaelmas if not before, he replied agayne, and
 tould him that I should bee very welcome for his sake./ my brother is his great
 friend/ and Sir Lyonell Doth respect him very much, for I was preferred to him, 5
 by my brother onlie, without anie others helpe. *which* giueth my brother
 great Content and maketh him to Conceiue exceeding well of the place, I
 hope, by gods grace/ that I shall benefitt my self in his seruice./
 with my daylie prayers for yours & my Mothers health, Craving bothe your
 blessings doe rest euer your obedient sonne till death. 10

Holborne 15^o Iunij 1619

(signed) William Wynn

The Sadler telleth mee this is the fayrest Saddle hee euer made of that kinde,
 but the onlie fault is that my Mothers armes is not ingraved theron (as you
 required) but onlie yours, *which* was mr Iohn Prytheres mistaking who (after 15
 I had giuen the Sadler direccions for [my] to putt my mothers armes theron,)
 Came to him and brought your armes with him, and would suffer him by
 noe meanes, to cause anie other armes to be done vppon the saddle but yours,
 telling him, that it was your will, and that yow had giuen him Chardge therof;
which was done without my privitye./ 20

W:W:

1621

Letter from Humphry Jones to Sir John Wynn NLW: NLW MS 9057E

f [1]* (18 July)

25

Honorable Sir. ther is at this instant with me here at Craveloen a younge man
 boarne in Salesbury in Wilkeshire, that is a very good musition vpon the base
 viall and Virginalls and Can teach younge gentlewomen to play not onely
 vpon either of those instrumentes but can trayne them vp in their pricksonges 30
 by the booke, whereby they may inn a short tyme be the more apt to lerne
 vpon ther instrumentes, he hath Contynewed at Brynkir in my neighborhood
 this twelvemonith and a half beinge ther hired to teach one daughter they had
 her pricksonge and vpon the Virginalls, wherin shee profitted exceedinge
 well, and withall taught her to write a faere Romane hand in that tyme, and 35

6/ without: corrected from with

11/ 1619: underlined

13/ this is: corrected over other letters, probably that is

15/ Prytheres: s indicated twice, once by abbreviation mark and once expressed

27/ Craveloen: Craflwyn, near Beddgelert, Caernarvonshire

32/ Brynkir: Bryncir, Caernarvonshire

to reade perfecte Englishe, and because she had not her englishe tonge very
 readie they were forced to send her to Chester, and he is parted thence with
 an intent to Returne to his owne Countrey but that I detayned him here with
 me for a wekke till I might acquaint yow of his beinge, that yf yow be disposed
 to trayne vp either *Mistres* Mary Bodvell or *your* daughter in law *Mistres* 5
Wynne in any of those sciences I doe not knowe wher yow may be provided
 of the like Civill younge man both for his skill and sufficiencie in that he
 professeth and for his modest and discreet Cariadge free from any vice synce
 his Cominge into these partes wherof I haue ben very inquisitive, as my Cosen
 the bearer can further informe yow. And if it please yow to haue him to come 10
 to Gwyder, that yow may Conferr with him, I will cause him to pass that
 way in [^]his[]] Returne that if yow shall like of him and his condicion vpon
 Conference had with him, yow may dispose of him thereafter, otherwise he
 may goe alonge accordinge to his former determinacion. So beinge right glad
 to heir of *your* Recoverie and health, the Contynewaunce wherof I hartely 15
 pray for, I Conclude with my humble dutie to *your* self and my good ladie
 restinge at *your* honours. Comand in all I may./
 Craveloen this xvijth of July 1621

(signed) Humffrey: Iones.

20

1623

Letter from William Wynn to Sir John Wynn NLW: NLW Additional MS 466E
 single sheet—single sheet verso* (2 October)

And I would repaye it in London, where hee should appointe vppon the 25
 receipt of his letter; Rice Williames of Pater noster Roe is gone into ye
 Country, with whome yow maye there deale for the fiue hundreth poundes
 yow should take vpp of him/ & for his securitye/ he will Continewe there
 this fournight & more, and yow shall ^(.)eaie of him at llŷn; If yow could
 but make a ^(.)eaie betwene Sir Iohn Boduell & Gruffith hughes sonne, yow 30
 might quicklie gaine your desiers of Rice *williams*/ *Sir* Raphe hare is dead,
 and his eldest sonne is married to *master* Attorney generalls daughter, my
 brother hopeth by his meanes to haue hares money respited, beinge the
 chiefe proiect wee haue in hande at this time. I could [^]not[]] finde my brother
 in Convenient leisure yet to deliuer him your letter & noate of your Estate 35
 which shalbee done the next weeke when our busines is over, and when I maye
 have full conference with him about the same, wherof you shall [vnderstande]
 receiue an Accounte by ye nexte bearer.
 There is a Poste come frome the Prince which arriued heere uppon Mondaye

4/ yow¹: added in left margin

30/ Sir Iohn Boduell: husband of Sir John Wynn's daughter Elizabeth

last, whoe hath brought certaine newes that the Prince lieth in his shipp,
 before Sct. Andera, waitinge for a winde to come for England; and hath
 vowed not to sett footing (...) on anie shore before ¹hee attayne¹ the Englishe
 shore; The (...)e of spayne hath sworne to the Prince, that the (...)nta shalbee
 readie at anie time the next spring (...)ome for England, when our Kinge
 sha(...) desire (...)d that hee in person would waite vppon her to the (...) side;
 the Prince is without either Contract or (...)adge./ I haue sent yow a Cornett
 which is (...)die tried to bee a good one, it cost xx s./ I was (...)ised not to
 buie a newe one, which would haue cost 30 s. (...) there is great deceite in
 theise kinde of Instruments, after some vsadge, They will warpe & proue
 vnvsefull; if this bee not good, yow shall haue it chaunged./ I Yow shall receive
 alsoe a peece of Plate, beinge a guilte bowle with your armes theron accordinge
 to your direcion; which by the opinion of my coosyn williams of cheapeside,
 is well woorth the money that was paid for it, beinge xij li. and a fitt guifte
 to bestowe vppon anie gentleman; It is an oulde (...) peece & well wroughte,
 and will make as faire a s(...) vppon a Cupborde, as another of a double valu(.)
 I send you the [...] bondes which I tooke vpp(.) Sir William Curtene,
 cancelled./ I deliuere(...) Letter to my Coosyn williames of cheape, whoe
 h(...) promised bothe to answeare your letter, and to d(...) mee your former
 letter written vnto him, which I will (...) not faile to call for./
 The viall di Gambo for Mary Boduell I will bu(...) and send it her by the
 Carriers./

With my dailye prayers for your health & my Mother(.) with longe liefte &
 happines, doe rest euer.

Westminster College : 2^o octobris 1623

your most obedient sonne.
 (signed) William Wynn

Letter from William Wynn to Sir John Wynn NLW: NLW MS 9059E
 p [1]* (24 November)

Sir my humblest dutie premised./

Though manie liuinges are fallen, [yet] since the deathe of the late Bishopp,
 yet they fell out ¹of¹ my Lordes guifte and my dispose; soe as it is not my
 good fortune to helpe my freindes and kinsemen ¹as yet¹ which (I protest to
 god) I do desier aboue all other thinges in this woorld; all this while I haue
 builded vppon my Lordes promise that after the preferment of his owne
 chaplaines hee would thinke on my freindes; I hope ere manie monethes come

2/ Sct. Andera: port of Santander, Spain
 4/ (...)nta: for Infanta (?)
 25/ 1623: underlined

33/ late Bishopp: Richard Parry, bishop of St Asaph,
 d. 26 September 1623

about I shalbee able to doe somewhat for them, in the meane while they must haue patience./ Mr. Piggott maye well stande vppon his owne righte notwithstandinge doctor dauiess pretences to his liuinge whoe shall neuer bee able to overthrowe him, and therfore lett him not yeald a iott vnto him. my coosyn Rowland Pugh (whoe is nowe in towne) hath promised mee to countenance and assiste mr Piggott in that Countreye, all hee can./

Concerninge the noates of your Estate [^]which I deliuered my brother Sir Rice¹ and the hundreth poundes which is to bee provided for him yow shall haue an accounte by my brother Owen wynn; as alsoe how your 1000 li. is nowe disposed of (which I receiued for yow by bills of exchange.) What I haue laide out [^]alsoe¹ of mine owne money for yow shall bee expressed in the same accounte.

I haue receiued by this bearer the fiftie shillinges yow sent mee, beinge interest money. I haue alsoe provided a faire viall for Mary Boduell which I will send downe with a booke of songes for her, by the next carriers./

I cannot gett your Money from Rees ap William Pugh whoe is a begger (as I heare) neither is it liklie that anie good can be done in his busines heere.

All the newes I can send yow at this time is that my brother Sir Richard hath by the meanes of my Lord Buckingham gott my coosyn Tom Mostyn knighted vppon Saterday last at Theobalds./ with my daylie prayers for your health & long liefie with my Mother. crauing your Blessinges doe rest your obedient sonne.

(signed) William Wynn.

Westminster College 24^o novembris 1623

I haue sent yow heerin my Lord of Bangor his letter vnsealed, that yow maye peruse it, and after send it him if yow thinke good./ Mosse your Apothecary is dead of this newe disese./

1626/7

Sir John Wynn's Personal Notes NLW: NLW MS 9061E
single sheet verso*

Remembrances

...

To send for the Trumpett with my Armes & the stringes to it lett hit be well lapped & Caryed Carefully.

6/ countenance: 3 minims for un in ms

18-24/ All the newes ... 1623: continued sideways in left margin

19/ my Lord Buckingham: George Villiers, duke of Buckingham

26-8/ I haue sent ... disese./: written sideways in left margin to the left of first continuation

26/ my Lord of Bangor: Lewis Bayly, bishop of Bangor 1616-31

- + Harken the violent ¹& base violl¹ that are in llandoged. |
 + send to my Coosyn Ihon lewys for his lute *which* I must send to chester for
 + *which* the lone of a Cornett./ send to borow a lute off mostyn./
 ...

5

1627/8

Sir John Wynn's Probate Inventory NLW: Wynnstay (1952) Box 106/item 99
 mb 1* (1 March)

...

Item one Trumpett with the flagg, and tassell praysed at

XXX S. 10

...

CARDIGANSHIRE/SIR GEREDIGION

County

15

c 465

Life of St Brioc Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale: ms 1394 (U119)
 pp 49-50*

...

20

SANCTVS bri¹_A^o maglus coriticianae regionis indigena: parentibus *secundum*
saeculi dignitatem nobilibus ortus est. Pater eius cerpus nomine: mater uero
 eldruda uocata est. Qui licet gentilitatis adhuc errore detinerentur: uerique dei
 cultum penitus ignorarent: humanitatis tamen operibus dediti: ab omnibus
 regionis suae incolis non minimu(.) diligebantur. Erant namque multis
 diuitiarum copiis ualde dita(.) & semper in kalendis ianuarii per annos singulos.
 omnibus amicis & uicinis suis celeberrimum tribus continuis diebus conuiuium
 exhibebant. In quo etiam tanta | erat escarum cum diuersitate habundantia:
 tantaque ludorum & canticorum iocunditate. conuiuantium[?] animos ut
 pote gentilium replebant: ut quoddam eorum oculis letitiae spectaculum
 inferre uiderentur.

30

...

Collation with Paris, BN: fonds latin 1149 (B) ff 5-5v and Angers, BM: 814 (730) (C)
 ff 39-9v 21 bri¹_A^o maglus] briocus B; [SANCTVS BRIOMAGLVS] Sanctus
 BRIOCCIVS C 23 uerique] verj B 24 cultum] cubitum B 25 minimu(.)]
 minimum BC 26 ualde dita(.)] valdelitati B; ualde ditati C 28 cum] C omits
 29 conuiuantium] conuenientium B 30 quoddam] quod B

1/ are: corrected over ys

21/ SANCTVS: enlarged initial majuscule S followed by ordinary majuscules

25/ minimu(.): for minimum; most of final letter damaged and illegible

26/ dita(.): for ditati; most of final letters damaged and illegible

pp 60–2*

...

Inde *sanctus* Brioccus ad patriam diuertens? anno *aetatis suae* uicesimo quinto cum suo illo solo comite puero? deo regente domum usque patris prospero
 peruenit itinere? Celebrabatur siquidem die illo quo beatus ad domum patris 5
 sui deuenit Brioccus memoratum illud magnumque conuiuium? quod semper
 ab eo in kalendis ianuarii fieri erat consuetum? In quo sicut supra diximus?
 multae ludorum & canticorum uanitates exercebantur? Venerabilis itaque mater
 Brioccium filium suum uenientem uideret? acurrit obuam alacris? ruit in
 oscula? amplexatur? ad patrem ducit? En inquit filius *noster* dilectissimus 10
 uenit? quem tanto desiderio tam longo tempore uidere suspirabamus? Quod
 pater audiens festinus exurgit? uidensque filium prae gaudio flere coepit?
 Complectensque & osculans? vix sese in pedibus prae immensa laetitia poterat
 continere? Consedent igitur? collocuntur? exultant ad inuicem? ultra etiam
 quam dici potest? Rogatus a patre ut cum eis de conuiuium illo comederet? 15
 iuuenis sacer recusat? Sciscitatus quare? causam humiliter insinuat? Incongruum
 est inquit pater christianis & deo seruientibus? | gentilium cibus hominum
 uesci? nisi prius fuerint baptizati? Taliter eo loquente? cum pater ipsius quid
 esset baptismus interrogaret? unus ex ludentibus gestuque nefario saltantibus?
 fracto femore manuque dextera? cecidit collisus in terram? Videntes hoc 20
 alii qui eadem aut forte deteriora gerebant? uanos lusus? in uerum protinus
 conuertunt dolorem? Tunc *sanctus* una cum patre ceteris conuiuantium
 pluribus? ad locum ubi circa seminecem homines congregabantur ocus
 uenit? Illisque magnopere infelicis casum mirantibus & aliis flentibus aliis
 illum manibus suis erigere conantibus? uenerabilis dixit Brioccus Cur *fratres* 25
karissimi? in uestra semper stultitia perdurare vultis? Quare iocis nefandis
 quibus uerus *deus* offenditur? uitaque despicitur aeterna sic intenditis?
 Relinquitte queso uos dilectissimi errores istos? & idola uestra confringite? Quae

Collation with Paris, BN: fonds latin 1149 (B) ff 20–2 and Angers, BM: ms 730 (814)
 (C) ff 49–51v 3–5 Inde ... itinere] B omits 3 Inde ... anno] Anno uero C
 4 regente] regente. multis per uiam patris miraculorum signis. C 6 deuenit]
 peruenit B 8 mater] mater vt B; mater [cum] C 9 acurrit] occurrit B
 11 suspirabamus] suspirabimus B 13 sese] se B 14 Consedent] Cum sederent B
 15 comederet] commenderet B 16 Sciscitatus] suscitans B 16 quare? causam]
 causam quare B 22 ceteris] coeterisque C 22 conuiuantium] conuiuentium B
 24 Illisque] Illis B 24 casum ... &] B omits 24 flentibus] fectibus B 24 aliis]
 aliisque B 25 illum] B omits; eum C

8/ mater: for mater cum

25/ conantibus: corrected from conabantur

licet os & oculos? aures habeantur uidere & nares? loqui tamen & uidere.
 audire siue sentire nichil omnino possunt? neque ad salutem cuiquam
 proficiunt. Ad patrem conuersus deinde? ait? Aspice pater in caelum sursum.
 & in terram deorsum? uide maria & quae in eis sunt uniuersa? scitoque &
 intellige? quod omnia haec unus & summus ex nichilo creauerit artifex? &
 preter eum deus non potest esse. Et addidit? Conuertimini ergo cuncti? &
 peccata uestra confitentes baptismum suscipite? & idolis omnibus penitus
 renuntiate? Si enim hoc feceritis? ego confestim inuocato christi domini &
 dei mei sancto nomine? istum quem uos & dii uestri non potestis saluare?
 sospitem reddam? & dei caeli uidebitis | gloriam. Aliis igitur omnibus
 quicquid precepisset sese facturos esse libentissime deuouentibus? solus pater
 ipsius econtra. parentum suorum consuetudinem seruari debere potius
 contendebat. Inueteratae nanque consuetudinis usus? difficile ualde uixque
 omnino mutatur. Imperat deinde uir sanctus discipulo? ut aquam oleo
 mixtam deferat? Quam adlatam cunctis abscedentibus benedixit? superque
 corpus emortuum iacentis illius aspersit? ac manum ipsius apprehenden[tis]
 dixit? Dominus erigit elisos? dominus soluit compeditos. Post quae uerba
 continuo uir surgit incolumis? mirantur admodum qui aderant uniuersi.
 Exclamant omnes. magnisque uocibus intonant? uerum deum esse quem
 Brioccus colit. At ipse cum instanter eis monita salutis daret? astruebat
 frequentius miraculorum signis? quod predicare sollicitus semper studebat
 uiris. Oportet igitur & aliam ipsius quam post praedicationem illam patrauit?
 enarrare uirtutem.

...

Collation continued: p 79, l.26–p 80, l.3 Quare ... proficiunt] *C omits*
 1–2 habeantur ... neque] et nares habeat loqui tamen et uidere audire siue sentire
 omnino non possunt nec *B* 4 in terram] in terra *C* 4 quae] omnia quae *C*
 5 omnia haec] hec omnia *B* 5 creauerit] creauit *B* 8 enim] *C omits*
 8–9 confestim ... nomine] *C omits* 9 saluare] saluare per inuocationem
 christi *C* 10 Aliis] Illis *C* 10 igitur] igitur *B* 11 sese] se *B* 11–14 solus
 ... mutatur] *C omits* 12 econtra] contra *B* 15 adlatam] ablatam *B*
 15 abscedentibus] abcedentibus *B* 16 iacentis illius] *C omits* 16 ipsius]
 eius *C* 17 dominus] deus *B* 17 Post quae uerba] Et *C* 20 Brioccus] *C corrects*
from briomaglus 20–3 At ipse ... uirtutem] *C omits* 20 daret? *B adds* quod
after this word

1/ uidere ... uidere: first occurrence of uidere redundant (?)

17/ Dominus erigit elisos: Ps 145.8b (Vulgate)

17/ dominus soluit compeditos: Ps 145.7d (Vulgate)

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

CARDIGAN/ABERTEIFI

1176

Brut y Tywysogion (Version A) NLW: Peniarth MS 20C

p 191 col 2–p 192 col 1*

5

°gwled rŷs ap
Grufud.*

...y nodolic yny vlwydyn honno y kynnhelis yr arglwyd rŷs ap gruffud llys
yn arderchawc yn aberteiui yn y kastell. ac y gossodes deu ryw ymrysson yno. 10
vn yrwng beird a phrydydyon. vn arall yrwng telynoryon a chrythoryon a
phibydyon ac amrauaelon l genedloed gerd music ac ef a beris gossot dwy
gadeir yr gorchyvigwyr ac ef a anrydedawd y rei hynny o rodyon ehelaeth.
ac or telynoryon gwas yeuawg o lys rŷs a gafas y vvdygolyaeth. yrwng y beird
rei gwyned a orvv. pawb or eirchyeit a gauas y gan rŷs yr hyn a geissyawd hyt 15
na wrthladwyd neb. ar wled honno kynn y gwneuthur a vynegit vlwydyn
drwy holl gymry a lloegyr ar alban ac ywerdon ar nyssed ereill....

...

Brut y Tywysogion (Version B) NLW: Peniarth MS 18A

f 42

20

...

Ac yna y kynhalyaŵd yr arglwyd rŷs wled arbennic yn aberteiui. Ac y gossodes
deuryŵ amrysson. vn rŷg y y beird ar prydyon. ac arall rŷg y telynoryon. ar

Collation with NLW: NLW MS 3046D (formerly Mostyn 143) (B) p 136 and NLW:
NLW MS 3055D (formerly Mostyn 159) (C) f 205 9–10m °gwled ... Grufud.°]
BC omit 9 y nodolic ... honno] Ac yn y vlwyddyn honno y nadolic B; Ac yn
vlwyddyn honno y nadolic C 10 yn aberteiui yn y kastell] ynghastell aber teifi C
10 yno] C omits 11 vn arall] ar llall C 13 gorchyvigwyr] gorynchafwyr C
15 gwyned] o wynedd BC 15 pawb] a ffawb C 15 y gan] gann BC
16 wrthladwyd] wrthodwyd C 16 vynegit] vynagwyd C

Collation with NLW: NLW MS 3035B (formerly Mostyn 116) (M) ff 183–3v; Jesus
College, Oxford: MS 111 (the Red Book of Hergest) (R) f 77 (col 306); NLW: Peniarth
MS 19B (T) cols 580–1; NLW: Peniarth MS 253D (T9) p 70; CLIS: Cardiff 2.39
(V) pp 98–9 23 Ac yna y kynhalyaŵd] Ar blwyddyn Rac wyneb i Tellis V
23 arbennic] Vomits 23 yn] ygkastell M; yg castell R; ygcastell T; ynghastell
T9V 24 y y] y MTT9V 24 prydyon] prydydyon MRT; prydyddion T9;
prydydion V 24 ac] Vomits 24 ac arall] Ar llall RTT9 24 rŷg y telynoryon]
y rŷg telynoryon M; rŷg telynoryon R; rŷng telynoryon T; Rwnng telynoryon V 24 ar]
a MRT

crythoryon. a phibydyon. ac amryuaelon geneddloed kerd arwest. A dŷy
 gadeir a ossodes y vudugolyon yr amryssoneu. A rei hynny a gyuoethoges
 ef o diruaŷryon rodyon. Ac yna y cauas gŷas Ieuanc oe lys ef y hun y
 uudugolyaeth o gerd arwest. A gŷyr gŷyned a gauas y uudygolyaeth o gerd
 tauaŷt. a phaŷb or kerdoryon ereill a gaŷssant y gann yr arglŷyd rys kymeint
 ac archyssant. hyt na ŷrthladŷyt nep. ar ŷled honno a gyhoedet ulŷydyn kynn
 y gŷneuthur. ar hyt kymry a lloegyr. a phrydein. ac iŷverdon. a llaŷer o
 ŷladoed ereill....

Brenhinedd y Saesson (Version A) BL: Cotton Cleopatra B.v
 f 160

...Ar nodolic hwnnw y gwnaeth Rys ap Grufud y wled vawr yngastell
 aberteiui. y ymrysson pwy orev o gerd tant. nev gerd tavot dros wyneb kymre
 a lloegyr a phrydyn. ac Iwerdon. a pheri gwnerthur dwy gadeir? vn yr gorev
 or telynoryon. arall yr gorev or beird. Ac or telynnoryon gorev oed gwas
 ieuanc or llys. or beird gorev oed rei gwyned. ar wled honno a gyhoydwyt
 blwydyn kyn y wnerthur...

® y wled yn
 abert(...)

Brenhinedd y Saesson (Version B) NLW: NLW MS 7006D
 p 266 col 1

...
 Anno domini MCclxxvj ... Ar nodolic hwnnw y gwnaeth yr arglwydd
 rys y wledd vawr yn aber teivi i ymryson pwy orav o gerdd davod a
 cherdd dant dros wyneb kymry a lloegr a phrydydn ac ewerddon A
 Roddi dwy gadair vn i gerdd davod ac arall i gerdd dant a vernid yn orav
 Or beirdd gorav vv wr o wynedd Or telynorion gorav vv was ievangk
 or llys mab i eilon grythor Ar wledd honno a gyhoedded vlwyddyn kynn
 i gwnevthur...

Collation continued: 1 a] ar V 1 amryuaelon] amryuaelyon T; amrafaelion T9;
 amravaylion V 1 geneddloed] RVomit 2 yr amryssoneu] Vomits 2 A rei]
 ar rei T; Ar hai T9; Ar rai V 3 diruaŷryon] dyvawrion V 3 ef²] MVomit
 3 y hun] ehunan MRT 3-4 y uudugolyaeth] Vomits 4 y uudygolyaeth] V
 omits 5 y] Vomits 5 rys] Vomits 6 ac] ac a RTT9V 6-8 archyssant ...
 ereill] missing in T9 due to loss of sheet 6 hyt ... nep] Vomits

1/ geneddloed: for geneddloedd

15m/ abert(...): rest of word lost due to trimming of sheet

Humphrey Llwyd's Chronicle of Wales BL: Cotton Caligula A.vi
ff 158–8v

...And this yere the Lorde Rhes prince of South Wales, made a great ffeast at Christmas, in his castell of Abertivi, whiche feast he caused to be proclaimed | 5
throughe all Britaine Longe Beffore./ And thither came many strangers,
which were worthely receaved and honourably entertained. so that no man
departed discontented. And amonge deedes of armes and other showes, Rhes
caused all the Poetes of wales (which they call Bardes, and in the plurall
number beyrdes) to come thither, and caused chaires to be sette in his hall, 10
where they shoulde dispute together in diuerse artes and sciences, and great
rewardes, and riche gyftes were appointed for the ouercomers, And at the
ende they of northwales Wanne the price. And amonge the musitions Rhes
his owne householde men we^{re} counted best...

15

1657

Great Sessions Presentments

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files (Additional) 33/7/1 Item [1]
single sheet

...

20

Wee present Thomas william miller one of the Iury for being drunke &
keeping ill orderes in his house att vnseasonable tyme of the nightes by
suffering fidleres to play/ abuseing the Constables in Executeing theyr office
being Comaunded by Master Mayor of this Corporacion/ to the contrary
°to pay°

25

LLANFIHANGEL-Y-CREUDDYN

c 1620

Grievances against the Council in the Marches CLIS: MS 3.25
pp 299–301

30

The .10. Artickle./

And whearas divers lewd and maliciouse persones haue hearetofore & of
late dayes more and more devised & spred abroad, reported & published 35
many fals & seditious tales, newes, sainges, writtings, bookes, letters and
libells which amonge the people haue wrought & heareafter may worke
greate mischeefe & Inconvenience, to the Intent the like may be avoyded
heare after & the Inventors & setters foorth thereof may be condingly
punished his maiesties pleasure is that the sayd lord president or vicepresident 40
and Counsell as is aforesayd shall haue due regarde thereof & that when

soever any such seditious tales newes sainges writtings bookes letters & libells shabbe devised reported published or dispersed wythin any ye limittes & Iurisdictione aforesayd | that the publishers dispersers & reporters thereof be fourth wyth stayd &c and such offenders shall be duly & openly punished &c by fine imprisonment weringe of papers & the like according to there
5
discessiones &c

The Intentione that the lord president and Councell should apprehend & stay [and punish] all such lewde persons as should devise spreade abroad reporte & publishe fals seditious tales, newes, sainges, writtings, bookes, letters, & libells and punishe the Inventors, publishers, setters one, dispersers
10
& reporters thereof, by fine & Imprisonement weringe of papers and the like &c./

The grevance: that the Counsell having authority to punish the Inventors dispersers & publishers of libells, of fals seditious tales & newes: Doe by coloure of there aforesayd authority punish men | by fine & Imprisonement
15
weringe of papers & the like for supposed makinge [and] contriving, publishinge & dispersinge of libells & scandalouse songes & rimes wythout iust prooffe or Confessione they havinge contrived, published or dispersed any such fals vntrue & scandalouse libells as was by there accusatione pretended
20
but falsly accused & vppon presumptiones vniustly condemned./

The practise to prove the Grevance./

...

pp 314–19*

3: parte: folio: 21: Katherin verch harry Morgan a yonge gyrl havinge harde certayne rymes learned some of them beinge made to a mayd called Sara verch Ieuan the rimes beinge noe slandy at all: and because the sayd Sara was reputed to be somewhat light & because there was a malice betweene
30
Hugh Davyd vychan the land lorde of the sayd Sara & Harry Morgan the father of the sayd Katherin hee caused an Informatione to be exhibited before the Counsell of the Marches against the sayd Katherin for inventinge contrivinge makinge singinge & publishinge scandalouse & libellouse rimes
35
and against Harry Morgan the father & Iohan verch Ieuan the mother of the sayd Katherin for singinge & publishinge the same rimes the sayd Informatione beinge fals scandalouse & libellouse & incerted the sayd new welch rimes made to the sayd Sara in writtinge into the sayd Informatione and dyd not expound the same in English | wheareby the Courte might Iudge whether they were libells & scandalouse or noe: and incerted alsoe
40

2/ shabbe: for shalbe

11/ Imprisonement: redundant abbreviation mark over p

15/ men: written as catchword at foot of p 300 but not repeated at top of p 301

in writtinge into the *sayd* Informatione other ould rimes that were made
 (tyme out of mynde) to other *persons* together wyth the new rimes, which
 ould rimes dyd pretende some loosnes of life & scandall towards her to
 whom ytt was made, and because the newe rimes of very deede were noe
 libels the *sayd* ould rimes were added vnto them wheareby they might seeme 5
 to be libelliouse./

And the *sayd* Harry Morgan & Iohan the mother denied vppon there oathes
 that they dyd make contrive publish or singe, or knewe who had made or
 contrived the *sayd* rimes: and the *sayd* Katherin confessed that shee had
 harde some of the *sayd* rimes songe by severall *persons* & that shee had 10
 learned some of them (vizt. the new rimes) & had songe them entendinge
 noe harme thereby and neyther percevinge or concevinge any harme therein
 & denied that shee ever made the *said* rimes, or dyd knowe who made them
 & wyth all denied that she ever | harde some of the rimes layd to her charge
 eyther songe or published or that shee knew who made them (videlicett the 15
 ould rimes of purpose put to her charge./

And vppon the appearance of the *sayd* Harry Morgan to aunswere the *sayd*
 Informatione the Counsell ordered that hee before his departure should
 enter into a bande of .40. li. wyth one sufficiet suerty to his *maiesties* vse wyth
 condicione for his *personall* apparance at the hearinge of the *sayd* cause & 20
 that hee should pay & discharge all such fines ffees and Costes as should be
 imposed vppon the other 2. *defendants* (vizt. his wife and his doughter) at
 the hearinge of the *sayd* cause &c.

And at the hearinge of the cause the *sayd* Sara could proove noe more then the
sayd Katherin had confessed (vizt. that the *sayd* Katherin had songe some of 25
 the *sayd* rimes and wished an other to singe them to passe away the tyme
 sainge there was noe harme in them) and none could proove who had made
 or contrived them./

And the defendant Katherin proved directly that the *sayd* Sara was a poore
 mayd | of a very loose carraidge & behavioure and proved directly the suyte 30
 to be mayntayned by Hugh davydd vychan & prosecuted by hym of Malice
 to the defendant Harry Morgan & directly disproved what the *plaintifes*
 wittnesses had proved by hearesay & nihilated all there testimony and
 notwithstandinge this the Councell would not heare the depositiones of the
 defendant Katherins wittnesses read but convinced & censured the defendant 35
 Katherin for publishinge the *sayd* scandalouse libells & welsh rimes (not
 vnderstandinge what they were or whether they were scandalouse or noe) and
 comitted her to the porters lodge vntyll shee had payd :100: markes for her
 fine to the king & :20: nobls Costes to the relatrix & vntyll the further mynds
 of the *sayd* Councell were knownen for her enlargement and that the *sayd* 40

15–16/ (videlicett ... charge./: *virgule used as closing parenthesis*

19/ sufficiet: *for sufficient; abbreviation mark missing*

Katherin should stand vppon a scaffold wyth paper & superscription about her head wyth Cappitall letters &c at the then next greate Sessiones houlden for the County of Cardigan and should acknowledge | her offences before the Iustices & the whole audience in the sayd Shire hall and then to be brought to the Cuckinge stoole & to be cucked there the sayd first day of the asseises, 5
and to be cucked againe the thursday next folowinge in the sayd towne beinge a markett day: and in regarde the sayd Katherin was not present to be committed in executione of the sayd order: and because the sayd Harry Morgan stode bound wyth a suerty in .40. li. to his maiesties vse for to pay such fine fees & Costes as should be vppon the hearinge of the sayd cause 10
imposed vppon the other defendantes Iohan & Katherin & ordered that the sayd Harry Morgan should be detayned in prisone vntyll hee should take order for the payment of the fines & Costes & vntyll hee should enter into a bande of .200. markes wyth sufficient suerties that the sayd Katherin should performe the punishment vppon her imposed & that shee should appeare in 15
the Courte & yeald her selfe in executione of that order & not to departe wythout licence./

And acquitted the sayd Harry Morgan & | Iohan his wife, the father & mother of the sayd Katherin of all the thinges layd to there charge by Informatione./

® (nota)

Nota how they censured Katherin for publishinge a scandalouse welsh 20
[libellouse] supposd libells neyther vnderstandinge the welshe tonge neyther were the rimes translated to English wheareby they might vnderstande what the meaninge of them were & whether they were libells or noe: & how they imposed vppon her .3. kinds of punishment to witt pecuniar: Corporall: & exemplar by a fine of .C. markes, Costes of 20, nobles: 12 s. ffee to the 25
porter, standinge vppon the scaffold wyth paper written one her head; confessinge her offences in open courte before the Iustices. to be cucked in a Cuckinge stole one .2. severall dayes, vizt. the greate Sessiones & the markett day & to be imprisoned vntyll the Counsells pleasure were knowen for her enlargement./ And the rimes songe were noe libells at all, and the gyrlie not 30
.16. yeares of aige that was thus censured, & howe the father was envegled & ordered to aunswere for the childes offences & hym selfe quitted thereof./

® (nota)

1620

Court in the Marches of Wales, List of Fines BL: Harley MS 4220 35
f 89v

Appeared in Ludlow at a session beginning 26 August

...

Cardigan

Katherein Harrie Spinster parochie llanihangel y Croythyn for deuising publishing and singinge of Scandalous libelles or Welsh rymes against Sara verch Ieuan at whose suite she is comitted

iii li.

...

TREGARON

1627

Great Sessions Presentments NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/884/4/8
single sheet verso (September) 5

Cardigan sessions

*similiter ordo
vt antea
prowisa*

Wee present Griffith ap Evan of Caron for liuinge in vnlawfull Callinge,
or Course of Life, but wandringe vpp, & downe, with a taber, & pipe,
roguinge & begginge 10

...

CARMARTHENSHIRE/
SIR GAERFYRDDIN

15

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

CARMARTHEN/CAERFYRDDIN

c 1451

20

The Carmarthen Eisteddfod NLW: Peniarth MS 158B
p 20*

...

bellach or kynganheddion y gwnair y mesvrav sef ynt pedwar ar higen
lwfiedig or gwaith newydd yr hai a bvrwyd drwy waith dafydd ab edmwnt 25
kadeirddfardd ag eraill o athrawon affen kerddiaid ynghyd yn yr ysdefod fawr yn
y dre newydd yninefwr garbron gryffydd ap nikolas pennaeth Ragorol ag addvg
y gosd ihvnan yn kadwr ysedddfod dri mis ir disgyblion y pennkerddiaid ar
athrawon ag a naeth y gadair arian iw Roi ir sawl ai hynillav a ddafydd ap
edmwnt gwr bonheddig or genedl yr hanmeriaid o dv idad ag yn berchen 30
tir mawr yn hanmer ag o dv i fam o degaingl o dre wepra ef a dale bymtheg
pvnt o ar dreth y pryd hyny erys kan mylynedd kyn hyn ag efo nillodd y
gadair arian oddiar yr holl athrawon ar mesvrav a naeth ef y pryd hyn a
welwyd yn bennkerddiaidd ag ynhw a gynhwyswyd ag aroddwyd allan yw
dysgv ag i bawb aranai y kyffelib rai yn ol y siamplav hyny gael graddav fal 35
i haedden bawb yn ol i ythrylith ai ddysgeidiaeth ar mesvrav syn kalvn ai
dos barthav i wybod wrth y dos barthav beth a fond ai iawn ai kam.

26/ kadeirddfardd: for kadeirfardd

27/ garbron: g corrected from gr

34/ bennkerddiaidd: for bennkerddiaidd

The Carmarthen Eisteddfod NLW: Peniarth MS 267
pp 53–64*

...

Am weitredeod Dafyd ap Edmunt bard cadeiriog ar ei fford yn myned ir
eistedfod y ñaervyrðin garrbron Gruffud ap Nicolas; ag am ei atebion ef 5
yno garr bronn y brouður hunnu ai weitredeod ef yno: ag mal yr eniłod gwyr
Tegeingyl dri tñus yn yr eistedfod honno o vlaen Gruffud ap Nicolas: ar Dafyd
ap Edmunt hunn a droes y gerð or hen dul ir dul newyd oi wait ehun. I
Pann oed Gruffyd ap Nicolas yn vrouður ar y prydydion yr yr eistedfod y 10
Ñaervyrðin dros dalait Dinefur iu gradu huynt yr oed lawer o brydydion
gorçestol y Neheubarð yn yr oes honno ag yn myned yn wyç drussiadus a
Dafyd ap Edmunt o Buł gweppra yn Negeingyl o dalait Wyned oed y prydyd
gore y Nwyned yn yr oes honno, ag o hynny hyd hediu, ag ef oed yn myned
yn disas, meun goun o liu y dryu, er ei vod ef yn fab i ucelur o bluý Hanmer,
ag yn eiðo ef yr Oured, sef y le y mae y plas yn Hanlmer yn sefyl arno, ag 15
yn eiðo ef lynn Hanmer neu y řan fuyaf o hono, a lawer o diroed yn y wlad
honno, y řain ol a wertod (*blank*) ap Dafyd ap Edmunt ei fab ef ond y lynn
ar Lynn a adawod ef yn ðiwaetaf heb ei wertu, ag ef a arferai bysgotta ar y
lynn, pann oed ef gwedi gwertu ei hoł dir yr hynn vu aços ir clerur Howel
Bangor ganu iðo ef y pennil hun. 20

Ar y řeu teu beğ a wnayt ti // a baçau
byçan oed dy grogi
na adewit le iti i biso ar y tir
rag boði ar y dūr. 25

howel Bangor: *ai cant*

Ar Dafyd ap Edmunt uod ef ai ðisgybyl Guttun Owain a gymersant eu tait i
fyned ir eistedfod i Gaervyrðin ag ef a ðamweiniod iðo ef dyfod a disgyn ar
y fford y mlas gur bonedig, le yr oed prydyd aral gwedi disgyn or blaen a
Dafyd yn ur diert dissas, heb neb yn ei adnabod yno, a heb dybiaid ei vod 30
ef yn brydyd I onid řyū Glerur neu Ðatcaniad: ag ef a aet y gur bonhedig at
y prydyd oed yn ei dy i beri iðo ef deçrae pennil ir gur diert iu orffen, ag a
barod y prydyd ir gur bonhedig ofyn i Ðafyd, beğ oed henū ei farç ef: ag a
attebod Dafyd mae Dobyn: ag yna y canod y prydyd.

Dewis di oðiar dy stol
ai dobyn ai dau ebol: 35

Sef a orug y gur bonhedig yna gwedi caffael y penil uod, myned at Ðafyd
ap Edmunt ag erci iðo ef eiste i laur ar ei stol: a dywedud urt Dafyd y medrai

8/ Edmunt: *for* Edmunt

8/ wait: *for* wait

9/ Pann: *enlarged decorated majuscule P*

9/ yr yr: *for* yn yr

31/ bonhedig: *for* bonhedig

34/ canod: *for* canod

38/ erci: *for* erci

yntau ganu peŧ, ag y deŧreuai ef bennil i Ɗafyđ iŧ orffen gann doedud.
Dewis di odiaŧ dy stol

ai Dobyn ai dau ebol:

Ag yna y gorffenod Ɗafyđ ef fal hynn.

O Ƨuŧ pa un orau i Ƨyn

ai dau ebol ai Dobyn.

heb gymryd amgen hamden: ag yna y deuałod y gŧr bonhedig y medrai
Ɗafyđ ganu. |

A Ƨann Ƨoet Ɗafyđ ir Eistedfod i Gaerfyrđin, a myned yn ei oun lŧyd y
mysc y prydyđion gŧcion, y gofynnod rŧŧ Ƨisgibyl neu Ƨatcanniad ido ai
un o honom ni ydyđ Ƨwi nag ef heb Ɗafyđ prydyđ ŧyf fi.

A Ƨann Ƨoet Gruffud ap Nicolas ir fainc y dywedod ef ŧrt y prydyđion am
gymeryd o honunt eu leoed, gan Ƨywedyd na lehae ef neb onadunt, řag
gwneutur cam a neb. Ag yna y dyfod Ɗafyđ: Gossodŧc ni i eiste yn grŧnn,
ag yna ni byđ nag ŧa nag issa.

Ag yna y dyfod Gruffud ap Nicolas yr ŧyt ti yn barod iaŧn: ag a ofynnod
ido hefyd o ba wlad yr henyŧ ef: ag yntau a attebod mae o Wyned: ag a
dywedod ŧrt Ruffud ap Nicolas: y meistyr mi a Ƨoetum yma fford bel o
dalait Wyned i ganu am y tŧs mi a Ƨeissyfa arnođ na Ƨaffŧŧ mor cam: os myfi
a eniřaf y tŧs ar ganu ar ei gael ef. Ag yna y dyfod Gruffyđ ŧrt brydyđion
Deheubarť, Sylŧc ar hynn mae řai o honođ Ƨwi yn pertynu tu ag at bendefigion
y wlad honn edryđŧc ar ganu o honođ yn Ƨa, i gadŧ y gadair, ond ef, os y
gŧr lŧyd o Wyned (am Ɗafyđ ap Edmunt) ai hynniř hi: ef ai caiff hi i fyned
ar ei ysgwyđ adref.

Ag yna y gofynnod Gruffud ap Nicolas rŧŧ ofyniad caled ir prydyđion yr hynn
ni fedrynt ei ateb: ag a Ƨyfod řai o honunt ar wag celwair Ɗafyđ (am Ɗafyđ
ap Edmunt) dod ateb: hebyr Ɗafyđ: Mae gennyf gof am a vu: a messur am
y syđ: ag ateb am a vyd.

Ag yna Ƨann oedynt yn canu am y gadair y gofynnod Gruffyđ ap Nicolas ir
prydyđion a elid gŧneutur Cynganed heb synwyr ag a attebassant ol (eityr
Ɗafyđ ap Edmunt) na elid: ag yno y dywedod Ɗafyđ y gelid, ag y gwnae ef
gynghaned heb đim synwyr yndi, ag a ganod yr Englyn syđ yn dilyn fal hynn. |
Melin a glin (*blank*)

Ag y dyfod fal dyna gynghaned heb đim synwyr yndi. Ag yna y canwyd lawer
o Englynion or un rŧŧ yn ol hynny.

A gwedi hynny y parod Gruffud ap Nicolas i baŧb or prydyđion wneutur
Englyn un řiŧ i đilad gŧr, a Ƨymryd o baŧb ei đewis řiŧ: a Ƨymryd amser dann
drannoet iŧ wneutud: ag yna y dyfod Ɗafyđ ap Edmunt, naiř ai gwnant hŧŧ
(am y prydyđion eraiř) cynn syflyd ei traed odyma, ae mi ai gwna, cynn

1/ bennil: *for* bennil

1/ doedud: *for* Ƨoedud

7/ deuałod: *for* deuałod

symud ođyma: Sef a orug Guffuđ yna urret Dafyđ, yr urret ti yn barod iaun gad ym dy glowed. Ag y canođ Dafyđ fal hynn.

Pais las (*blank*) |

Ag yna ni čanođ neb ar y testyn hunnu ond gado ei ragor iđo.

Ag yn ol hynny y parođ Gruffuđ ap Nicolas ir prydyđion đewis o baub ei 5

destyn, ag na čanai neb ar destyn ei gilyđ: a cymeryd amser dan yr ail eiste.

Ag yna y dyfod Dafyđ ap Edmunt y canai ef Englyn fal na byđe ir leil le i ganu, ag a ganod yr Englyn syđ yn dilyn fal hynn.

Dur (*blank*)

Yr hunn Englyn syđ yn amgyffry pob pet ar ysyđ yn y nef ag ar y đaiar ag 10

ni elir canu i đim ar na bo yn pertyn i ryu bet enwedig ar yr Englyn uđod.

A pann đodes Gruffuđ ap Nico¹las y prydyđion¹ i ganu am y gadair y parođ

ef ir penceirđiaid ganu y pedwar meslsur ar hugain, ar gywyđ deuair: ag a

ganođ řai un ar bymteđ or messurau, erail đeunau, erail ugain, a Łouđen

ni čanođ ond tri ar hugain gann dybied na fedrae Dafyđ ap Edmunt ganu 15

y pedwar messur ar hugain: ond ef a ganod Dafyđ ap Edmunt y pedwar

messur ar hugain ar gywyđ deuair, ag am hynny y barnwyđ y gadair iđo ef. Sef

y dyfod Łouđen yna: Bađ diauđ i mi na čanassun huy¹nt¹ ag yn eu medrud

cystal a řitau.

Ag yna gwedi ynnil o Dafyđ ap Edmunt y gadair ai barnu iđo ar ganu cywyđ 20

deuair y dyfod Łouđen mae gobyr a roesse Dafyđ [ap] Gruffuđ ap Nicolas

am y gadair ag nid ar ganu yr enilasai ef y hi, ag a ganod fal hynn.

Cam oed (*blank*) |

ag yna sef a orug Dafyđ ap Edmunt ar yr englyn syđ yn dilyn gann đywedud.

Deuair am gadair (*blank*)

25

A hynny oed ar đeilun y pymteđfed dyđ or eistedđfod yr eniđod Dafyđ y gadair.

Ag i điheuro Gruffyđ ap Nicolas or hort a vuřiessid arno o gymryđ gobyr

am varnu y gadair i Dafyđ sef a wnaet Dafyđ yn yr eistedđfod dywedud urret y

Brouđur Gruffuđ ap Nicolas fal hynn.

Y meistyr yđ ys yn dywedud mae am 'obyry y cefais i y gadair ag nid am ganu: 30

mi a genais Englyn ar y fford om gwlad yn dyfod yma ag ni a đoda y gadair

oč blaen čwi ar Englyn hunnu ag ai gwranta ef yn đivai a cwilian huy | ef ag

o čaffan huy vai yndo mi a gořaf y gadair: a gwedy dywedud o nađunt ei vod

ef yn đivai: mi a đangossaf uđunt huy vai yndo ar a đywedant ei vod yn vai:

a gwedi uđunt đywedud ei vod yn vai; mi ai gwranta ef yn đivai, ag a wna 35

uđunt gyfađau hynny hefyd.

Ag yna y dyfod Gruffuđ ap Nicolas Mynn diau duu y gur luyd o Wyned

pe dywedessit ti hynny urret fi y dyđ cyntaf ni eistedassun ni bymteđ

1/ Guffuđ: *for* Gruffuđ

20/ ynnil: *for* ynnil

21/ Dafyđ [ap] Gruffuđ ap Nicolas: *for* Dafyđ i
Gruffuđ ap Nicolas

26/ eniđod: *for* eniđod

32/ đivai: *for* đivai

32/ cwilian: *for* čwilian

niwyrnod am y gadair mae hynny yn dïgon o brau o ragoriaet dy wybodaet di, i arnađunt. Ar Englyn hunnu syđ yn dilin fal y cefais if ef wedi ei ysgrifennu đuy fford, ond pa un or đuy fford syđ yn iaun nis gunn if: ag nid oes neb a wur beđ oed y bai, na pa fod y diveiai ef y bai: herwyđ colï y gyfrinađ.

Pysgottur uy meun (*blank*) l

Ag forđ arał mal hun.

Pysgottur

Ag yn yr eistedfod honno yr eniłod Cynrig Bencerd o Dreffynnon, y Delyn arian: a Rys Bŷting o Brystatun, a eniłod y tafod am đatceiniad; ag fely y doet y tri tľus, sef y Gadair, y Delyn, ar Tafod, i Degaingyl o Deheubarť.

Terfyn y: 30: dyđ o furt: 1636:

...

1639

Letter from Timothy Tourner to the Lord President of the Council

Huntington Library: EL 7288

ff [1–1v]*

My verie good Lord

I calling to mynde how your Lordship had hastened my retournes of shirriefferes names thes two last yeares and hearing that Sir Marmaduke Lloyd had made his to your lordship the last terme at Ludlow, did make bould to make my returne for this yeare to your Lordship at Ellesmere and therevpon receaved your lordshipes honorable Lettres testifying the receipt of that and further giving me Leave to amend that returne in parte or in all And now my good Lord I am to acquaynt your lordship that sithence my coming into my circuite I am verie crediblie enformed that Mr howell Gwynne named in my returne for Carmarthenshire whome I tooke to be a verie able man in estate (for he made a faire outward shew) is much behinde hand in his estate partlie by having byn Late sherief of Brecon and partlie by sutes and trowbles that befell him and in his steed I thinke [^]fitt to commend to your lordship one Mr Iohn vaughan of llanellie in the county of Carmarthen or Mr Griffith lloyd of Ynis wen in the same countie Now my lord some newes from the circuite. At Carmarthen [^]for ye countie burroug(.)¹ [one] but one condempned & that was for wilfull murdring of his wief/ and for the Countie of Carmarthen but one and that a mountaine thef Neither of the Sheriefferes could get a hangman of

6/ uy: for uy

22/ your Lordship: John Egerton, earl of Bridgwater, lord president of the Council in the Marches 1631–42

partes. Being all of them Combyned & confederated together, And not
 regardinge your *Maiesties* said moste gracious good and wholsome lawes
 statutes & ordynaunces nor fearinge the punishment & penalties thereby
 provided, did of late sithence your highnes moste happie Comeinge vnto the
 ymperiall Crowne of England diuerse and sundry tymes in moste suspicious 5
 disorderly and vnlawfull Manner assemble & meete together at Llanellye
 aforesaid at the howse of one Ienken Hughe (beinge a common Typlinge
 howse or Alehouse, & in other Common Alehouses there (places fitt for *yat*
purpose) And then & there did moste wickedly ympiously and vnlawfully
 consulte, complott conferr & take Councell together how to performe & 10
 acte such strange & vnwonted Accons and exploytes as are seldome seene in
 those *partes* of your highnes dominions, And the better to effect the same
 theire Lewde purposes, They the said david Phillipp Bowen, ffrauncis Elider,
 Iohn Hughe and David Ienkyn *alias* Hobyn, did allsoe of late by faire speeches
 great promisses of rewardes & guiftes, and by diuerse and sundry other vnlawfull 15
 allurementes & corrupt & sinister Meanes drawe & perswade cheifly by
 the vnlawfull mayntenance abbettinge & settinge on of him the said david
 Phillipp Bowen, and by & with the privitie & procurement of them the
 aforesaid Phillipp Bowen Esquier late Iustice of the peace as aforesaid, and
 david Vaughan aforesaid, and Diuerse & sundry others who before *yat* tyme 20
 were good & loyall subiectes vnto your *Maiestie* now to be not onely of their
 said vnlawfull Combynacion & confederacye but allsoe contrarie to their
 duty & allegiance to be ayding & assistinge vnto them the said david Phillipp
 Bowen, ffrauncis Elider, Iohn Hughe & david Ienkyn *alias* Hobyn, in all
 their said vnlawfull accions attemptes owtrages & misdemeanors whatsoever 25
 and to leade & followe moste Disolute & detestable courses of lief as by the
 sequell thereof will more at lardge appere, ffor soe yt is May yt please your
 most excellent *Maiestie* that they the said david Phillipp Bowen, ffrauncis
 Elider, Iohn Hughe, david Ienkyn *alias* Hobyn & their said Complices &
 adherentes beinge soe combyned thinkinge themselves hable ynoughe to 30
 atchive & accomlishe anie vnlawfull accion or attempt whatsoever vtterlye
 forgettinge their duties to your *Maiestie* & nothings at all regardinge
 nor fearinge your highnes said moste good & wholsome lawes statutes &
 ordynaunces did in most ryotous rowtous and vnlawfull Manner vpon or
 about the Even of the ffeast daie of Phellip & Iacobb comonly called May day 35
 in the ffirst yere of your highnes most happy Raigne of England assemble &
 gather them selves together at the howse of him the said david Phillip Bowen
 or in some other howse in the parishe of Llanelly aforesaid & then & there
 Did complott consult & agree together to repair & goe vpon the said ffeast
 day of Phillip & Iacobb in most ryotous rowtous & vnlawfull Manner, and 40

7-8/ (beinge ... Alehouse,: comma used as closing parenthesis

11/ Accons: for Accions; abbreviation mark missing

did accordinglye repaire & goe in such vnlawfull Manner as is aforesaid vnto
 a place called the great mountaine, otherwise p mynnidd Maur to the nomber
 of twenty or fforty persones moste of whose names being yett vnknowne vnto
 your subiect, And therefore he moste humbly prayeth that when they shalbe
 knowne & theire names Discouered he maye incerte them allso into this Bill
 or Informacion all of them armed & arrayed with swordes & bucklers rapiers
 & daggers welsh hookes holbardes lavelinges pikestaves of exceedinge great
 length bowes & arrowes & diuerse & sundry other weapons as well invasive
 as Offensiuie & defensiuie and yat they the said ryotous persones aforenamed
 their Complices & adherentes beinge soe assembled armed & arrayed did in
 & vpon the said first day of May in the said firste year of your highnes said
 happie Raigne of England, at the great mountaine aforesaid otherwise called
 y mynnidd Maur by the direccion comaundement & procurement of him the
 said david Phillip Bowen, Phillip Bowen his ffather and david Vaughan laye
 themselves in Ambushe & waite for one Morgan ap Ieuan of Land Dosaynd
 in the said County yeoman vnto whome the said david Phillipp Bowen was
 then Indebted by obligacion of fforty poundes for the payment of twenty
 poundes, & had trecherouslye sent word vnto him the said Morgan ap Ieuan
 to come yat day vnto a place called Lannon to receive his money of him the
 said david Phillipp Bowen, which he the said david Phillip Bowen made shewe
 that he wold then paye vnto him the said Morgan ap Ieuan, Albeyt yt was
 not then due & payable, willinge him the said Morgan ap Ieuan to bringe his
 bonde allsoe with him to be cancelled vppon the receipt of the said money,
 which to doe he the said Morgan ap Ieuan was moste willinge & redde &
 accordingly in & vpon the said ffeast daie of Phillipp & Iacobbe in the yere
 aforesaid he the said Morgan ap Ieuan verily hopinge to have received his
 said xx^{ty} poundes of the said david Phillip Bowen, He the said Morgan being
 a verie sillie & ynnocente man mynding noe harme or evell towardes anie of
 your Maiesties subiectes, Neither suspectinge nor fearinge anie to be intended
 or meante against him But beinge in godes peace & your Maiesties all alone &
 vnarmed except onely yat one ould man a Neighbour of his who Rode with
 him to beare him Company Came vnto the place aforesaid Where the aforesaid
 ffrauncis Elider Iohn Hughe david Ienkyn alias Hobyn & their complices &
 adherentes by the privitie assent direccion procurement & appointment of him
 the said david Phillipp Bowen, Phillipp Bowen his ffather and david Vaughan
 aforesaid laye in waite & ambushement (as aforesaid for him the said Morgan
 ap Ieuan as he should passe yat waie, And they the said ffrauncis Ellider,
 Iohn Hughe david Ienkyn alias Hobyn as allsoe theire complices & partakers

2/ p: for y (?)

15/ Land Dosaynd: *Llanddeusant, Carmarthenshire*

19/ Lannon: *Llan-non, Carmarthenshire*; 3 minimis for nn in ms

36/ (as aforesaid: closing parenthesis missing)

aforesaid some with swordes & daggers drawn, other with forrest bills welsh
 hookes longe piked staves & other vnlawfull weapons as well invasyve as
 offensive and denfensive as aforesaid by and with the direccion Commaundment
 [and] procurement and privitye of them the said david Phillippe Bowen
 Phillippe Bowen his ffather and david vaghan aforesaid did then and there 5
 without any regarde of your Maiesties lawes in that case made & provided
 in moste furious riottous rowtous feirce and vnlawfull manner laye vyolent
 handes vpon him the said Morgan ap Ievan, whoe being not able to make
 any resistance or defence for himself against such an vnlawfull vnrewlie and
 Ryottous Multitud soe strongelye and vnlawfullie weaponed and appointed 10
 (as aforesaid) was by them the said Riottous Rowtous and vnrewelye multitud
 violentlie and ryottouslye stricken from his horse down to the ground And
 afterwarde they the said Ryottors by the same vnlawfull procurement
 mayntenance abetment anymateinge and settinge on of him the aforesaid
 david Phillippe Bowen the Arche Ryotter & Ringleader of that Ryottous & 15
 Vnrewly Company Phillippe Bowen his ffather and the said david Vaughan
 did most vnlawfullie and contrarye to divers your Maiesties most godlye
 lawes & statutes of this your highnes Realme in that case made & provided
 in most furious, barbarous & outrageous manner sett vpon assault, beate,
 wound hurtt and evell intreat him the said Morgan ap Ievan & put him in 20
 feare & daunger of his lyfe by meanes whereof he the said Morgan ap Ievan
 then having about him not onely the obligacion aforesaid but also divers
 & sundrie other writings deedes & Evidences of great moment which he
 purposed to haue shewed to his learned Counsell att his retorne home after
 he had received his xx li. aforesaid did loose the same obligacion & writings 25
 whereby ys likely to ensue besides of the xxtie poundes aforesaid the vtter
 vndoing and spoile of him the said Morgan ap Ievan his wiefe & Children
 All which was done & effected by them the said ffrancis Elider Iohn Hugh
 david Ienkin alias Hobin ther said Complices & adherentes by & with the
 dyreccion Commaundment procurment & privitye of them the said david 30
 Phillippe Bowen, Phillip Bowen & david Vaughan & of sett purpose as yt may
 be presumed to dispoyle him the said Morgan ap Ieuæn of the said obligacion
 That soe he having not the same to shewe forth for prooffe of his said debt of
 xxtie poundes should vterlye loose the[s] money, And the said Phillippe Bowen
 to gaine the same by such vnlawfull and Indirect practises waies and meanes 35
 contrary to your Maiesties lawes and statutes of this your highnes Realme, And
 moreover for the better and more absolute and true discovery of them the said
 david Phillip Bowen, Phillip Bowen & david Vaughan ffrauncis Elider Iohn
 Hughe, & david Ienkyn & of theire outrageous courses your highnes said
 subiect doth further most truely & humbly enforme your Royall Maiestie yat 40
 before the comittinge of the abouesaid Ryott & outrage vpon & against him

the said Morgan ap Ieuan that is to saie vpon or aboute the Eight daie of
 november in the fower and ffortith yere of the Raigne of our late soueraigne
 Lady Queene Elizabeth, They the said [^]david¹ Phillip Bowen, Phillip Bowen,
 david vaughan, ffrauncis Elider, Iohn Hughe, & david Ienkyn beinge
 grounded in [^]theire¹ [his] mischeyvous plottes vngodlie practizes & vnlawffull 5
 proceedings did of their lewde Ryottous & rebellious disposicion assemble
 vnto them selves one Reece lloyd William Perrett & others of like lewd
 disposicion & most Desperate Behaviour to the nomber of twenty persones
 whome they knowe to be fytt Instrumentes to serve their turne in such
 affaires & accions All of them beinge armed prepared & arrayed with diuers 10
 & sundry warrlike & vnlawfull weapons yat is to saie with bowes & arrowes
 longe pikestaves Iavelinges glayves welshe hookes Axes and hammers & diuers
 other such like warrlike weapons as well inuasive as offensive & defensive
 And beinge soe assembled weaponed & prepared vppon or about the viijth 15
 daie of November in the said fower & fortith yere of the late Quenes Maiesties
 Raigne not Duely regarding your Maiesties moste wholsome lawes &
 ordynaunces made & provided for the Due punishment of Ryottes Rowttes
 vnlawfull assemblies forcibly entries & such like Misdemeanoures Did by
 the instigation procurement & incurragement of them the said david Phillip
 Bowen, Phillip Bowen, and david vaughan, in warrlike manner come 20
 marchinge vnto the dwellinge howse of one Roger Horton an Englishe
 gentleman scituate & beinge in the parishe of Llanelly aforesaid which said
 howse with Certaine landes therevnto belonginge he the said Horton held by
 Lease for diuers yeres then & yett enduringe of the demise & graunt of him
 the said Phillipp Bowen Who at the tyme of the said demise had sufficient & 25
 lawfull power to demise & graunt the same the said Roger Horton then being
 but very late before come owt of England with his wief & nyne smale Children
 there to haue Inhabited & dwelt, And they the said Ryottous persones beinge
 come vnto the said howse did with their said warlike weapons & engins
 aforesaid beginne to assaulte the same & beatinge downe & spoylinge the glace 30
 wyndowes with their longe staves did allsoe at lenthth with great violence
 & owtrage break open the doores of the same howse and after they had soe
 forced and broken open the doores & spoyled the glasse wyndowes did in
 moste furious & outragious manner with their weapons in their handes enter
 into the said howse of the said Roger Horton, he himselfe not beinge within 35
 in the same tyme nor anie other person or persones (savage the wief of him
 the said Roger with her said nyne Children who beinge a very tymerous woman
 & but a stranger in the Country & not knowinge anie iust Cause why anie

1-3/ Eight daie ... Elizabeth: 8 November 1602

18/ forcibly: *for* forcible

p 96, l.36-p 97, l.3/ (savage the wief ... lief,: comma used as closing parenthesis

38/ why: h corrected over y

such forcible ryotous & vnlawfull attempt should be made at or against her
 & her said howse was soe affrighted & terrified therewith, yat yt had almost
 lost her her lief, And soe much the rather because the said Ryottours soe soone
 as they were entered did laye violent handes vpon her & her said Children &
 vpon her & them did make a very fearce assault & affray gevinge them diuers 5
 & sundry stripes & blowes vpon diuers *partes* of their bodyes to the effusion
 of their blood By Reason whereof she & her said Children did longe tyme
 after languishe & were in great *perill* of their liues, And the more to aggravate
 their greefes did without anie Compassion or pittye thrust her & them all out
 of doores (to speake with reverence) naked. And whereas there were the same 10
 tyme diuers goodes howshoulde stuffe & ymplementes in the said howse, &
 certaine corne in the barne, beinge the goodes of him the said Roger Horton
 to the value of one hundred poundes at the leaste, they the said Ryottours did
 vnlawfullie take & Carrie awaie the said goodes howshoulde stuffe implementes
 & Corne & haue Ryottouslye converted the same to there owne proper vse & 15
 vses, & afterwarde being possessed of the keyes of the howse & barne they
 the said ryotous *persones* did locke vpp all the doores & ever since haue by
 force [^]violence[^] & wronge kept the same in their or some of their handes &
 possession without anie Right or coullour of right soe to doe the said Roger
 Horton then havinge a lawfull & sufficient estate by lease therein formerly 20
 made [^]& graunted[^] as aforesaid noe man in all those *partes* darringe to
 controyle or speake against yt for feare of their lief or greater displeasure &
 mischief to be wrought against him or them by the said david Phillip Bowen,
 & his said Complices & adherentes who liue more like vnto desperate owtlawes
 & Rebels then loyall & obedient subiectes puttinge all & every your *Maiesties* 25
 good & loving subiectes in these *partes* which either knowe them or heare
 of their said violent attemptes & outrages into Mortall feare of them to the
 vnspeakable disturbance of all the Country thereabouts, And further sheweth
 vnto & most humbly informeth your Royall *Maiestie* your highnes said loyall
 subiect that they the said david Phillipp Bowen, david Vaughan, ffrauncis 30
 Elider, Iohn Hughe, david Ienkyn *alias* Hobyn, Rees lloyd, William Perrett &
 their said Complices & adherentes by like vnlawfull meanes faire & flatteringe
 speeches great *promisses* of riche Rewardes and guiftes, And by diuers &
 sundry other lewde allurementes & sinister *provocacions* did in or aboute the 35
 beginninge of your highnes said happie Raigne of England vizt. betwene the
 tyme of the decease of our late & most gracious soueraigne Ladye Queene
 Elizabeth & your highnes most happie Coronacion (a tyme most dangerous &
 perillous & most fytt for mutenous *persones* & irregular Ryottours to opperate
 their vnlawfull devises) drawe & intice vnto their said vnlawfull Combynacion
 and Confederacie one william Vaughan, Thomas Vaughan, Hughe Rytherche 40
 Thomas Hughe, Iohn ap Iohn Richard, david Hughe, Morgan vaughan, Iohn

ap Ieuan Meredith, david Iohn, william Morgan, Iohn Morgan david, david
 Kozer, Owen Morgan, david Robertes, and diuerse other lewde desperate &
 disolute persons to the number of thirtie persones or aboute whose names are
 as yeat vnknowne vnto your subiect, And therefore he most humbly prayeth
 that when their names shalbe knowne vnto him he maie incerte them all soe
 into this present Bill or informacion & make them parties therevnto & serve
 proces against them, And they the said Phillipe Bowen, david Phillip Bowen,
 ffrauncis Elider, Iohn Hughe, David Ienkyn *alias* Hobyn, Rees lloyd william
 Parrett, david Vaughan, [^]Thomas Vaughan¹ Hughe Ritherche, Thomas
 Hughe, Iohn ap Iohn Richard, david Hughe, Morgan vaghan, Iohn ap Ieuan
 ap Meredith, david Iohn, William Morgan, Iohn Morgan, David David Kozer,
 Owen Morgan, david Robertes & their said complices & adherentes soe beinge
 Combyned & confederated together as aforesaid being all of them therstie
 of the blood of one Mo^rris Gwyn gentleman then beinge Collector of the
 customes for the late Quenes *Maiesties* within the Porte of Borye in the said
 County of Carmarthen, which is nowe your *Maiesties* porte, and the customes
 there accrewing are nowe belonging vnto your Royall *Maiestie* not regardinge
 the daunger and penaltye of your highnes good & godlie lawes & statutes made
 & provided for the due punishment of such Ryotous, routous, and vnlawfull
 assemblies Insurreccions Mutynies, tumultes faccions conspiracies complotes
 Combynacions, confederacies, Outrages and misdemeanoures did in or about
 the beginning of your *Maiesties* most happie Raigne of England ffraunce &
 Ireland viz. after the decease of our said late moste gracious soueraigne Ladie
 Quene Elizabeth & before your highnes most happie & Ioyfull coronacion,
 conspire, complott and practise not onely the vtter distruccion & confusion
 of him the said Morrice Gwynne & his worldlie goodes & substance But allso
 to the cuttinge of perill, [^]&¹ daunger of his body & person That is to saie by
 yat devysing framminge, writing & sending moste faulse sedycious & pernicious
 lettres against him the said Morryce Gwyne vnto Sir Iohn vaghan knight then
 & yet one of your *Maiesties* Iustices within the [^]said¹ County of Carmarthen
 thereby moste vntrulye suggesting that the [^]said¹ Morryce Gwyne was the
 same tyme vp in Rebellyon with th[e]ree hundred armed men att the least
 following him murthering Robbing & burninge in all places of the Country
 wheresoeuer they came And therefore earnestly requyred him the said Sir Iohn
 vaghan by their said lettres to levye & cause a stronger power & force of
 armed men to suppress the said Morrice Gwyn & his sade supposed followers
 By reason of which seditious & moste daungerous lettres by the said lewd
 persons & malefactors devised, written divulged & sent vnto the said Sir Iohn
 vaghan knight who verely thought yt had bene soe indeed And making
 preparacion (as in duety to him belonged to doe to have suppressed the said

11/ Iohn Morgan, David: *for* Iohn Morgan David,
 15/ *Maiesties*: *for* *Maiestie*

15/ Porte of Borye: *Burry Port, Carmarthenshire*
 40/ (as in ... doe: *closing parenthesis omitted*

supposed Rebelles did write his *lettres* to diuers other Iustices of the peace &
 others of note & accompte in those *partes* aduertising them of the said newes,
 whoe also preparing to suppress the said supposed Rebelles all *your Maiesties*
 good and loving subiectes thereaboutes hearing thereof were soe quayed &
 euery one [^]putt into such exceeding great feare & terror that for a long while 5
 after they were amazed & sore trobled vexed & perplexed, not knowing what
 to doe fearing the said supposed forged & faulse bruted newes to be true And
 ffurther sheweth & informeth *your Royall Maiestie your highnes* said most
 faythfull & obedient subiect that the [^]said Phillip Bowen, david vaughan,
 david Phillyp Bowen, Thomas vaughan, hugh Rotherche, Thomas Hughes & 10
 one Iohn ap Iohn Richard whoe came afterwarde to there said Combinacion
 confideracie, & adherence Iohn ap Ieuan Meridith with all the residue
 abouenamed still contynewing & *persisting* in there said Outrages, Ryottes
 Routes, & Rebellious *proceeding* & Malitious practises did vppon or aboute the
 tenth Day of Aprill in the said first yere of *your highnes* Most happie Raigne 15
 of England ffraunce & Ireland procure the said william vaughan one of there
 said Complices & adherentes to send a challenge vnto him, the aforenamed
 Morrice Gwyn darrin & *provoking* him with many vrgentt and pressing
 speeches to meet him the said william vaughan att a place called (*blank*) in
 the said county of Carmarthen, then theire full purpose & intent being 20
 to haue slayne & murdered him the said Morryce Gwyn yf he had come
 accordingly *which* also they had most bloodely effected, had not the said
 Morrice Gwyn by his good *providence* prevented ytt And *your highnes* said
 loyall subiectt doth also moste humblie and truely shew vnto & enfourme
your Royall Maiestie that the said Phillip Bowen besides all other his lewd 25
partes before mentioned ys also himself of a most lascyviuous lyfe & whilst
 he was a Iustice of peace maintayned brothelrye and whordome to the high
 displeasere of Almighty god the wylfull breach and contempt of *your Maiesties*
 lawes & the ouermuche annoyance of the Country with bastardye And ffurther
 may yt please *your* gracious *Maiestie* the said Phillip Bowen & all & euery 30
 the malefactours aboue named his complices & adherentes making noe
 Conscience to prophane and abuse the said Temple of god & howse of prayer
 He the said Phillippe Bowen beinge Cheiftaine and Ringleader vnto all the
 reste coulde not be satisfied onelye with Causinge a moste profaine and
 scurrulous stage playe to be acted and played vpon or aboute the twentieth 35
 daye of Maye laste within the perishe Church of Llanelly aforesaid to the
 great dishonor of god the prophayninge of his Temple the breache of
your Maiesties lawes and the greevous offence of manye trewe Christian
 protestantes and loyall Subiectes vnto Your *Maiestie* but allsoe fyndinge the
 same tyme one Hughe Iohn ap Ieuan Thomas of (*blank*) aforesaid a verye 40
 aged and devoute man kneelinge in his seate or pue within the said Church of

Llanellye aforesaid and sayinge his prayeres in the said Church ^{he} [where] the said Phillipp Bowen approchinge neere vnto him verye ympiously comaunded him the said Hughe Iohn ap Ieuā Thomas, to arise and gett him gone owt of his said pewe or seate and likewise out of the Churche as though he the said Phillipp Bowen had had the sole goverment and commaund of him the said Hughe within the said Church, but the said poore harmeles and well mynded ould man beinge verye loath to be disturbed and moste vnwillinge to Departe the Churche Consideringe that he was not anie waie offensiuē vnto anie Man (as he thought) Soe yt is most dreed and gracious soueraigne that he the said Phillipp Bowen and the said david Hughe, not respectinge your *Maiesties* moste wholsome lawes and statutes of this your highnes Realme in that case made and provided nor regardinge Christianity devine service of prayer, Did then and there in moste ryottous routtous and outrageous manner And contrary to your highnes lawes and statutes in that case made and provided laye violent handes vpon him the said Hughe Iohn ap Ieuā Thomas, and then and there in the said Church Did beate hurte & wound him the said Hugh drawinge bloode vpon him and by force & stronge hand pulled & hayled him owt of his said pew, And afterwarde in most barbarous & savage Manner Dragged him by the heeles out of the said Church into the street havinge to their ayde in that behalfe them the said david Vaughan Iohn ap Iohn Richard, william Vaughan, Hughe Rotherche, Thomas Hughe, and others to the number of Thirtie persones whose names your subiect Doth not yett knowe, But most humbly prayeth that their names allsoe maie be incerted into this present Bill or Informacion, And the said ryottous persones maie be made parties therevnto when their names shalbe knowne and proces awarded against them, And further sheweth and informeth your Royall Maiestie your highnes said faithfull subiect that they the said Phillip Bowen, david Vaughan, Hughe Rotherche, william vaughan, Thomas Hughe, Thomas Vaughan, Iohn ap Iohn Richard, david Hughe, Morgan Vaughan, Iohn ap Ieuā Meredeth, and David Iohn, and diuers other their Complices and adherentes combyninge and confederatinge them selves together with one david ap Richard, a fitt Man to be made an Instrument whereby to putt in practise their longe intended purpose bearinge a deadlye malice and an inveterate grudge to and against one william Powell the yonger of (*blank*) in the County of Carmerthen within the lordshipp of Kydwellye beinge but a verye youthe of the age of twentye yeres or thereabouts. did vpon or aboute the tenth daie of Aprill nowe laste paste vnlawfully (contrarye to your highnes moste gracious lawes and statutes in that Case made and provided) Cause and procure him the said david ap Richard beinge armed weaponed and ffurnished with a sword and a dagger and they ^{the} last aboue named ryotous persons beinge in like manner armed and prepared with diuers and sundry weapons vizt. swordes & daggers drawne long pike staves, welch hookes, pitch forkes, bills, glaves, and such like weapons standinge by and abettinge him the said David ap Richard in most riotous

rowtous feirce and outrageous maner, at or abowt the tyme aforesaid, he the
said david ap Richard did then and there make a verye daungerous fearefull
and distemperate assalt and affraye vpon him the said william Powell the
yonger soe feircelie and violentlie assaltinge him that yf he had not betaken
himself into the howe of one Thomas Ienkyn of Llanellye aforesaid he the 5
said david ap Richard their Champion had vndowtedlye slaine him the said
william Powell in the streetes and after such time as he the said william Powell
had taken the howse of him the said Thomas Ienkin he the said david ap
Richard did by the abbettment procurement & encouragement of them the
said david Phillipp Bowen, Phillip Bowen, david vaghan, hugh Rotherche, 10
william vaghan, Thomas Hughe, Thomas vaghan, Iohn ap Iohn Richard,
david Hughe, Iohn ap Ieuan Meredeth, & david Iohn & others their complices
& adherentes so ferceley & vncessantly pursue him the said william Powell
the yonger that if rescue had not come to him in due tyme the said david ap
Richard had slaine & murdered him the said william Powell the yonger in 15
the house of the said thomas Ienkyn in llanellye aforesaid where one Thomas
david of the same Towne being was in the rescuing of him the said william
Powell moste greuously & dangerously hurte & wounded and whilest he
indeuored then and there to see your Maiesties peace preserved was putt in
great perell & likely to haue ben murdered amongst them the said ryotours 20
& their said adherentes, And further sheweth vnto & informeth your Royall
Maiestie your highnes said faithfull subiectt That whearas the aforementioned
Iohn ap Richard being a fellow of a swaggeringe Conversacion being vpon or
aboutes the (*blank*) day of (*blank*) in the Church & churchyard of Llanelly
aforesaid not regarding the great & greivous punishmentes ordeined for such 25
willfull infringers & vyolatours of your Maiesties lawes and statutes & the
sharpe & severe punishment thereby ordeined for fighting brawling & stryking
in the Church & Churchyard did most outragiouslye & prophanely assault
strike & verie daungerouslye hurt one william david Meredith of the same
parishe yeoman not onely to the effusion & shedding of his blodd in the said 30
Church & church yeard of Llanelly aforesaid But also the great hazard and
perill of his lyfe whoe by reason of the hurts & woundes by the said Iohn
ap Iohn Richard then and their given him did lye languishinge vnder the
Chirurgions handes many dayes after without all hope of lief & recouery &
as yet lyeth languishing & fearth he shall never be his owne man againe his 35
greefe & paine of the said hurtes & woundes are so great & incurable All &
everye of which said Ryottes routtes vnlawfull assembles, assaultes, affrayes,
forcible entries combynacions conspiracies confederacies vndue practizes
outrages mutines misdemeanours & offences beinge contrary to your Maiesties
most wholsome lawes & statutes of this your highnes dominion & Realme 40

5/ howe: *for* howse23/ Iohn ap Richard: *for* Iohn ap Iohn Richard

^Λ& committed against your *Maiesties* peace lawes & statutes doe deserve
 extreame & sha^rpe punishment & speedy censure & reformation, And if
 the same should escape with ympunitye then the Malefactours aforesaid
 & others of like lewde disposicon wold be soe ymbouldened in their
 intollerable insolencies & most ryotous rowtes & vnlawfull proceedinge &
 wold geve to such an invincible strenghe & high[e]t as wold verie hardlye be
 subdued or reformed, And your *Maiesties* lawes & statutes made of noe respect
 or moment ffor due & speedye reformation whereof & for the advancement
 of right & Iustice & the subdueinge of wronge oppressions & insolences the
 punishment of such enormous offences & transgressions of your *Maiesties* lawes
 & statutes and to the end that all your *Maiesties* good and loyall subiectes in
 these partes Maye hereafter liue in peace & safetie free from all & all manner
 such like vnlawfull & dangerous attemptes, And for as much as all these
 offences & misdemeanours aforesaid were don and committed since your
Maiesties laste gracious generall & free pardon or ells are excepted out of the
 same & not comprised therein; Maye yt please your most excellent *Maiestie*
 the premisses duely considered to vouch safe that your *Maiesties* most gracious
 writt & writtes of subpena maye be awarded vnto and againste them the said
 david Phillip Bowen, ffrauncis Elider, Iohn Hughe, david Ienkyn, alias Hobyn,
 Phillipp Bowen, Esquier, Rice Lloyd, william Parrett, william vaughan,
 Thomas vaughan, hughe Rytherche, Thomas Hughe, Iohn ap Iohn Richard,
 david Hughe, Morgan vaughan, Iohn ap Ieuan Meredeth, david Iohn,
 william Morgan, Iohn Morgan, david vaughan, david Meredeth Kozer, David
 ap Richard, Owen Morgan, Iohn Hughe, david Robartes and all other there
 Complices and adherentes as they or anie of their names shall or Maie
 be discovered and knowne thereby comaunding them and everye of them
 at a Certaine daie and vnder a Certaine paine therein to be lymitted and
 appointed personallie to appeare and be before your Royall *Maiestie* & the
 lordes & others of your highnes most honourable privie Counsell in your
Maiesties most highe & honourable Court of Starrchamber at Westminster then
 & there to answer to the premisses vpon their & euery of their corporall
 oath and oathes and further to stand vnto &c./

Interrogatories for Defendants in Vaughan v. Bowen et al

TNA: PRO STAC 8/287/22

sheet 19

...

- 21 Item were nott yow privye vnto, presente at, or Aydinge or Assistinge, either
 vnto the Actinge playinge, & shewing of a prophane & scurrilous Stageplay
 or Interlude in the parishe Church of Llannelly aforesaid vppon or ^Λabout

4/ disposicon: for disposicion; abbreviation mark missing

6/ strenghe: for strengthe

the xxth day of May now last past Or with the Assaulting and Laying violent handes vpon one¹ Hugh Iohn ap Ieuan Thomas an aged man, in the said Church, about the same tyme as he was devoutly praying in the said Church, or vnto the beatinge woundinge hurtinge or Evill intreatinge him in the said Church, Or to the Drawing of blood vppon him, Or vnto the pullinge & hayleinge him out of his seat or pugh in the said Church, or to the dragginge [^]of the said Hugh¹ out of the said [^][Hugh]¹ Church by the [said] heeles, or in any other manner and who ells of your Complices & Adherentes, or other were then & there presente, And did see the manner of the [saye] said proceedings in the said Church the same tyme./

...

Examinations of Defendants in Vaughan v. Bowen et al

TNA: PRO STAC 8/287/22

sheet 4 (3 December) (*Examination of David Philip Bowen*)

To the xxth Interrogatory he saithe that he this defendant was nott present att privie, aydinge or assistinge to anie such matters as in this Interrogatory [^]are mencioned¹ [is supposed] as is supposed And further to this Interrogatory he cannott certainlie depose/

...

sheet 6v (*Examination of Thomas Hughe*)

To the xxth Interrogatory this defendant saith that he was [^]not the tyme in this Interrogatory mencioned¹ [never] privy vnto, presente at, or ayding, or assisting either vnto the actinge, playing or shewing of any [such] Stageplay, or Interlude, in the parishe Church of Llanelly, as is mencioned & supposed in this Interrogatory Neyther knoweth any thing of the supposed Riott in this Interrogatory mencioned, to be made & committed vpon Hugh Iohn ap Ieuan Thomas in this Interrogatory mencioned, As is supposed in this Interrogatory and more or otherwise to this Interrogatory this defendant answereth not/

...

sheets 7v–8 (5 December) (*Examination of Hugh Rotherche*)

...

To the xxth Interrogatory he saithe that he this defendant was nott present att privie aydinge or assistinge either vnto the actinge, playinge or shewinge of anie prophane or scurrilous Stageplay or Interlude in the parishe Churche of Llannelly vppon or about the tyme in the Interrogatory mencioned.

Neither was this *defendant* privie, present att, aydinge or assistinge to anie assaultinge or layinge of anie violent handes vpon | Hughe Iohn ap Ieuan Thomas att anie tyme as is also supposed, neither was this *defendant* present att privie or consentinge to the beatinge hurtinge [or] woundinge or evill entreatinge of him as ys [likest] likewise supposed. And further to this 5
Interrogatory he cannot certainlie depose/
...

Defendants' Answer in Vaughan v. Bowen et al TNA: PRO STAC 8/287/22
sheet 20

10

Iurata 26 Novembris Anno 2^o Iacobi Regis

(signed) William M

The ioynct and seuerall aunsweares of David Vaughan gentleman
David Phillipp Bowen gentleman Hughe Retherghe and Thomas 15
Hughe fower of the deffendauntes to the sclaunderous and vntrue

Informacion of Iohn Vaughan Informer.

The said defendauntes saving to themselves now and at all tymes hereafter all advauntages and benifit of excepcion to the incertaynties and insufficiencies of the said Informacion And by protestacion not confessinge or acknowledgeinge 20
anye the *surmized* matters in the said Informacion conteyned Concerninge them to be true in [^][such] manner and fourme as is therein vntrulye set fourthe and suggested. ffor aunsweare therevnto they sayen that they are verelye *perswaded* and do thinke that this Informacion is preferred against them raither of mallice and euill will then for any iust cause And yat the 25
same Informacion as they verely thinke is prosecuted by one william Powell Esquier in the said Informers name whome theise *defendants* doe not knowe nor can Learne where to finde which they humbly prayen maye be Considered [^][by this honourable Courte] And for further aunsweare to the said Informacion the said *defendants* sayen and euerye of them for 30
himselfe seuerallye sayeth As to all & euerye the Riottes Rowtes vnlawfull assemblies Assaultes affrayes fforcible entres Combynacions or Conspiracies Confederacyes vndue practizes owtrages mutinies misdemeanours and [^][other] offences in the said Informacion conteyned wherewith these 35
defendants are anye waies Chardged materiall for them to aunsweare vnto and examinable in this most honourable Courte That they and euerye of them are not and is not thereof guilty in manner and fourme as in the said Informacion is *surmized* All which matters the said *defendants* are ready to auerre & prooue as this most honourable Courte shall award And prayen to be dismyssed out of the same with their reasonable Costes and Chardges 40
herein wrongfully susteyned

(signed) Barnewell

1604/5

Defendants' Answer in Vaughan v. Bowen et al TNA: PRO STAC 8/287/22
sheet 24

Iurata xviii^o die Ianuarij 1604. Coram Willelmo Davies et Iohanne lloyd 5
Armigeris Comissionariis/

The ioynt and seuerall Aunswearers of Phellipp Bowen esquier
william vaughan and Thomas vaughan gentlemen *defendants*
to the Bill of Complaint of Iohn vaughan *Complainant*. 10

The said *defendants* and euery of them havinge to them and euery of them
now and at all tymes hereafter all benefitt of excepcions to the incertenty and
insufficiencie of the said Bill saved and allowed for their *partes* to as much
of the said Bill of Complaint as concerneth them saien & euery of them saith 15
that they are not, nor that any of them is, of the Riottes, Routtes, vnlawfull
assemblies, assaltes, affraies, forcible entries, Combynacions, Conspiracies,
confederacies, vndue practizes outrages, Mutines misdemenors and offences
in the said [s] Bill most vntrulie and slanderouslie alledged, nor of any of
them in any wiese guiltie [^]in manner & forme as in the said bill of Complaint 20
[of] is most vntrulie *surmised*¹ which they humblie praien and every of them
praieith may be considered, And that they and euery of them and the matters
in the said frivolous & vntrue Bill of Complaint contayned, may be out of
this honorable Corte dismissed with their reasonable costes & Chardges in
that behalf most Wrongfully susteyned/// 25

DENBIGHSHIRE/SIR DDINBYCH

County

30

1545/6

Gruffudd Hiraethog's Bardic Licence NLW: Peniarth MS 194A
single sheet*

Bid hysbyssol i bawb o voneddigion a chyffredin o vewn siroedd a thaleithiav 35
kymrv yn bod ni siams vychan ysgwier Hvw [d]ap davydd ap lewys ysgwier
lewys morgannwc penkerdd ac athro kerdd dafawd o vewn siroedd a
thaleithiev kymrv trwy rym komisiwn gras y brenin harri wythfed or henw
brenin lloegr ffreingk ac ewerddon amddiffynnawdr y ffydd penn gorvchel
[(>)] ar y ddaear tann dduw Eglwys loegr ac ewerddon y ddwyfed vlwyddyn ar 40
bymthec ar hugin oy deyrnasad y ras ef Yr ym ni trwy rym yr vn komisiwn
y rai sy vry nid amgen siams vychan ysgwier hvw davydd ap lewys ysgwier

lewys morgannwc penkerdd ac athro kerdd tafawd Yd ym ni trwy awdurdod
athrawon a hen bennkeirddiaid [or blaen] eraill or blaen [Yr ym ni] yn
tystiolaethv yv ¹vod¹ gruffudd hiraethawc [dis] prydydd disgybl y lewys
morgannwc Yr ym ni wrth rym yr vn komisiwn yn tystiolaethv wrth ystatvd
twysogion kymrv ymhvn llyfyr kerddwriaeth kelfyddyd kerdd dafod y vod ef
yn abl diddiffic y gael gradd disgybl pennkeirddiaidd y [gael] gerdded y gael
ac y ovyn ac y gymeryd Roddion ac o ewyllys da boneddigion a chyffredin
val y perthyno y radd disgybl pennkeirddieidd y gaff<..> da. yn dystiolaeth
ar hynny yr ym ni yn rroddi yn dwylaw yn hvn yn ysgrivennedic ann selav
A duw a gattwo gras yn brenin amen amen amen

(signed) Iames Vaughan (signed) Hugh Lewis (signed) myvi lewys
morgannwc

1553

List of Vagabonds NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/1/2/36
single sheet*

vakabondes [cal] cawll yng them selyffes mystrelles

Robert grythor of Denbyght
Robyn tvdvr fedler
Iohn Rychart harper
Iohn hvdoll fedler
Ieuan brydydd going abowtt[es] with [ahap] aharpe
Robert eirlond harper
dauyd llwyd o harnot ffedler
Iohn sink
dauyd [dabe] talyer danser
Rychart grydd
Rychart brydydd brith
thomas tyve
Roger ap Ieuan glyn talyer
wylliam grythor
wylliam bedo
thomas ap Res thomas

c 1600

Rhys Cain's Cwrs Clera Accounts NLW: Peniarth MS 178 pt ii
pp 56–62*

o ddie nadolic hyd vyned oi gartref ddusul wedi
ystwyll ynghylch

xxvi ¹s. viij d.

ffrankyn	i s. vj d.
herdwic	ij s.
llys vassi	ij s. vj d.
midlet[⟨.⟩] _Λ ¹ o ¹ n	i s. iiij d.
mr Thelwal	ij s. 5
mr Turbigie	ij s.
Richard ap Iohn ap hari	i s. vj d.
Owen llwyd	viiiij d.
2 bunt a 3 kenioc	
sir Robert S.	v s. 10
Arglwyddes llwyd	iiij s.
Iohn wynn ffowk	ij s.
Richard Parri	ij s. l
llaweni	vj s.
mr dean	ij s. vj d. 15
3 punt a 9 kenioc	
mr smyth	vj d.
mr Conwy	ij s.
Arglwydd Esgob	iiiij s.
mr morgan	i s. 20
mostyn	iiij s.
maesglas	ij s.
kaerwys	ij s.
skeifioc	i s.
gwisane	i s. 25
hersedd	i s.
y plas tec	i s.
mistres _Λ ¹ pari ¹	i s.
4 p _Λ ¹ unt ¹ a 3 kenioc	
bwras	iiij s. iiiij d. 30
Riwabon	ij s.
bodylling	i s.

1/ ffrankyn: likely Welsh Frankton, Shropshire

2/ herdwic: Erddig, tref in the parish of Gresford, Denbighshire

3/ llys vassi: Llysfasi, manor in the parish of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, Denbighshire

14/ llaweni: Lleweni, manor in the parish of Henllan, Denbighshire; home of the Salusbury family

22/ maesglas: Greenfield/Maes-glas, tref in the parish of Holywell, Flintshire

23/ kaerwys: Caerwys, Flintshire

24/ skeifioc: Ysgeifiog, Flintshire

25/ gwisane: Guysane, tref in the parish of Mold, Flintshire

26/ hersedd: Hersedd, tref in the parish of Mold, Flintshire

30/ bwras: Borrass Hall in the parish of Gresford, Denbighshire; seat of the Brereton family

31/ Riwabon: Rhiwabon, Denbighshire

32/ bodylling: Bodylling, tref in the parish of Rhiwabon, Denbighshire

Roger Evtyn	i s. l
llann silin	v s.
Richard wynn	ij s.
A hefyd	vj d.
mr owen vachan	ij s. vj d. 5
Iohn wynn ap huw	iiij s.
5 pvnt a 7 genioc	
llann y menych	v s. vj d.
llannerch emrys	ij [^] s. [^] vj d.
gruffudd ap Reinald	i s. 10
Trevor	i s.
Ial	v s.
gwerkles	ij s.
Riwlas	v s.
6 pvnt a 7 genioc	15
huw owen	ij s.
Iohn vachan o gaergai	ij s.
Rhiwaedoc	ij s.
krogen	i s. l
llwyn y maen	ij s. 20
mortyn	i s.
y drewen	i s. vj d.
grawys	
R<..> [^] ob [^] ert owen	i s.
hanmer	i s. 25
brochdyn	v s.
william Iohnes	xxxx s.
Alrre	ij s.
mr hanmer	v s.
mr william lloyd	iiij s. 30
mr Iohnes	i s.

2/ llann silin: *Llansilin, Denbighshire*8/ llann y menych: *Llanymynech, Shropshire, on the border with Montgomeryshire*9/ llannerch emrys: *manor in the parish of Trefnant, Denbighshire*12/ Ial: *the commote of Yale, Denbighshire*13/ gwerkles: *Gwerclas, Merioneth*14/ Riwlas: *Rhiw-las, Denbighshire*17/ gaergai: *Caer-gai, Merioneth*18/ Rhiwaedoc: *Rhiwedog, Lloyd family manor in the parish of Llanfor, Merioneth*19/ krogen: *Crogen, Merioneth*21/ mortyn: *Morton, village in the parish of Oswestry, Shropshire*22/ y drewen: *Y Dre-wen/Whittington, Shropshire*26/ brochdyn: *Broughton, Flintshire*28/ Alrre: *Alhre, tref in the parish of Bangor Is-coed, Flintshire*30-1/ mr william ... i s.: *a box is drawn around these entries*

9 p ^{vnt} a 10 swllt kyn y pasc	
pasc. [y ber (...)]	
Pedair p ^{vnt} onid 4 s.	
kymer mr <i>william</i> lloyd a mr Iohns iw gorffe(.)	
am bedair p ^{vnt} / vnion	5
Tr ³ f y fillgr ³	i s.
Dre kalanmai	v s.
mr hanmer	ii s.
y kwbl yw pedair p ^{vnt} a (...) [onid 4] swllt. l	
Pant y Bwrsle	ij s. vj d. 10
mr hanmer	ij s.
Eglwysec	x s.
Mr Edward prys	ij s.
Thomas ap Iohn o Lannymenydh	i s.
dim y Sulgwyn	15
Tref Alvn	ij s. vj d.
llannddyn	ij s.
Die gwyl dduw	ij s. iij d.
xv p ^{vnt} a 3 kenioch	
Gwyl vylling	iiij s. 20
Treflech	i s.
Devddwr	i s.
llann Rayadr	ii s. vj d.
llann wddyn	vij s. vj d.
Di ^[e] gwyl drunio	vij s. vj d. 25
llann Rayadr	ij s. viij d.
15 p ^{vnt} onid keinioc	
Richard derwas	j s. vj d.
ty barbara	viii s. d. l
[Emanûel]	30
Mab Rondol lloyd	ij s. vj d.
[mab Elis ap kadr	viii s.]
Owen Elis o'r ysgol	x s.

6/ Tr³f y fillgr³: *Trefeglwys, Montgomeryshire (?)*10/ Pant y Bwrsle: *farm in parish of Dudleston, Shropshire*12/ Eglwysec: *Eglwyseg, tref in parish of Llangollen, Denbighshire*16/ Tref Alvn: *Allington/Trefalun, Denbighshire*17/ llannddyn: *Llandynnann, Denbighshire*19/ xv ... kenioch: *in the same hand, but a different pen and ink*21/ Treflech i s.: *in the same hand, but a different pen and ink*21/ Treflech: *tref in parish of Llansannan, Denbighshire*22/ Devddwr: *Deuddwr, Montgomeryshire*24/ llann wddyn: *Llanwddyn, Montgomeryshire*

Sir Richard Trevor	x s.
William lloyd Brondl	x s.
huw Roberts	ij s.
gwestyn	vij s.
y Waun issaf	ij s. 5
deunaw pvnt	
llann gollen	ij s. iiij d.
llann gadr	ij s. vj d.
midylltyn	i s.
Brynn kvnallt	ij s. 10
dudlust	vj d.
Iohn lloyd	xx s.
morgan Brochdvn	xx s.
Robert	vj s.
priodas ym hentresianyn	i s. 15
pw y sy<...> 20 pvnt	
pw y <...> 12 .s. onid y l	
Emral	x s.
halchdvn ymhlwy'r wavn	j s. vj d.
lloran priodas	ij s. vj d. 20
Die gwyl Vihangel ^'ym mlowel'	i s.
yn llwydiarth ddie sul	ij s.
mortvn priodas	i s.
Ty Ann staney gan Robert lloyd	i s.
mr Hanmer	vj s. 25
marchwiail	xx s.
Gwreksam	i s.
ffelltyn	ij s. vj d.
Ty Edward Maswn	viiij d.
	23 pvnt a [ij s.] 30
	ij s. vj d.

4/ gwestyn: *Weston Madog, tref in the parish of Churchstoke, Montgomeryshire*

5/ y Waun issaf: *Lower Chirk, Denbighshire*

7/ llann gollen: *Llangollen, Denbighshire*

8/ llann gadr: *for llan gadwaladr (abbreviation mark missing); Llangadwaladr, Denbighshire*

11/ dudlust: *probably Dudleston, Shropshire*

15/ hentresianyn: *Hendregeginan, tref in the parish of Chirk, Denbighshire*

16/ 20 pvnt: *in the same hand, but a different pen and ink*

17/ 12 ... y: *in the same hand, but a different pen and ink*

18/ Emral: *manor in the parish of Worthenbury, Flintshire; seat of Sir Roger Puleston (d. 1618)*

19/ wavn: *Chirk, Denbighshire*

20/ lloran: *tref in parish of Llansilin, Denbighshire*

22/ llwydiarth: *Llwydiarth, manor in the parish of Llanfihangel-yng-Ngwynfa, Montgomeryshire; seat of the Vaughan family*

26/ marchwiail: *Marchwiail, Denbighshire*

27/ Gwreksam: *Wrexham, Denbighshire*

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

ABENBURY

1597

5

Defendant's Examination in Rogers v. David ap Roger et al

TNA: PRO STAC 5/R21/7 item [1]

See Llwyn-on 1597

10

ABERGELE

1580/1

Bonds and Licences to Keep an Alehouse

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/6/1/61

15

single sheet* (27 January)

Sessions of oyer and terminer held at Llanefydd before Fulk Lloyd and Piers Owen, JPs

...

20

Iohn ap Madog
Abergly

Memorandum Quod die et Anno predictis venerunt coram nobis Iusticiarijs supranominatis Iohanes ap Ithell de Abergeley in comitatu denbigh yoman et Griffinus ap Robert de eadem in comitatu predicto yoman et Manuceperunt pro Iohane ap Madog de Abergely predicta in comitatu predicto yoman sub pena xl li. quas recognouerunt se debere domine Regine et de bonis & Catallis terris & Tenementis suis ad opus & vsum dicte Domine Regine Levandas viz. vterque manucaptorum predictorum manucepit pro eodem Iohane ap Madoge sub pena x li. et predictus Iohanes ap Madog pro seipso sub pena xx li. si idem Iohanes ap Madog deficiet in aliqua parte Concionis subsequentis viz.

25

The condicion of this Recognizaunce is suche that if the abouebounden Iohann ap madoge beinge Licensed aucthorized admitted & allowed by the Iustices of the peace above named to keepe an alehouse or a Tipplinge house in the parishe of Abergely [ab(..)] afforsaid yf therefore the said Iohn ap madoge shall & will at all tyme & tymes hereafter duringe suche tymes as he shalbe thervnto admitted keepe maynteigne & behave himself in his said houese honestlie & quietlie & nott vse nor suffer to be occupied or vsed in his said Alehouse or victualinge [^]house[^] anie kynde or maner of vnlawfull games nor loadge or maynteigne anie eidell or vagrant person or persones suspected of anie Crime or faulte neither keepe anie Ale or victuale in his said house at anie tyme within thrie daies nexte before anie wacke daies vsed or kept in his said parishe or also keepe anie Ale or victuale in his said house within seaven daies next after the said wacke daie vnlesse yt be for necessarie victualinge

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of Souldiers or othere passengers or Travelers & not beinge suche as the statute made in the xiiijth yere of the Raigne of our Soueringne Ladye the Quenes maiesties that nowe is doth prohibit & forbidd viz. againste Rogges vaccaboundes mynstreles fensers Bearwardes enterlude players Tumblers Iuglers or suche like Then this Recognizaunce to be void & of noe effecte or els the same to stande in force & vertue 5

- Abergeley Griffinus ap dauid ap Tudder de Abergely *predicta* in comitatu *predicto* *Manucaptus* est vt supra sub pena xl li. per *plegium* willelmum ap hughe ap Iohn de eadem in comitatu *predicto* yoman et & Iohannem ap dauid ap Griffinum de eade in comitatu *predicto* yoman viz. vterque *Manucaptorum predictorum* sub pena x li. et *predictus* griffinus pro seipso sub pena xx li. *Levandarum* vt supra si &c. 10
- llansannan Daid ap dauid de llansannan in comitatu *predicto* *Manucaptus* est vt supra sub pena xl li. per *plegium* merededd ap william et Ieuan ap Roberte de llansannan *predicta* in comitatu *predicto* yoman viz. vterque *Manucaptorum predictorum* sub pena x li. & *predictus* dauid pro seipso sub pena xx li. *Levandarum* ut supra si &c. 15
- llansannan Iohanes ap Iohn ap Ieuan de llansannan *predicta* in comitatu *predicto* *Manucaptus* est vt supra sub pena xl li. per *plegium* Richardum ap Ienkin & Thomam ap grono de eadem in comitatu *predicto* yoman viz. vterque *Manucaptorum predictorum* sub pena x li. & *predictus* Iohanes pro seipso sub pena xx li. *Levandarum* vt supra si &c. 20
- Abergeley Iohannes ap Iohn ap dauid lloid de Abergeley in comitatu *predicto* yoman *Manucaptus* est vt supra sub pena xl li. per *plegium* Griffinum ap Roberte & dauid y Gwyddel de eadem in comitatu *predicto* yomen viz. vterque *Manucaptorum predictorum* sub pena x li. & *predictus* Iohanes ap Iohn pro seipso sub pena xx li. *levandarum* vt supra 25
- Abergely Moricius ap william *Manucaptus* vt supra sub pena xl li. per *plegium* william ap hughe ap Iohn et Iohannes ap madoge de Abergeley in comitatu *predicto* yoman viz. vterque *Manucaptorum predictorum* sub pena x li. et *predictus* moricius ap william pro seipso sub pena xx li. *levandarum* si &c. 30
- Abergeley Marcellia verch merededd de Abergeley in comitatu *predicto* vidua *Manucapta* est vt supra sub pena xl li. per *plegium* willelmum ap hughe ap Iohn et

Iohannem ap Iohn ap dauid lloid de Abergeley *predicta* in comitatu *predicto* yomen viz. vterque *Manuceptorum predictorum* sub pena x li. et *predicta* marcellia pro seipso sub pena xx li. Levandarum vt supra si &c.

Abergeley Griffinus ap Roberte de Abergeley in comitatu *predicto* yowman *Manuaptus* 5
est vt supra sub pena xl li. per *plegium* willemum kynnericke et kynnericke
ap Roberte de Abergeley *predicta* in comitatu *predicto* yoman viz. vterque
Manuceptorum predictorum sub pena x li. & *predictus* Griffinus pro seipso
sub pena xx li. Levandarum vt supra si &c.

Abergely Dauid ap llywel'in de Abergeley in comitatu *predicto* yoman *Manuaptus* 10
est vt supra sub pena xl li. per *plegium* Griffinum ap Roberte & Edenyved
Tailior de Abergeley *predicta* in comitatu *predicto* yomen viz. vterque
Manuceptorum predictorum sub pena x li. & *predictus* dauid pro seipso
sub pena xx li. Levandarum si &c. 15

henllan Hugo ap Ellis de Henllan in comitatu *predicto* sclatter *Manuaptus* est
vt supra sub pena xl li. per *plegium* Iohannem lloid et Iohannem Piers
generosos de henllan *predicta* in comitatu *predicto* viz. vterque *Manuceptorum*
predictorum sub pena x li. & *predictus* Hugo ap Ellis pro seipso sub pena 20
xx li. Levandarum vt supra si &c.

llanvfyth Ieuan Lewes de llanvfyth in comitatu *predicto* yoman *Manuaptus* est vt
supra sub pena xl li. per *plegium* Iohannem ap Thomas ap dauid ap Ednyved
de wickwair in comitatu *predicto* yoman et Thomam ap Griffin ap grigor de 25
meriadog in comitatu *predicto* yoman viz. vterque *Manuceptorum predictorum*
sub pena x li. et Ieuan Lewes pro seipso sub pena xx li. Levandarum vt supra
si &c.

St George Thomas ap Iohn davie de st George in comitatu *predicto* yoman *Manuaptus* 30
est vt supra sub pena xl li. per *plegium* Iohn ap hughe ap Ieuan de Abergeley
in comitatu *predicto* generosum et willielmum ap griffin ap Roberte de eadem
in (.)omitatu *predicto* yoman viz. vterque *Manuceptorum predictorum* sub
pena x li. et *predictus* Thomas pro seipso sub pena x(.) li. Levandarum
si &c. 35

...

23/ llanvfyth: *Llanefydd, Denbighshire*

25/ wickwair: *Wigfair, Denbighshire*

26/ meriadog: *Meiriadog, tref in the parish of St Asaph, Denbighshire*

33/ (.)omitatu: *for comitatu; obscured by ink blot*

34/ x(.): *for xx; obscured by ink blot*

CERRIGELLGWM

1642/3

Inquiry into the Death of Richard ap Hugh

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/24/2/17

f [1]* (5 January) (*Examination of Richard ap Robert ap John of Ysbyty Ifan, labourer*)

Taken before Robert Wynne, JP, at his home at Voelas

...

The sayd Richard ap Robert ap Iohn ap morris sayeth that vpon [^]fridaye
 beeing¹ ye 6th day of Ianuarie Last 1642 as he went out of [^]hugh ap Rees¹
 the counstables house with Robert ap hugh & Thomas ap Raph; Elis ap hugh;
 Robert ap Iohn and dauid ap Iohn, they all hearing of a merry night at one
 Iohn vauchan of Cerrig ellcoome and they all agreed to goe thithere and as
 they came neare the house; they hard many singing there vnder the wall,
 and [^]then¹ they all agreed, and sayd, wee will pass bye and [t] goe to Evan
 lloyd and stay ther a litle vntill they goe in and [^]as¹ they [^]weare¹ goeing
 [alitle befor] [^]towardses the house of Evan lloyd [they all,¹] mette with Richard
 ap hugh with his sword drawne in his hand [^]and then¹ [and] did stricke
 this party vpon his head vntill he fell downe [soe] [^]and¹ after he Rissed [^]vp¹
 he knew who he was, and then stept backe, and held his staffe betwixt [^]him¹
 and cried to the Rest of the company, to hould the said Richard ap hugh with
 one dauid ap Iohn, [and] Ellis ap hugh [^]and¹ [ap] Robert [^]ap¹ Iohn [did]
 held him and brought him to the house of a poore woman called Margarett
 ach Iohn ap Ellissa, wheare he stayed alitle while and presently stept out with
 his naked sword, and a staffe in [^]his¹ hand and they Ranne affter him [_^]
 and [^]one dauid ap Evan held¹ [_^...] caught¹ [^]him¹, and [^]then¹ he sayde if
 you will not [^]let mee¹ loose [^][...] I shall mayme you, and there vpon
 one Richard ap Rytherch standing by [^]did¹ caused the said dauid to lett him
 goe, and [^]then¹ [t]he Ranne towardses Robert ap hugh which stodee by
 this examiner and stricke Robert vpon his head and then the sayd Robert
 made at him with his nacked sword a blow or tow and afterward left Robert
 ap hugh and stroock this examiner and sayd villaine I will mayme thee and
 soe stroocke [^][this examiner]¹ him downe twise and then defending with
 his staff a while as well as he could and cride to the Rest of the company
 for to saue him his life [^]for¹ [t]he [^]said that¹ [had a nacked sword in his
 hand] Richard ap hugh, did soe beat vpon him with his nacked sword/ as he

12/ 6th: 6 written over 7 incorrectly as 7 January
 1641/2 was a Friday

23/ hugh: inserted in left margin

30/ caused: for cause

30/ dauid: 2 minims in MS

35/ defending: ing corrected over other letters,
 possibly er

36/ staff: inserted in left margin

was in danger of his life and further doth not saye
+ signum Richard ap Robert

f [2] (*Examination of Robert ap Hugh of Ysbyty Ifan, labourer*)

...
The sayd Robert ap hugh sayeth that vpon [^]Friday beeing¹ the 6th day of
Ianuary last 1642 as he went out of the counstable house [with] in ye night
tyme with Richard ap Iohn Thomas ap Raph Ellis ap hugh Robert ap Iohn
and dauid ap Iohn, they all hearing of a merry night at one Iohn vauchan of
Kerrig ellcome and they all agreed to goe thithere and as they came neare the
house, they hard many singing vnder the wall and they all agreed and sayd
wee will passe by and goe to Evan lloydes house and stay there till they goe
in and [^]as¹ they went towards the house one dauid Iohn and Ellis ap Hugh,
went foremost and mett with Richard ap hugh and [^]dauid ap Evan¹ they
[when this examiner] all [three] [^]fowre¹ stayde vntill theese came to them
and Richard ap Hugh had his nacked sword in his hand and stroo[^]k¹ Richard
ap Robert vntill he was downe not speacking vnto him and when he was
downe he cried out o saue my life for he has anacked sword over my head
and after he Risse vp the other still made at him with his sword./ and he
still cried o hould him [^]and went backward still defending himself¹ which
they did and brought him to a poore womanes house called margarett verch
Iohn ap Elissa where he stayd awhile and presently stept out with his sword
[^]and a stafe¹ in his hand and they Rest Running after him and one dauid ap
Evan held him; and he sayd if you will not [^]lett mee¹ loose I shall mayme
and there vpon one Richard ap Ritherch standing by did cause the said dauid
ap Evan to lett him goe and then he Rane towarde Richard ap Robert and
Robert ap hugh and Thomas ap Raph they standing all together. and [^]ye
sayd Richard ap Hugh¹ stroocke Robert ap [R] hugh and he held ye blow one
his kuddgell and then Richard ap Robert cried o Richard ap hugh drawe not a
sword but against a sword the sayd Robert ap hugh having then his sword out
defending him selfe as well as he could [^][he t] vpon that he turnd towards
Richard ap Robert and sayd o villaine thou art hee that I loocke for. and soe
made att him and st[^]r¹ooke [^]him¹ downe twise. and the sayd Richard ap
Robert cried o sires hould him for he has anacked sword over my head and
there vpon Robert ap Hugh and Thomas Raph stepping backe alitle and sawe
one fell down which of them Ran he knew not beeing it was in ye night
time, and further sayeth not

+ signum Robert ap Hugh

6/ 6th: 6 written over 7 incorrectly as 7 January
1641/2 was a Friday
7-8/ ye night tyme: inserted in left margin
23/ they: for the

23/ dauid: 2 minims in ms
24/ mayme: for mayme you
31/ [^]: caret added without any text to be inserted

DENBIGH

1620

Denbigh Borough Minutes DRO: BD/A/1

f 88v* (14 December)

5

...

Robert Maylan of llanyckil in the County of Meironeth harper was admitted and sworne burgesse vpon the Request of Peter Mutton esquior, and the sayd Robert doth doth Covenant with[e] the officers of the sayd that he vppon Request shall execeries his arte at such tymes as he shall be Required for the Creadit of this towne

10

gratis

GELLIGYNAN

15

1583/4

Inquiry into a Theft NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/6/5/52

ff [2-2v]* (6 March)

Examinations taken at Henllan, Denbighshire, before Fulk Lloyd and Edward Thelwall, jps

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...

David ap Iohn ap owen of the parishe of St. Cadwalader [of] in kynllaith owen in the Countie of Denbigh beinge examined touchinge the [^]for said¹ peece of [^]redd clothe¹ [the foresaid ffrise] saieth that one sondaye last he Came to the howse of the said Richard lloyd Called kelligynan and had his dinner there and after dinner the said Lowrie showed vnto him, beinge a Tayllour, the said peece of [ffrise] [^]clothe¹ and asked whether there was inoughe there to make her a petticoate, [and amed] [^][he]¹ [h] And he took hit, and amed hit about iiij^{re} yardes, and then said it was inoughe to make her a petticoate. and then the said Lowrie asked him whether he would come thyther agayne on Tuesday at night followinge beinge shrove Tuesday to singe and to make meery with them, and thervpon he said that he would Come. and afterwarde went to llanarmon to evensonge. vppon Tuesday somewhat late he Came to the said howse of the said Richard lloyd from the howse of one harry ap Roger Where he had been workinge that daye, and his Cominge to the said Richarde[s] lloydes howse was after a showre

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35

7/ llanyckil: *Llanycil, Merioneth*9/ doth doth: *ditography*10/ the sayd: *for the sayd towne*23/ St. Cadwalader: *Llangadwaladr, Denbighshire*23-4/ kynllaith owen: *Cynllaith Owain, Denbighshire*25/ sondaye last: *1 March 1583/4*27/ Lowrie: *servant of Richard Lloyd*32/ shrove Tuesday: *3 March 1583/4*34/ llanarmon: *Llanarmon-yn-Iâl, Denbighshire*

of haylle, and that night he laye there alone in the lofte of hey ouer a place where the howshould servantes of the said howse laye. and there was a place to Come out of the said lofte of hey without Cominge neere the said servantes and the next Morninge the said Lowrie made Compleinte t(.) the said servantes and to this examinat that the said l peece of [ffrise] [^]clothe¹ 5 was stollen and taken away that night and this examinant amongst thothers said that he was sorie that shee hadd lost hit and prayed that shee might knowe the troth who had taken hit and remay<...> there about an howre after and went from thence to llanarm<...> and thence to harry ap Rogers howse to make an end of <...> peece of worcke that he hadd left undonne 10 the daye before and from thence to amans howse neere bryneglwys to Lodge that night. meaninge from thence to goe homewardesto to his owne parishe, and in the eveninge there Came to the same howse [^]nere Bryneglwys¹ anon after his Cominge thither the shiryffes baylyf of the hundred of yale together with two sonnes of two Constables of the said hundred and one 15 Gruffyth servante to the said Richard lloyd and after some speech they asked him where he had bene the night before [^]and¹ he said at kelligynan, and they asked him whether he knewe of anythinge that was lost that night and he said that he had hard of the losinge of the said peece of [ffrise] [^]clothe¹ as he hath declared before and then they said vnto him that the 20 trackt of his foote was found and that he was Charged and suspected of the takinge of hit away. and that he most Come with the said baylyf to answere the matter and from thence Came with theim to kelligynan within night. And further this examinant saieth that the [showes] [^]shoes¹ that he had that Tuesday night and since, had [two] [^]one¹ peece[s] [^]or cle<...>ne¹ 25 of the owter syde of eache of the said showes and beinge in length about viij^t of the shoemaker score And further saieth not./

+

LLANDYRNOG

30

1588

Inquiry into the Death of Rhys ap John ap Robert

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/8/1/25

single sheet* (24 August)

35

Deposition taken at Llandyrnog before Fulk Griffith, one of the coroners for Denbighshire

...

11/ bryneglwys: Bryneglwys, Denbighshire

28/ +: David ap John ap Owen has signed with his personal mark

Robert ap david ap penett of llandyrnog aforsaid in the *county* aforsaid
 yoman of the age of L^{tie} yeres or thereabouts sworne and examined
 touchinge the deathe of Rees ap Iohn ap Robert deposeeth and saieth that
 he beinge in the house of Roger ap Thomas ap harry the laste daie of
 Iulie last past where [a minstrell] [^]he this [examinat] deponent¹ [was] 5
 plaied one the Crowde and the saied Rees ap Iohn ap Robert and [one]
 an other boye [named] of Aberchwiler in the said *County* of denbigh
 named Iohn ffowlke ap Thomas did singe [w] some welshe Rymes and
 songes there also. And presentlie after the said Rees ap Iohn and Iohn
 ffowlke went to wrestle [for] [^]and strive¹ about a nosegaye or some 10
 herbe [th] wherevpon the said Iohn ffowlke did Caste downe the saied
 [vpon] Rees vpon a stone soe that [th his heade was] he was wounded
 therebie vpon the said fall one the stone, vpon the heade and his blood
 ranne furthe, and then this [examinat] [^]deponent¹ saied unto them
 boath, [you] well you will never leave your wickednes, wherevpon the 15
 said Rees ap Iohn ap Robert requested this [examine] deponent that he
 would [tell] not Complayne uppon him to his father lest he should be
 punished for his lewdnes, and then they all three viz. this deponent, the
 said Rees ap Iohn and the said Iohn fowlke departed and went home,
 and this deponent saieth further that the said Rees for the space of ix^{en} 20
 or tenne daies [^]after¹ to this deponents remembrance was workinge in
 his fathers house and feelinge no great paines of his said wound [^]as the
 said Rees confessed¹ untill a fortnight after his fall, and then his paine
 encreased and requested that the surgeon [to be] might be sent for to
 Cure his saied [^]wound¹, whervpon the surgeon Came and serched the 25
 wound, and saied it was incurable [and] [^][that]¹ [he staied to longe],
 and [soe] this deponent saieth the said Rees ap Iohn died of that wound.

Robert ap david + ap penet

LLANFWROG

1349/50

Dyffryn Clwyd Manor Court Roll TNA: PRO SC 2/217/14

mb 32d* (10 March)

...

Ⓒ Memorandum de bonis Iohannis de Rosse mortui intestati ... vna Cithara
 precio j d....

...

LLANRHAEADR-YM-MOCHNANT

1623

Inquiry into the Death of Robert ap Thomas

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/17/5/34-7

5

ff [1-2]* (4 April)

Taken at Llansilin before Fulk Myddelton, esq., and Edward Lloyd, coroners

...

Anne Iones wief of Iohn Noniley of llanrhaider aforesaid adged xxxiiij^{or} 10
yeres or thereabouts sworne & examined deposeth & saieth as followeth
That vpon the xxiiijth day of februarie last past there came into the said
Towne of llanrhaider certain drummers fidlers & players into the house of
one Thomas Evans here, amongst whom some of this deponentes Children
were And shee cominge to the said house to ffetch home her Children shee 15
sawe [^]one¹ Robert Moris and the decedent at the fire there drinckinge
And saieth that the said Robert Moris (imediaticly after this deponentes
cominge vnto the said house) rose vpp [fr] & went from the fire and sate
vpon a [bench] forme & leaned with his backe vpon the Table [^]boord¹
there [&] and within a while [^]after¹ she [might] [^]did¹ heare the said 20
Robert Moris crie with an Oath [^]sayenge¹ who strake me? & (...) towards
the wief of the house who (as this deponent th(...)) had then stricken him
with one of the drumm stickes (...) wherevpon the said Robert moris &
the said wief would h(...) gone together by the eares but that this deponent
rescued (...) said Robert moris thrustud him backwardes so that hee fell 25
downe ouer a doresill there, & kept the wief of the house in her [h] armes.
And therevpon a great mastiffe Bitch ranne at the said Robert moris &
tooke him by the Breast & the said Robert moris did then with his ffoote
kicke away the said Bitch, which bitch therevpon ranne at this deponent
& tooke & bitt her by the thighe, at which tyme shee did heare the maide 30
[^]servant¹ of the said house [^]being the wief of the house her sister¹ Crie
aloud [^]sayeing¹ a knife, a knife, But who [had] drewe [a] the knife or in
whose hand the said knife was, this deponent doth not knowe neither did
see [^]anye¹ [any anye] knife at all there But saieth if there was anye knife 35
then drawne there, shee verelye believeth, that the said Robert moris had
the same And further saieth that the decedent sitting at the fire there sawe
the said Robert Moris and the said maide strugglinge together/ rose vpp
& came to part them assunder & verelye believeth in her Conscience that
the said [ded] decedent did then willfully runne vpon the said knife &
imediaticly the decedent cried out [I] and said I am spoyled, And this 40

deponent being demaunded howe longe the decedent lived after [his] the
 receaving of his said hurt shee answareth that hee lived vntill the first daye
 of March [^]then[^] next following [during the which] And being | further
 demaunded whether there was anye former malice betweene the said Robert
 moris & the decedent shee saieth that there was noe malice or hatred at
 all betweene them to her knowledge but that they were faithfull lovers &
 friendes. & further cannott Depose/

+

...

f [2v]

Lowrie verch Thomas of llanrhaiader spinster adged xxtie yeres or thereabouts
 likewise sworne and examined deposeeth & saieth that shee this deponent
 vpon the xxiiijth daye of ffebruarie 1622 came to the house of Thomas
 Evans in llanrhaiader aforesaid in Companie with the former deponent Anne
 Iones where shee sawe the said Robert moris & others sitting & drinckinge
 at the fire, & imediatlie after, the said Robert moris did rise [fr] & goe
 from the said fire [& w] & sate vpon a form [leav] leaninge his back vpon
 the Table there & presentlie heard him crie out with an Oath & sayeing
 who strook me? & saieth that shee this deponent did see the wief of the
 said Thomas Evans strike the said Robert moris vpon the head with a
 drum sticke [^]behinde his backe[^] [vpo] wherevpon the said Thomas Evans
 havinge a Childe in his armes deliuered the said Childe vnto this deponent
 & went & [parted] [putt] parted the said Robert moris & his said wief
 asunder. & further cannott depose./

signum Lowrie verch Thomas

+

...

LLWYN KNOTTIA

1606

Will of Magdalen Puleston NLW: St Asaph Probate Records SA/1606/22W
 single sheet (5 August; probated 30 January 1606/7)

...Item I giue and beque<...> Iohn Puleston my virginalls and the Cowlt of
 the bald Mare...

...

8/ +: Jones has signed with her personal mark, resembling IwA written sideways

28/ +: Lowrie verch Thomas has signed with her personal mark, possibly intended as initials

LLWYN-ON

1597

Defendant's Answer in Rogers v. David ap Roger et al

TNA: PRO STAC 5/R10/8

5

single sheet (27 November)

Iurata 27 Novembris Anno 40. Elizabeth Regine

(signed) William Mill

The Answer of david ap Roger one of the defendantes for his parte to
the vntrue Bill of Complaynte of Richard Rogers Complaynante./ 10

The sayd defendant not confessinge or acknowledginge any of the matters
offences or surmises in the said Bille of Complaynte conteyned exhibited
by the said Complaynant against hym and others into this honourable Courte
to be true, in such sorte maner and fourme as the same are in the said Bille 15
specified and declared/ And by protestacion that the said Bille of Complaynt
ys verie vntrue, vncertaine sclanderous and insufficient in the Lawe to be
answered vnto by the saide defendant (the benefitte of excepcion to the
vncertaintie and insufficiencie thereof to him this defendant nowe and at all
tymes hereafter saved) he this defendant for answer therevnto saythe, That as 20
to all the Ryottes, Routes, vnlawfull assemblyes, makinge of Songes, libellinge
or any the misdemeanours in the said Bille contayned and mencioned, layed
to the charge of this defendant, examinable in this honourable Courte,
and materiall in Lawe to be answered vnto by this defendant/ That he this
defendant is not thereof guiltye, in such sorte maner and fourme as in the 25
said Bille of Complainte moste vntrulie is suggested and sett fourth/ All which
matters this defendant is readye to averre and prove as this honourable
Courte shall awarde, and prayethe to be [dismissed] from hence dismissed
with his reasonable Costes and charges by hym in this behaulf wrongfullye
susteigned./ 30

(signed) Iohn Walter

Defendant's Answer in Rogers v. David ap Roger et al

TNA: PRO STAC 5/R10/32

single sheet* (2 December)

35

Iurata secundo Decembris Anno 40 Elizabeth Regine

(signed) William Mill

The Answer of Iohn Iones of Lloynon gentleman one of the
defendantes for his parte to the vntrue Bill of Complaynt of
Richard Rogers Complaynant./ 40

The said Defendant (saving to hymself nowe & at all tymes hereafter, all

advantages of excepcions to the vncertainties, insufficiencies & ymperfections
 of the said Bill of Complaynte) saythe, That (as he verelie beleevethe,) the
 said Bill of Complaynte is exhibited against him and others (the defendantes
 therein named) into this honorable Courte, by the said Complaynant, by
 the procuremeent & instigacion of the sayde Complaynantes Mayster, one 5
 Morgan Broughton of Marchwiell in the said Countye of denbighe Esquier,
 who vpon causlesse mallice and displeasure, *which* he hath conceaved and
 beareth towardes the said *defendant* Edward Brereton Esquier (in the said
 Bill of Complaynte named) hys fryndes, followers and wellwillers, hath in
 revenge thereof and to th'ende to putt the said *Defendantes* to great charges 10
 and expenses in the Lawe, *procured* the said Bill of Complaynte to be
 exhibited in this honorable Court, rather then vpon any iust cause or good
 grounde of Suyte, examinable in this honorable Courte, he hath against them)
 And therevpon as this Defendant ys crediblye infourmed/ doth mayntayne
 the said quarellinge Complaynt to strive and fall out with his neighbours 15
 dwellinge neare hym, and doth altogeaether dispurse the whole charges of
 this Sutyte for the said Complaynant (his servant) whoe is not able of himself
 to prosecute so chargeable a Suyte as this is/ Yet neverthelesse for full answer
 therevnto and to so much as concerneth the seuerall actions and knowledge
 of this defendant, examinable in this honorable Courte, he this *defendant* 20
 saythe/ That there is a Greene called Lloynon greene within the Lordshippe
 of Bromffilde, in the said Bill mentioned, vpon *which* Greene the dwellers
 and thinhabitan^{tes} thereaboutes of all ages, but speciallye the yonger sorte,
 were and have bynne vsuallie wonte and accustomed, at tymes of recreation,
 to assemble and meete togeather, and to make matches for triall of their 25
 strength and activitie, and to take other honest courses for their myrthe and
 recreation/ And this defendant sayth, that he hymself makinge his vsuall
 abode within a bowe shoote or thereaboutes to the said Greene, did somtymes
 vse to walke and resorte thyther for one houre or two not meaninge or
 intendinge at any tyme eyther harme or hurte to any person or persons, but 30
 only for to partake in the said excercises yf occasion shoulde be, or els to
 behoulde others *perfourme* the same, and not to any such intende or purpose
 as in the said Bill of Complaynte is most falsely surmised/ And as towching
 the ryotte in the Bill of Complaynte alleadged, and supposed to be committed
 the foure and Twentieth [(<.>)] day of Iulye last, and layed to this defendantes 35
 charge (with others), he this *defendant* for his parte saythe That he is not
 thereof guyltie, in such sorte, maner, and fourme, as in the said Bill of
 Complaynte most vntrulie is suggested, and sett fourth/ Without that, that

6/ Marchwiell: *Marchwiail, Denbighshire*

12-13/ Court, rather ... them): *comma used for opening parenthesis (?)*

the said Defendant ys a lewde, dissolute, or a quarellinge person, or hath at sondrye tymes sythence her *Maiesties* last generall and free pardon gonne abroade in the night tyme, and in the tyme of devyne service, within the said Lordshippe of Bromffielde with mynistrells and baggepypes, dauncinge and makinge of Songes and Libells, and setting vp of Maypoles in such sorte, 5 maner, and fourme as in the said Bill of Complaynte is most vnrulie declared. Or that this defendant hath at sondrye tymes sythence her *Maiesties* said pardon cruellye and maliciouslye assaulted the said Complaynant, or any other person, in such maner, and fourme, as in the said bylle of Complaynte is most scandalouslie alledged/ Or that, that this defendant was at any tyme rebuked 10 by the mynister of Marchwiell (in the said Bill specified,) or by any other person for any outragious or irreligious behaviur, in dauncinge in the tyme of devine service, in such sorte, as in the said Bille of Complaynte very sclaunderouslye is sett downe, and declared/ Or that this defendant conceived or lodged in his harte causes mallice, against the said Complaynant, or his fellowe *Servantes*, or the *servantes* of the said Leighton (in the said Bill likewise named), or had any divellishe or wicked purpose, to kill the said Complaynant, or any of his Companye/ or that the said defendant, did at any tyme ryottouslie or vnlawfullie in warlike maner, or otherwise, assemble hymself 20 togeather with the said defendant Owen Brereton, or with any other person or persons, or at any tyme did make, or beginne, any cruell assalte, or affraye vpon the said Complaynant [(.)] or his fellowe *servantes*, in such sorte, maner, and forme, as the said Complaynant in his said Bill of Complaynte most maliciouslie doth lay to this defendantes charge/ And without yat that this defendant is guyltye of any other the offences or misdemeanours in the said 25 Bill of Complaynte conteyned, and layed to the charge of this defendant, in such maner, and fourme, as in the said Bill of Complaynte is alledged/ All *which* matters this defendante is readye to averre and proue, as this honorable Courte shall awarde, And prayeth to be from hence dismissed with his reasonable Costes and charges by him (this defendant) in this behalf 30 most wrongfullye susteigned./

(signed) Iohn Walter

Complainant's Interrogatories in Rogers v. David ap Roger et al

TNA: PRO STAC 5/R21/7 item [2]

35

single sheet

Interrogatories mynistred by Richard Rogers *plainant* for the examinacion of David ap Roger *deffendant*

- 1 Have not you and Roger Iones, Iohn Iones, Randle Iones and Iohn Ellis 40 of lloynon in the County of denbigh Iohn Iones the younger Robert Iones

- and Griffeth Ellis of Rydley and Iohn williams servaunte to Edward Brereton
 esquier Edward Browne Robert ap Richard of Abinbury in the Countie of
 (*blank*) and william ap david or some of you many tymes within this yeare
 last past gon abrode in the night tyme within the Lordshipp of Bromefeild
 in the Countie of Denbigh aforesaid with any mynstrell dancyng and hath 5
 not some Mynstrell or other most comonlie euery saboth daie the Last sommer
 bin playng at a place called lloynon greene during the tyme of dyvine service
 in the after noone and were not you or some of you at the same place and
 tymes dauncinge or at some other vnlawfull sporte and exercyse and who
 hired or *procured* such Mynstrell to playe at the said greene, By whom and 10
 how was he paid or rewarded for the same
- 2 Have you made said or songe or whome haue you knowen or harde made said
 or songe or caused to be made saide or songe any songe or lyble concernynge
 the *plainant* or any of the *servantes* of Richard Leighton or of the *servantes*
 of Morgan Broughton Esquiers or concerning them [or] ¹and¹ any other 15
 person together, who did make singe or publish the same and what was the
 effect thereof
- 3 Did not you in the Company and with the assistance of the *persons* in the
 first Interrogatory named or some of them some tyme the last sommer in the
 night tyme beare and bringe a long pole to the towne of Wrexham and sett 20
 yt vp neare the high crosse there termynge yt A maye pole Or doe you knowe
 or have harde who was at the setting of the same [v] pole vp in wrexham
 as aforesaid declare theire names, and where the same pole was had and by
 what meanes
- 4 Did not you together with the *persons* in the first Interrogatory named and 25
 one Owen Brereton sonn of Edward Brereton foresaid or with some of them
 at lloynon greene aforesaid in or about Iulie last past assault sore hurte &
 wounde the *plainant* Richard Rogers Raphe ffrancis Robert ap david and Iohn
 ap Edward *servantes* to Richard Leighton and Morgan Broughton declare the
 names of such of them as you knowe or haue harde did begine & make the 30
 said assaulte & affraie and what weapons had you & they and by whose
 provision had you or any of you the said weapons, and by whose mocion or
 encourragment did you & the others aforesaid or any of you comitt the
 assault & affraie aforesaid
- 5 Item what threateninges, wordes or accions haue you harde seene or knowen 35
 vsed by Roger Iones of lloynon, Iohn Iones the elder of Rydley & Ann his
 wief or by any other tendinge to the encourragment of yourself or of any other
 to comitt the assault & affraie aforesaid, and did not you & the *persons* named
 in the first Interrogatory together with Owen Brereton aforesaid or some of
 you complott and confederatt to assault the *plainant* Richard Rogers or some 40

- of his fellowes the tyme aforesaid or any other tyme declare your knowledge touching the whole Article
- 6 Declare what woundes you or any of the persons named in the first Interrogatory did gyve at the said [^]assault¹ & affraie to the plainant Richard Rogers Raphe ffrancis Robert ap david & Iohn ap Edwarde or to any of them And in what partes of theire bodies, and who gave them or any <.)f <.)hem the said woundes and with what weapons 5
- 7 Item did not Iohn Iones of lloynon duringe or ymediatlie after the Hurtinge of the plainant Richard Rogers & his fellowes, saie vnto you or some other in your hearinge, Come awaie, I haue spedd two of them yf they have not Armor or pryvie Coates vpon them, or the lyke wordes in effect declare trulie and fullie your knowledg hereof 10
- 8 Did not you thincke ymediatlie after the assaulte and affraie aforesaid and was yt not generallie thought and spoken in and about lloynon that the plainant Richard Rogers or some of his fellowes were killed in the said affraie or in danger of Death and to what place did you and the rest of the affraie makers afore[said] named in the first Interrogatory or any of you flie after the said affraie and where were you and the rest harbored and where did you and the rest leave your weapons after the said affraie and who did helpe you or the persons in the first Interrogatory named or any of you or them with horsstes or money to conveigh you or any of you owt of the said County of Denbigh after the affraie aforesaid Comitted 20

Defendant's Examination in Rogers v. David ap Roger et al

TNA: PRO STAC 5/R21/7 item [1]

25

ff [1–2] (3 December)

Taken upon the complainants' interrogatories, with Daniel Powell of the Inner Temple as translator

...

30

david ap Roger of wrixam in the countie of denbighe yeoman sworne &c. To the 1 Interrogatory this defendant saieth that neither he this defendant nor anie of the persons mencioned in this Interrogatory to the knowledge of this defendant haue at manie times within this yeare last past gone abroad in the night tyme within the Lordshipp of Bromefield in the countie of denbigh with anie Minstrell dauncinge as is supposed, But this defendant saieth That he knoweth that a piper did plaie in this last Somer at lloynon greene mencioned in the Interrogatory [^]after dynner¹ vpon seuerall [the] Sabothe daies the same grene beinge distant aboutes a mile from the Church but whether the said pyper so plaied at Service tyme or not this defendant cannot certainly say, 40

And this *defendant* saieth that at sometymes he hath ben lookinge on the dauncinge there & sene feates of Activitie there vsed [^]but hath not daunced himself¹ And further saieth that the *said* piper is [^]as this *defendant* thinketh¹ vsuallie hired by the younge maiedes of the [parishes thereaboutes &] towneshipp of Abinburie for their honest recreacion, and that after the same sportes are ended, there is vsuallie made a gatheringe of the companie present for to reward the *said* piper for his plaie

To the 2. he saieth that neither he this *defendant* nor anie other to his knowledge hath made saied or songe, anie songe or libell concerning anie of the persons mencioned in this Interrogatory

To the 3. Interrogatory this *defendant* saieth that he was not present & in companie the last Sommer in the nighte tyme at the bringinge or settinge of the May pole nere | the highe crosse in Wrixam and therefore he cannot of his knowledge depose [^]And more he saieth not¹ to this Interrogatory

To the 4 Interrogatory he saieth that [neither] he this *defendant* [nor] [^]did not with¹ anie of the persons mencioned in the *said* first Interrogatory [to that *defendants* knowledge] or with Owen Brereton mencioned in this interrogatory in or aboutes Iulie last assaulte sore hurte & wounde, [^][nor assaulte]¹ the now *plainant* Richard Rogers, Raphe ffrauncis Robert ap david & Iohn ap Edward [^]or anie of them¹ as is supposed And more he saieth not to this Interrogatory

To the 5. he saieth that he hath not heard anie threateninge wordes or accions vsed by Roger Iones of lloynon Iohn Iones thelder & Anne his wif or anie other touchinge anie such matter as is supposed. And this *defendant* denieth that he did [^]at anie time¹ confederate together with Owen Brereton or anie the persons in the *said* first Interrogatory named to assaulte the now *plainant* or anie of his fellowes as is also supposed by this Interrogatory

To the 6 & 7 Interrogatories this *defendant* saieth that he was not present in the *said* affraie [^]but sawe somm parte of an affraie mencioned in the *said* *plainants* bill this *defendant* then standinge a farre of¹ And further he cannot of his knowledge depose to these Interrogatories

To the 8. this *defendant* saieth as is aforesaid that was none of the persons which committed the *said* affraie, But this *defendant* heard yt reported by some of the now *plainants* freindes & by none others that two were killed [or w] in the *said* affray And this *defendant* | saieth that he hath heard that one Iohn Ellis [who] was one of the persons in the *said* affray which *said* Ellis is now gone to Irelande And more or otherwyse he saieth not to this Interrogatory

+

32/ that was: for that he was

39/ +: David ap Roger has signed with his personal mark, resembling the initials dr

MAESMYNAN

1344

Dyffryn Clwyd Manor Court Roll TNA: PRO SC 2/217/10mb 27d (6 October) (*Presentments within the parish of Aberchwiler*) 5

...

...per villatam de maysmanan presentum est quod david ap Daid ap Eig(...) contra pacem asportauit vnam citharam precio iiij d. de domo Madog ap Iorwerth et Werful vxor dicri Madog iuste le hue...

...

10

NANTGLYN

1630

Articles of Interrogation ex parte Robert Wynn against Hugh Jones 15

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/19/3/23

ff [2–2v]* (*Before 3 April*)

...

- 14 That he is ¹a¹ common maker of rimes and libelles and did by way of riminge libell against hugh ap dauid and Iane verch Iohn [by Calling him Dyrin lleden & her Chwanen] And that he calleth Thomas lloyd of Nantglyn gentleman [Gellach] and Elin his wife [Cromicke] and Robert wynn gentleman his Maiesties warde [he calleth Bystach and hath such names] ¹by seuerall names¹ of disgrace vpon l most of his neighbours!

...

25

RHOSLLANNERCHRUGOG

1622/3

Examination of William David NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/17/5/32 30ff [1–2]* (*27 January*)*Taken at Ruthin before Thomas Goodman, esq., and John Bayly, MA, JPs*

...

- This examine saieth that this [deponent] examine being well acquainted with one Iohn Evans alias y Rhew bagh who doth now remaine at ye gaole of the countie of Mountgomery and with one Hugh Iones of Denbigh being now as he thinketh in Sheresbury gaole fore stealing of Cattell & havinge diuerse tymes as consortes resort to all great fayres & Markettes fore to pelfer & steale/ the said Iohn and Hugh tould this examine that they vpon the

7/ Eig(...): right edge of membrane torn
22/ Elin: added in right margin

38/ Sheresbury: *Shreusbury, Shropshire*
40/ examine: 5 minims in ms

[second] sondaie at night next after *Saint Mathewes* daie last retorning from Ruthin fayre hadd hooked oute of [I] the house of Iohn Thelwall *esquier* *certein* carpettes and other thinges *videlicet* two carpettes oute of the house & some hattes & one paire of shoes & one sheet that was in the garden with hemp seed And tould hym that they hadd pawned the same sheete at the house [of one] called tavarne y Gath [in] being an Alehouse in the *parishe* of LLandegla in ye countie of Denbigh for viij d. or x d. and that they hadd left ye Carpettes at the house of one Harry ap Tudder being an alehouse nere the Maypoule in Rhose L^Lanergh Rygug in ye *parishe* of Rhuabon in the said countie of Denbigh & they did weare one of the hattes & allsoe the shoes. I And further saieth that twoe young women [one] called Anne & Nell the said Ann being great with Child of myddle stature & Brownishe hayre haveing then a redd peticoate & a red wascot & a mingled blew cooler cloake & Nell being A lyttle black woman haveing twoe whiteishe peticoates one white wascott & A blewishe Cloake [^] & kyrtell¹ did Cutt purses at the *markett* daie at Ruthin vpon mondaie the xxth of this moneth & that they piked a purse At wrexham *Markett* vpon thursdaie next before Christmas daie last & that they gave some *parte* of that money stollen in wrexham to one humffrey Morys now a convict prisoner in the gaole of the countie of denbigh And saieth that they dwell in or neare ye Moyn Glawdd in this countie & that they resort to all greate fayres & Markettes & Assemblies of purpose to cutt purses steale & pelfer and are tenntes to one hugh ap Iohn *dafydd* in Minera in the said countie

And further saieth that the said Iohn Evans tould this [deponent] examinat that if he would steale Any *commoditie* he might have vtterance thereof at A trwmpeters house being an Alehouse neare Potvarry in this countie.

...

RUTHIN

1347

Dyffryn Clwyd Manor Court Roll TNA: PRO SC 2/217/12
mb 26d (8 May)

...

lex .iij. manu C Iorwerth Acres queritur op se versus Iorwerth le Goldsmyth in placito transgressionis dicit quod predictus Iorwerth Iniuste ei detinet vnum cornuum precio xij d. Et predictus Iorwerth venit in Curia & defendit

1/ sondaie ... last: 22 September 1622

9/ Rhuabon: *Rhiwabon, Denbighshire*

20/ Moyn Glawdd: *Minera/Mwynglawdd, Denbighshire*

22/ tenntes: *for* tenants

22/ Minera: *Minera/Mwynglawdd, Denbighshire*

26/ Potvarry: *Bodfari, Flintshire*

vim & et Iniuriam & dicit quod nullo modo est inde culpabilis & super hoc vadit sibi legem. plegius de lege Iohannes de Schirlond.

...

mb 30d (25 September)

5

...

ad proximam

Iohannes Rauf queritur op se versus Willelmum fabrum et dicit quod idem Willelmus iniuste fregit citharam ipsius Iohannis ad dampnum ipsius iij d. Et dictus Willelmus dedicit et inde vadit sibi legem

...

10

1576

Inquiry Concerning John ap Gruffudd, Yeoman

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/4/6/36

single mb*

15

...

Inquiratur pro domina Regina si Iohannes ap gruffudd ap william nuper de Ruthin in comitatu denbigh yoman xxv^o die Iulij/ Anno regni domine nostre Elizabeth dei gracia Anglie ffrancie et hibernie Regine fidei defensoris &c xvij^o Apud Ruthin predictam in comitatu predicto At diuersis temporibus tam antea quam postea vi et armis &c [...] in domo suo instar domus lupinarie ac diuersas personas ignotas vagrantes mendicantes ad ludendum in nocte et dormiendum in die custodiuit et huc custodit in perniciosum exemplum subditorum dicte domine Regine et contra formam statutum in isto casu edita et prouisa contra pacem dicte domine Regine coronam et dignitatem suas

25

1617

Presentments for Idlers and Nightwalkers

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/16/4/75

single sheet*

30

The Iurie ffor the burough

We present the persons undernamed for idell persons, loyterers, and nightewalkers./

Iohn Thomas, de lorthygin llanvoruk

35

Tyder ap Robert de llanvoruke

Iohn moris de Ruthyn

Piers lewis de Ruthyn

1/ & et: *distigraphy*

21/ [...]: *erasure of 115mm*

24/ statutum: *for* statutorum

24–5/ edita et prouisa: *for* editorum et prouisorum

35, 36/ llanvoruk, llanvoruke: *Llanfwrrog,*

Denbighshire

Robert ap Thomas ap William draper
 Richard pigott
 Iohn lewis mōne Crowder

1621

Sir James Whitelocke's Liber Famelicus BL: Additional MS 53,725
 f 68v*

...

My Circuit began 9 April 1621 at chester I lay on the way on ffryday nighte
 at *sir ffrancis* Newports at Eton vpon Saturday I was met by many gentlemen 10
 of Shropshire and cheshire in the way toward whitchurche at *whiche* towne
 I had a latin oration made me in the market place & lodged that nighte & al
 sunday at the house of *sir* Thomas Brereton neer whitchurche & went on
 munday to chester & was met on the way by a great number of gentlemen of
 worthe the highe shirif mr Marburye lay verye sik & his sun & heir attended 15
 the iudges all the week

Our expences at chester came to double the kings allowance but our presents
 in fflint & Denbighe whear we dieted our selues wear so large as that we
 defraed the whole charge of the Circuit & saved the kings allowance The
 shirif of Mountgomery enterteyned vs at his owne charge. at our retorn from 20
 the Pole we lay at mr wayties neer ludlow
 we wear enterteyned at Denbighe withe a latin oration in the market place &
 a refreshing of wyne & Cakes when we went from Denbighe toward the Pole
 we wear enterteyned at Ruthin withe the waites of the towne & a banquet
 a latin oration & an enterlude at the end of the Circuit I went vp & sat in 25
 Parliament & as I went stayd only on day at the apparance at Beaudlieu.

...

1641

Inquiry into the Death of William Lloyd 30

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/23/5/8-12

ff [1-2v]* (6 July) (*Deposition of John Roberts, tanner, aged 23*)

*Taken at Ruthin before John Fowlkes, coroner, in the presence of the jury of the
 coroner's inquest* 35

...

This examinant sayeth That vpon the fourth Day of Iuly 1641 att Ruthin in
 the County of Denbigh & aboutes tenn or eleaven of the clocke att night, he

10/ Eton: *Eyton, Denbighshire*

11/ whitchurche: *Whitchurch, Shropshire*

18/ whear: wh corrected over osher letters

21/ the Pole: *Welshpool, Montgomeryshire*

26/ Beaudlieu: *Bewdley, Worcestershire*

this examinant satt att or neere a may Po[o]le, *which* was sett in Talesarne
 street, within the towne & liberties of Ruthin & then & there Thomas ap
 Rees & Rowland ap Rees haveinge a halbart in one of theire handes did
 attempt & offer to stoke [^]or thrust¹ this examinant [^]with the said halbart¹,
 sayeinge [that he] | & alledgeinge that the halbart was Iohn ap Moris, & 5
 [ymmeadialti] ymmeadiatly after both the said Thomas ap Rees & Rowland
 ap Rees did attempt & offer to [^]thrust¹ [stope stobe] the decededent william
 lloyd with the said halbart, wherevpon & att that instant the decedent drewe
 his sword to defend himself & [^]att¹ that instant there was sixe or seaven
 blowes or strookes betweene the said Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees & 10
[^]the¹ decedent, att or neere the said May Pole, wherevpon the said Rowland
 ap Rees fled two or three Roodes of; & the said Thomas ap Rees likewise
 fled after, & therevpon the said Thomas ap Rees retourned backe agayne,
 towardes the house of Iohn ap Moris, & meetinge with this examinant
 weaponles, the said Thomas ap Rees made att this examinant with the said 15
 halbart & this examinant then was fayne to flye for safegard of his lief & as
 he then fled, he [had] a fell by the way, neere the house of the said Iohn
 ap Moris & by the tyme that this [de] examinant had rayسد vp, the [this
 examinant] [^]said Thomas Price¹ Called the said Iohn ap Moris to open
 his doore, & the doore was opened instantly and therevpon this examinant 20
 Called [for] to the [^]said¹ doore & wished the said Iohn ap Moris to be sure
 of the said Thomas ap Rees, tellinge vnto the said Iohn ap Moris That the
 said Thomas ap Rees had his halbart with him & ymmeadiatly after the
 said decedent retourned towardes the house of the said Iohn ap Moris, he
 this examinant Could heare the[r] decedent say vnto this examinant [att 25
 you; att you] [^]take heed./ because the *said* Thomas ap Rees pursed this
 examinant then¹, & therevpon the said Rowland ap Rees fled to the house
 of the said Iohn ap Moris/ & att that instant he this examinant did see both
 the said Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees & one other *which* he did
 not knowe by reason of the darkenes of the night, [then], within the entrie 30
 of the house of the said Iohn ap Moris, haveinge a [weapon] halbart & one
 longe weapon in theire handes & from [the] | the said entrie they all three
 did thrust with theire weapons to & towardes the decedent soe that the
 decedentes sword fell from his handes & att that instant the Decedent was
 then [slayned & murdered] [^]killed¹ & therevpon this examinant Cryed out 35
 murder, muder & both the said Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees went
 into the entrie of the said Iohn ap Moris & both of them fled through the
 entrie[^] of the said house [^]to [&] a backe doore¹ & ymmeadiatly after an

4/ stoke: k corrected over p: for strooke (?)

7/ decededent: for decedent

23/ with: w corrected over in

26/ pursed: for pursued

36/ muder: for murder

outcry was made after them; and this examinant futher sayeth That after both the said Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees had fled; he this examinant att [th<.>] [^]that¹ instant founde a longe Pitchforke behinde the doore of the said entrie./ haveinge bloode vpon the Pitchford stafe & hoope./ which Pitchforke was shewed to one of the aldermen of Ruthin haveinge bloode vpon the same as afforesaid & ymmediadly after that the muder was Comitted the wief of Iohn ap Moris mett with him & sayd vnto him this [mud] murder had not been Comitted but onely for thee, [(signed) Iohn Robertes] meaning her husband, Iohn ap Moris, this examinant further sayeth & vearily beleeveth in his Conscience that the said Iohn ap Moris was in his entrie with a pitchforke in his hand, when the decedent was killed & verily beleeveth that the said Thomas ap Rees gave the decedent the mortall wounde with the halbart

(signed) Iohn Robertes

(Deposition of John Myddelton, gentleman)

...
This examinant sayeth That vpon the fourth day of Iuly 1641 aboutes eleaven of the Clocke att night, he heard the decedent together with Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees drinkeinge in the house of Iohn ap Moris in Ruthin in the County of Denbigh & therevpon this examinant went vnto them att his comeinge into the said house, he could see the sword of the decedent naked in the handes of Rowland ap Rees, the said Rowland ap Rees then threatened & protested that he would breake the said sword in the Post & [^]there¹ vpon this examinant wished the decedent to come out of doores with him, from them quarellsome | persons, for feare of further mischeef Committed by them, & vpon this examinant request, [^]the decedent¹ came out of doores accordingly & went alonge with him aboute a stone Cast from the said house to the [Porth] [^]Porch or doore¹ of hugh Robertes & both the said Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees did call after him & [p] both of them [^]then¹ pursued this examinant and the decedent, to or neere a may Pole which was sett a stone Cast from the house of Iohn ap Moris & then & there, the said Thomas ap Rees & haveinge a halbart in his hande, Did threaten attempt & offer to thrust this examinant & one Iohn Robertes, [the de] with the said halbart, the said Rowland ap [^]Rees¹ beinge then in Companie with him, & alsoe the said Thomas ap Rees with the said halbart did [^]then¹ attempt & offer to thrust the decedent & ymmediatly after he this examinant sawe thrustinge made att the Decedent from the entrie of [^]the said¹ Iohn ap Moris, & vpon them thrustinge the decedent sword fell from his handes &

1/ futher: for further

4/ Pitchford: for Pitchfork

6/ muder: for murder

ymmeadialy after & att [this] that instant the decedent fell downe start dead & therevpon both the said Thomas ap Rees & Rowland, ¹ap Rees¹ fled through [^]the¹ entrie & backe doore of the said Iohn ap Moris/ & this examinant beleveeth in his Conscience That the said Thomas ap Rees hath killed the decedent with the said halbart

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The marke of Iohn Myddleton./

+

...

ff [4-5] (*Deposition of Elizabeth Lloyd, spinster, aged 20*)

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...

This examinant being examined before me one of the Coroners of the County of Denbigh sayeth as followeth –

This examinant sayeth That vpon the fourth Day of [M(...)] Iuly 1641 & about midnight, she this examinant Came [accidently] [^]accidentally¹; neere the house of one Iohn ap Moris in Talesarne streete, within the towne & liberties of Ruthin in [(.)] the County of Denbigh, & therevpon she this examinant heard [(.)] Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees, beinge two brothers Calleinge att the house of Anne lloyd of Ruthin widowe & then they requested the said Iohn ap Moris to Come fourth of doers, but whether the said Iohn ap Moris Came fourth of doors or noe this examinant doth not knowe/

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This examinant further sayeth that [when] vpon the fourth day of Iuly afforesaid, & att Ruthin, [^]& aboutes midnight¹ she this examinant sawe the said Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees both together neere a burtch or a may Pole, which was sett in the said street of Talesarne & they or one of them; haveinge a halbart with them, & they then alledged that the said halbart was Iohn ap Moris, & with the said halbart both or one of them did attempt & offer to breake the said burtch or May Poole, (he the decedent william lloyd | then was diuerse tymes Called by the said Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees, to Come att or neere them to the said May Poole, & vpon [there] [^][his] theire¹ Callinge, the decedent william lloyd Came in quiet maner to the said May Poole & desired & requested both the said Thomas ap Rees & Rowland [^]ap¹ Rees not to medle with the said May Poole, notwithstandinge both the said Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees gave three seuerall blowes vpon the said May Poole & from thence both the said Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees [^]&¹ one Iohn Robertes of Ruthin tanner & the decedent went together att or neere the house of Iohn ap Moris,

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1/ ymmeadialy: for ymmeadiatly

71 +: Myddelton has signed with his personal mark

29-30/ (he the decedent william lloyd: for he (the decedent william lloyd)

(being three foure or five Roodes, from the said May Poole & ymmediatly after this examinant pursued & followed all of them to the [entrie] [^]street neere the house¹ of [one] Iohn ap Moris & therevpon she this [examined] [^]examinant¹ Conceaved that either Iohn Robertes or the decedent was then killed or Murdered by the said Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees & findinge the decedent then murdered & killed; she this examinant did her best indeavoure to take vp & help the decedent, & therevpon this examinant made an outcrie & cried out murder, murder, & desired one [Ioh] Anne lloyd of Ruthin widowe to Come fourth of her house with a light to see the said murder/ the which the said Anne lloyd then refused to Come fourth of her house to see the said murder, she then haveinge a Candle lighted | in her said house & refused to make any answere to this examinant att that instant, & afterwardes this examinant sawe a naked sword in either the handes of Rowland ap Rees or Thomas ap Rees & one of them flunge the said sword naked after this examinant & one Agnes verch Arthure, & therevpon the said Agnes verch Arthure & this examinant fled for safegard of their liffes./

+
The marke of Elizabeth lloyd

Inquiry into the Death of William Lloyd

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/23/5/15

single sheet—single sheet verso (*Deposition of Agnes verch Arthur, aged 40*)

...

This examinant sayeth That vpon the fourth Day of Iuly 1641 aboutes a eleaven or twelue of the Clocke at night, she beinge in an vpper Chamber within the house of hugh Robertes of Ruthin tanner & from thence she could see & heare Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees att or neere the house of one Anne lloyd of Ruthin widowe [Called] Callinge the said Iohn ap Moris to Come vnto them to his owne house to drinke with them; wherevpon the said Iohn ap Moris answered, goe to my house & I will come vnto you, But the said Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees went [vito] [^]vnto¹ the May Poole haveinge the halbart of the said Iohn ap Moris with them & sayd is there any body that will say any thinge to the May Poole & gave three strockes vpon the May Poole with the said halbart & they then sayd that they did yt because they had noe favoure[s], therevpon [Came] the decedent & Iohn Robertes Came vnto the said Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees & asked them what was the matter why they did stricke the [matter] May Poole, then the said Thomas ap Rees asked the decedent why he did not pledge him & drinke vnto him, then the decedent then replied that he was Called out & did intend to Come vnto them agayne & att that instant the said

1/ (being ... May Poole: closing parenthesis omitted

17/ +: Lloyd has signed with her personal mark

Thomas ap Rees & Rowland ap Rees Could not be perswaded by the
 decedent & Iohn [^]Robertes[^] [R] nor would they yeald to any reason to
 them prepounded by the decedent & Iohn Robertes therevpon the said
 Thomas ap Rees & his brother Rowland ap Rees beinge [^]the[^] armed with
 the said halbart did beate backe the decedent & Iohn Robertes vntill they 5
 [ba] neere the house of the said Iohn ap Moris, att which place the said
 decedent was killed [by a thrust with the] And this examinant further
 sayeth That after the decedent was killed & did lye in the streete yt beinge
 somewhat darke, this examinant desired of Anne lloyd a Candle to viewe
 the Corps & Called out Iohn ap Moris but non answered att all & this 10
 examinant alsoe sayeth that she did [^]then[^] see [^][then][^] Rowland ap Rees
 with a sworde in his hande, sayeing Wiches Come not neere me if you
 doe this shall goe through you & with that threwe the sword after this
 examinant the former examinant Elizabeth lloyd
 The marke X of Agnes verch Arthure 15

...

Inquiry into the Death of William Lloyd

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/23/5/16

single sheet (7 July) (*Examination of Rowland ap Rhys, labourer*) 20

Taken before Simon Thelwall, esq., JP

...

Rouland ap Rees beinge *examined*

Sayeth he never sawe the said William before that eveninge in the house of 25
 one Iohn ap Moris and there they drunke together with one Thomas ap Rees
 this *examinants* brother, and after they hadd spent a small time there they
 Came fourth to the street, and this *examinant* parted from them and went
 towards a mayepole, [which] which was in his waye homewardes, and there
 one Iohn Robertes tripped him downe, and tooke a little Cudgell he had 30
 in his handes from him and gave him a box or blowe vpon his face, And
 further sayeth that he was nott in place when the said William Lloyd was
 hurte and had never a weapon in his hande all that daye butt that Cudgell,
 and he knoweth nott whoe gave the hurtes to the sayd william whereof he
 dyed as he harde 35

the marke X of Rowland ap Res.

...

3/ prepounded: *for* propounded

4/ the: *for* then

6/ neere: *for* neered (?)

14/ *examinant*': *for* *examinant* &

15/ X: *Agnes verch Arthur has signed with her
 personal mark*

36/ X: *Rowland ap Rhys has signed with his
 personal mark*

WREXHAM

1597

Complainant's Interrogatories in Rogers v. David ap Roger et al

TNA: PRO STAC 5/R21/7 item [2]

5

See Llwyn-on 1597

1639

Inquiry into the Death of Anne Wadsworth

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NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/23/1/20

single sheet* (12 July)

Examinations taken before John Erthyg, coroner

...

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Elizabeth Kettell of Wrexham in the County of denbigh spinster saieth that shee and one William Parry Did Carry a Poessy vnto a Bydding spinning in a house in wrexham aforesaid; and that shee beinge with the said poessy in the said house did heare the people report that the said William Parry beinge in the [Courte] 'yeard' or backsyde of the said house hadd hurte one Ann wadsworth a gyrl of the age of fowerteene-yeares, And saieth that shee this examinant was neither present nor in Company with the said William Parry then in the said yeard or backsyde, neither Did shee [^]'see' any hurte done to the said Ann Wadsworth:

the marke of the said + Elizabeth Kettell:/

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Margery Taylor of Wrexham &c saieth that shee did see one apparrelled in a womans apparell having a sword or Rapier in his handes, and did heare some body bydd him so apparrelled to dry the point of the said sword or rapier that then was bloody, after the reporte was that the said child or wench was hurte./

the marke of Margery + Taylor

Edward Sutton of Wrexham &c saieth that vpon wensday beinge the tenth Day of Iuly 1639: he did see Ann wadsworth daughter vnto Iohn wadsworth syttinge in a Chaire in the house of one Martha Hughes in wrexham aforesaid and that the said Ann wadsworth was hurte before he then saw her: and did likewyse see a sword or rapier a little before in the handes of one William Parry, but this examinant saieth that hee saw no hurte or wound

17/ spinning: 7 minims in MS

25/ +: Kettell has signed with her personal mark

32/ +: Tailor has signed with her personal mark, possibly intended as a T

gyven to the said Ann Wadsworth by any one at all./
the marke of Edward O Sutton./

...

single sheet verso

5

...

Gwenn Williams of wrexham saieth that shee knoweth that the said Ann wadsworth was hurte vpon the xth: Day of Iuly 1639: and did heare say that one William Parry Did hurte the said Ann wadsworth: And doth lykewyse know that the said William Parry was apparrelled in a womans apparrell that day to carry a Poesy to a byddinge spinninge that then was in the said towne of wrexham: And saieth that the said Ann wadsworth died vpon wensday beinge the xjth [dof] day of Iuly aforesaid./

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+

the marke of Gwen Williams

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Ann whyte of the age of xij: yeares saieth that shee did see William Parry in the yeard or Backsyde of one Iohn ap Hughes house and did see Ann Wadsworth there also, who tooke up a scarfe that was ouer the[s] face of the said william Parry, And therevpon the said william Parry did hurte the said Ann wadsworth in some parte of her syde with a sword or rapier that hee then hadd in his handes; And Did see the blood yssuinge out of her syde, and did see him wpe the [ss] said sword with his gloue that hee then hadd./

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+

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Mary Evans saieth that beinge in the house of Iohn ap Hugh in wrexham together with diuerse of the neighbors vpon the x:th day of Iuly: 1639 at a byddinge spinninge, shee did see three persons disguysed comminge with a Poesy vnto some of the younge weomen there; two of them hadd some weapons aboutes them but who they were shee knoweth not: And saieth that shee did see Ann wadsworth in the said yeard; and that one of the guyssers that wore a Redd petticoate and a whyte wascote havinge a blacke scarffe ouer his face did kicke or push the said Ann wadsworth once or twyce from him who would not goe out his way wherevpon the said person so apparrelled turninge himselfe about did with the said rapier as shee this examinant thinketh hurte the said Ann wadsworth in her left syde, and the said guyser Did wpe the blood from of the point of his said sword

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2/ O: Sutton has signed with his personal mark

14/ +: Williams has signed with her personal mark

24/ +: White has apparently signed with her personal mark

27/ 1639: underlined

with his gloue: And did heare the said Ann wadsworth complaininge of
the said hurte:/

the marke of Mary Evans X

Inquiry into the Death of Anne Wadsworth

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NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/23/1/21

single sheet (13 July) (*Examination of William Parry, butcher*)

Taken before John Erthyg, coroner

...

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William Parry beinge examined saieth that vpon wensday beinge the x:th
Day of Iuly 1639: hee was desired to carry a Poesy vnto a house where
some of the neighbors were at a Byddinge spininge, And this examynant
beinge apparelled in a Redd petticoate and a white wascoate went to the
said house with the said poesy, and [^]confesseth the¹ havinge of a rapier
in his hand in the yeard of the said house, but denyeth that hee neither
saw the said Ann wadsworth in that place nor of all that day but afterwarde
hard say that shee was hurte, and denyeth that hee did not hurte at all
to his knowledge, but others tould him that at such tyme as hee turned
himselfe aboutes in the said yeard the said Ann Wadsworth was hurte:
And saieth that annother man was there present havinge a sword with him
but knoweth neither his name nor whence hee was but heard say that
he dwelled in the Township of hope in the County of fflynt and further
saieth not./

15

20

the marke of William + Parry./

25

...

YSBYTY IFAN

1578

30

Examinations of Rogues and Beggars

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/5/2/20

single sheet*

Taken by Ellis Peter

35

...

Owen ap thomas of denbigh being lykewise apprehended and taken at
spytty aforesaid vpon Sct Iohns day last beinge also examined Confesseth
that he hath wandered abroad and leaded ane idle lyf these iij yeres and
more [b] beinge further examined what busynes he had to come nowe to

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the churche of spytty saieth, that he can make songes or Rymes and for that
he is a Rymer he wandreth abrod &c/
...

Households

5

BRERETON OF BORRAS HALL

1597

A *Christmas Games at Borrass* NLW: NLW MS 1559B

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pp 665–6

...

At Borrass (being the House of Edward Brereton, then High sheriff for the
County of Denbigh) on Christmass in 1597 there was all the Holidays a
Drum a Colestaff and a Book, whoever was taken in Bed after the first sound 15
of the Drum, or with never a penny about him or played for more than he
had to pay, or was found Drunk, or a common swearer, should ride this
Colestaff and be gallantly carried about the Court and the Hall, with the
Drum beating before him Royally; Huw Gryffydd being one of the Company
did often times offend in the Premises, one Samuel Powell hearing so much, 20
wrote to him this Hodge-Podge or Soresmus following |

“Dic Huw is it true, îs tre, te nudum

Tan aden Borrassi?

Accw itti Aquitare

Cowlstaff trwm, post Drwm y dre

25

whereas Samuel Powell thought by te nudum the bare Cowlstaff. Gryffydd
takes it otherwise, as if he meant his attritæ Togæ, his bare apparell, and in
that sense he answer'd him with this mingle-mangle following

“I ride without Pride. ar y Pren, in Borrass

Byrroês fyddo i'r Cwlbren

30

Si nudus sum /Pen floeden/ ne Hoeden

Cave tu, eb'r Huw hen.

...

HOLLAND OF KINMEL PARK

35

1616/17

David Holland's Probate Inventory NLW: NLW MS 1545F

mb 2 (20 February)

...

40

In the Corner Chamber

One standinge beddsteede one Matt, one
 featherbedd, one paire of sheetes, two
 blankettes, one Coueringe, one paier of
 Curtance and vallance, one pillowe and
 pillowbeere, one boulster, one trucklebedd,
 ^one Matt, one Course, featherbedd^ two
 blankettes, one boulster one iointstoole,
 one litle table, two Chaires, one cushion,
 three Chestes, one trucke bottle, one looking
 glasse one fire shovell, one payer of tonges,
 three praier bookes, one close stoole, and
 two harpes.

5

10

iiij li. vj s. viij d.

...

MYDDELTON OF CHIRK

15

1612

Sir Thomas Myddelton's Household Accounts NLW: Chirk Castle F12903
 f 1 (2 September) (At London when setting out for Wales)

...

20

Item giuen to the fidlers

01 00 00

...

f 1v (3 September)

...

25

Item for our super and breakfast at Chester

04 07 4

...

Item to the musitians

00 07 00

...

30

f 2 (24 October) (Travel expenses from Chirk)

...

Item giuen to the fidlers at Chester

0 10 0

...

35

1612/13

Sir Thomas Myddelton's Household Accounts NLW: Chirk Castle F12903
 f 3 (January) (Expenses at Chirk)

...

Item giuen to the fidlers at Christmas

0 5 0 40

...

1613

Sir Thomas Myddelton's Household Accounts NLW: Chirk Castle F12903
f 4 (25 March) (Travel expenses)

...

Chester

Item giuen the Musitians at Chester

0 5 0 5

...

1623–3/4

Sir Thomas Myddelton's Household Accounts NLW: Chirk Castle F12734
f [20]* (14 September–12 March)

10

...

geuen to Sir Richard price his harper

00 02 0

1634

A Chirk Castle Masque BL: Egerton MS 2623, art. 13
ff [1–3]

15

GENIUS or ye Countryes better Angell. wrapt in amazement,
at some happy changes hee observes in his Soyle, & Clymate,
begin ye entertainment with his first Entry.

20

What mean these præparations in ye Ayre
proclaiming some great welcome? all soe fayre
ye dogstar bites not! & ye parching heat
yat lately chapt our feilds, sweet showres yat beat
on ye earths teeming bosome have allay'de;
the Earth[s] in Robes of a new Spring aray'de
seemes proude of some late Guest: ye days are clear
as had tyme from all Seasons of ye year
extracted forth theyr quintessence: in mee
this Countryes Genius ye sweet harmony
of all ye Elements (yat have conspird
to blesse our soyle & clymate) hath inspird
a fresher soule: but soft, what doo I see?
beuty ioind hand in hand with Majesty?
Mars & ye Queen of loue! sure tis not they
I see noe wanton glances, but a Raye
like bright Diana's smiles, & in his face
a grave aspect like Ioves, taking his place
amidst heauns counsellors, Nor are those twayn
yonge Cupids they haue Eys, & I in vayne I
guesse at yon fresher Beauty then ye Spring
or Smooth fac'd Hebe: let sweet Orpheus sing

25

30

35

40

unto his well tun'd lyre, yat they may see
they're truly welcome heer, whoe ere they bee.

Orpheus enters with this Song

Canst thou in judgement bee soe slowe
as these ritch beautyes not to knowe?
Look on those Eys, & sure they shine
will giue more clearnes unto thine.

5

These ye fayr Causes of our Mirth,
shall in esteem *our* barren Earth
equall with theyrs, whose lofty Eys
our higher Mountaines heer despise.

10

See how the heauns smile on *our* land,
& plenty stretch her opened hand,
enriching us with hearts content,
civility, & governement.

15

Wee in *our* Country, that in us
both happy are, & prosperous,
& of our youth noe more made poore
shall find ye Court eu'n at *our* dore. |

20

Genius

25

I'me sung into my Sences, but nought might
like majesty or beuty dazle sight
bee yat my iust excuse: now let mee show
what welcome for my Country's sake[s] I owe
to these her blessings backward shall ye year
runne in his Course ye Seasons shall apear
each with theyr proper dantyes, winter shall
as for his age preferd, bring first of all
his full though grosser dishes let them bee
th'expression of *our* Entertainment free
though not soe fine: yet thus much let mee say
there is noe danger in them, but you may
fearles tast where you please, they're all *our* own
noe dish whose tast, or dressing, is unknown

30

35

1/ well ... may: *written over erasure*

26/ sung: u *corrected over a*

unto *our* natiues, neighbouring Mountaines yeald
 us goats, & in ye next adjoining feilds
 pasture *our* muttons, if there bee a Bucke
 turn'd into venison, *yat* was likewise struck
 on *our* own lawnes, of whatsoere is more
 wee serue in noe strange dish but owne store.

5

This Speech ended Winter ushers in ye first Course
which hauing ordered upon ye Table turnes to ye Company

Winter.

Not to detain you longer from *your* fare
 to tell you more then welcome, welcome y'are
 welcome with all my heart more can't be spoak
 a fuller word then welcome is would choak
 an old man if you'd hear more hear grace |

10

15

The first Course taken away Orpheus
 ushers Autumne with the second hee
 presents a bakemeat [^]in one hand¹ & wyne in ye other being ye
 fruits of Ceres & Bacchus properly belonging
 to Autumne in whose name Orpheus sings

20

Your Beutys Ladyes far more bright
 & sweet then Phœbus clearest light
 haue sooner far fetcht Autumne heer
 Then all his smiles throughout ye year
 though with his Rayes
 & fayrest days
 & with serenest view
 he Courts mee heer
 yet I appear
 but to attend on you

25

30

And being come I hold it scorne
 to welcome you with meer bare Corne,
 here's Ceres in a newe attire
 and ripned with a second fire

35

Cut up and find
 how she is lind

6/ owne: *for our owne* (?)

14/ an old ... grace: *line written in lower right corner due to lack of room at foot of sheet*

17–18/ hee presents ... other: *written over erasure*

19/ & Bacchus: *written over erasure*

for to entertaine you
 here's Bacchus blood
 to digest your food
 why then doe not refraine you.

Exeunt 5

The Second Course taken [^]away¹ Orpheus enters again
 bringing in Summer & ye fruites of her Season with this Song
 Summer was offring sacrifice
 unto ye Sunne but from your Eys 10
 perceiuing far a clearer light
 Ladyes, hee giues them to your sight
 & richer paiment doth hee find
 from your breaths then ye Southern wind. |
 As Autumnes clusters ript bee 15
 by neighbouring grapes maturity
 soe from your lips [my] ¹his¹ cherries heer
 take sweetnes & their colour clear
 noe marvell then yat as your due
 they thus present themselves to you 20
 all other fruites [my] ¹his¹ Season yealds
 are yours himself, his trees, his feilds.

Exeunt

The last of Orpheus Songs 25
 is in ye person of ye Spring whoe
 brings in ye Bason & Ewer

The nightingale ye larke ye Thrush doe sing
 & all to welcome in ye Spring 30
 the warme blood in ye veynes,
 doth hop about and dance,
 & new life's in eury thing.

The yong men they doe likewise Court their loves 35
 whilst them they lusty, warme blood mooves,
 but unto you ye Spring
 doth her voyce & Sing
 & her self your lover prooves

Uuaque
 conspecta
 livorem ducit
 ab uua.
 Iuuenalis
 Saturæ 2da

15–20m/ Uuaque ... 2da: Juvenal, Satires 2.81: 'and a grape takes on a bruise from (another) grape once seen'
 38/ doth: verb, such as 'raise' or 'lift,' missing

Shee not presents you heer with simple flowres
but with sweet distilled showres
theyr very quintessence
most pleasing to ye Sence
extracted from them forth shee powres |

Add sweet to sweet & wash your lilly hands
The Spring shall be at *your* Commands
nought could have brought back heer
ye Spring tide ye year
Saue you fayr blessings of *our* land
To whom thus with a wish shee bids Adieu
Spring youth & beauty still attend on you
Exeunt

10

After supper is ended and ye
tables taken away Enters
Genius

Heres not enough of mirth, I warne t'appear
 Once more the seasons of ye year
 let musique strike & you shall see
 old winters full of jollity
 Autumne is Bacchus darling &
 soe joyd perchance hee can not stand
 the other livelyer Seasons shall
 soe you theyr pastimes festivall
 how usually they doe themselves bestirre
 on May day, & ye feast of Midsommer.

This Speech ended enter 30

Winter

Winter is old yet would he fain
this fayr assembly entertain
to his best powre, but should he try
he feares it were not worth *your* ey | 35
His cold stiffe limbs are most unfit
although his heart be merry yet
his long nights jovially to spend
with Cups and tales to pleas his friend
Let not *your* expectations runne 40

further, his dancing days are done:
 yet if he soe may satisfie
 by some quicke yongster to supply
 his place: hee Christmas Gamboles pickes
 to entertain you with his trickes.

5

- 1 Then enters Gamboles dancing a single Anticke with a forme.
- 2 After him Autumne brings in his Anticke of drunkards
- 3 Summer followes with a country dance of heymaker or reapers
- 4 The last is a morrice dance brought in by ye Spring

10

These ended enter Genius with Epilogue
 If these our pastimes pleas I'ue yet one more
 yat freely doth present you all her store
 Night giues her howres part them as you think best
 between your recreation & your rest.

15

1641

'An Antimasque of Gypsies' NLW: NLW MS 5390D
 pp 50–5* (30 December)

20

...

°Sic Vaticinatur Musarum et
 Apollonis imperitissimus Vates°

(signed) Thomas Salusbury

°A Show or Antimasque of Gipseys as it was Invented, written, &
 presented within the space of 6 howres at Chirk Castle aforesaid
 the day after the wedding being the 30th of December. 1641.°

25

The prologue./

Those Reuellers of fate the vulgar Call,
 Gipseyes my Lord are Come into your hall,
 As to their Mastres Pallace, where they say
 Great fortune is resolu'd, to make long stay.
 Their life is in thèr smiles, therefore yey Craue
 Their harmles mirth may heere admittance haue;
 That to their Goddesse favorites they may
 Report the message they'r incharged to say./ |

30

35

Lord

1st. Hah what is't that sauours thus,

40

9/ heymaker: for heymakers

22–3/ Sic ... Vates: 'thus the Muses' and Apollo's most unskillful bard prophesies'

I smell the hooffe of Pegasus,
 This Peere what Ere refin'd his blood
 Is surely one of Vulcan's brood:
 Oh this swelling doth afford,
 The Cause, the Muses made his Lord.
 Having vsed him in their need,
 When hee shod their winged steed.
 They in due acknowledgment
 Their prime servant fancy sent,
 Who these honours did Conferr,
 And made Lord Chiefe Governer
 Of this Castle, and to ride
 Ga' him a horse whose Strength & pride
 Is such, hee Can Curvett and bound
 And yett his feete nott touch the ground.
 And by all likelyhood hee might
 Haue been their speciall favorite.
 Butt alas the dismall fate
 Because hee did sophisticate
 Havinge boyl'd and made itt hott,
 In vnhalloved flames and pott,
 Castalian waters, and did Call
 Itt by the name and fame of ale
 Thickn'd with forbidden graines,
 And for Love thereof Disdaines
 The Muses Diett, nott Content
 With the Clearer Element
 Nay, what's worse Doth oft forsake
 His chardge, and Castle for it's sake.
 Heere his punishment I reed
 By the Muses is Decreed,
 Soone his honour shall Expire
 And hee returne to liue by fire./

5

10

15

20

25

30

°Bride & bridgrome°

35

- 2d. What haue wee heere, why this & this,
 Is man & wife by th'honyed kisse,
 Whose printe me thinks a pledge I see
 Of an Exchang'd Virginitie
 But blush nott I shall all Conceale
 Past & to Come, Least to reveale
 The happiness by ye two possest
 Might sett a longinge on ye rest./ I

40

°Sir Thomas Myddelton°

- 3d. The palme discouers much, butt I,
 Dare nott lay in jeopardy
 °my° Creditt on't though I Confesse
 I could make a pillows guesse, 5
 Att fate forepast, but those yat will
 Ensue, I yeeld aboue my skill;
 Men should I foretell you good,
 Will say I guess by likely hood:
 If ill your worth such happ debarrs 10
 Because a wise man rules ye starrs./

°His Lady°

- 4th. This little hand doth much Expresse,
 loyall love, and fruitfullnesse, 15
 Virgines fayre, and hopefull boyes,
 Th'issues of your Nuptiall joyes,
 Shall more then annually recall
 To your happye memory all
 The past pleasures and delightes 20
 Of your Hymenean rites,
 And your times to Come shall proue,
 Like this a time of joy, and loue./

°Lady Ersfield°

- 5th. Would yow of fate Ensuing haue a tast
 Looke backe and see, and knowe ye worst is past./ 25

°Mistris warberton ye widdow°

- 6th. Lett mee kisse this hand I find,
 All the body soe inclin'd 30
 To favour all our Gipsey traine,
 (blank) to pay that loue againe
 To take some Councell marke I say
 And bee wary how you Play, 35
 Att Cant with a disguised knight
 Hee's a Gipsey by this light
 And Can picke pocket, none of us
 Is halfe soe sicke or Dangerous,
 Mum noe more but take aduice 40
 A word's sufficient to the wise./ |

°*Sir Edward Broughton*°

- 7th. Oh heer's the Man how graue hee lookes
 A sager Clearke in fortunes Bookes,
 I haue nott known, loe heer's ye hand
 Can all her Kinges & Queens Commaund, 5
 Tib, and Tom him both Obeyes
 Att aunt hee Can his hundred rayse
 Butt mee thinkes I see his frowne
 Tis for losse of halfe his Crowne
 ffor hee must knowe yat some Can bee 10
 Gipsyes too as well as hee./

°*Mistris Marget Myddelton*°

- 8th. Out and alas what is't I see
 Good heav'ns forbid virginities? 15
 Venus frownes a Lady should
 Soe sweet soe fayre, soe fitt a mould
 for Castinge men to these yeares tarry
 Ere she Can finde a time to marry
 In mistique Characters I read 20
 A heavy punishment Decreed
 for this neglect, you ne're shall find
 True Contentednesse of mind
 Till fate into your Bosome Packe
 A weight too heavy for your backe./ 25

°*Mistris Eyton*°

- 9th. O the doxy who would guesse
 This little peece of hansomnesse
 Now soe Demure Could take delight 30
 In a Gipseyes Armes last night
 Was it for this that you forbore
 Your husbandes bed 3. nightes before.
 Butt oh she blushes and her face
 Stops my mouth with hopes of grace. | 35

°*Mistris Stringer*°

- 10th. Before behind and euery part
 Heere shewes lightsomness of heart
 And marvayle nott shee plumps soe well 40

Weomen *yat* haue been pleas'd will swell
 And euery joynt of her square frame
 Wittnes she hath lou'd the Game
 mistake nott that I say shee's light
 Heer's one will sweare shee had a weight
 And when in pledge of risinge fate
 She triumph'd in the Chayre of State
 Her gravitie *which* fortune aydes
 Might make her mother of the maydes./

5

- 11th. Off whome a number heere I see
 Whome tellinge what their fates wilbee
 Might by a longinge Discontent
 Make joyes forshown their punishment
 Butt to satisfie their mind
 Wee this Omen Leauē behind
 Whilst wee fates Heraldes sport & Daunce
 Lett them feare noe disast'rous Chaunce.

10

15

°Mistris Hellin Warberton°

20

- 12th. Your hand fayre mayde: butt by this kisse
 I knowe nott what *your* fortune js,
 Some thinge's in't I Cannot Looke
 with stedfast [hand] Eye vpon the Booke,
 Lady would yow soe Encline
 You might better tell me mine
 HAh what [fire] is't that [°]burnes[°] with[°]in[°]
 Mee thinkes my wither'd bones beginne
 To bee a weary of my Skinne
 I haue heate Enough to make
 mee to Cast itt Like a snake, |
 Soe mee thinkes I feele a streame
 Of youthfull blood or doe I Dreame
 yett tis noe wonder wee of ould
 Haue heard Medeas story tould
 Whose Charmes lesse pow'rfull *yan* *your* Eyes
 Made aged Æson yonge arise
 As metamorphiz'd with a glance
 [I now haue youth(.)] [°]Methinks I am yong[°] enough to Dance./

25

30

35

27/ is't: s corrected over another letter or letters

27/ that: at corrected over is

1646

Sir Thomas Myddelton's Household Accounts NLW: Chirk Castle F12548
f [8v] (19 October-4 November)

...
guift paid Thomas Parry by order from you by Iohn ap Evan 5
trumpeter xl s. 002 00 00

1654

Sir Thomas Myddelton's Household Accounts NLW: Chirk Castle F12572
f [70v] (13 April)

...
13 paid for supper at fflint when yow went to waite on the Iudge
there and beere night and morninge and breakefast ix s. iiij d. 00 09 04
paid for the six horses there one night at viij d. apeece iiij s.
and for six peckes of oates at vj d. per pecke iij s. & to the 15
oastler vj d. in all vij s. vj d. 00 07 06
and to the Trumpeters at fflint ij s. 00 02 00

...

f [74]* (13-16 June) 20

...

paid Iohn Morgan the harper v s. paid harry howell the
bard for his cowydd x s. and to Griffith Phillip for his
cowydd x s. in all 01 05 00

...

25

f [78] (July) (*Expenses in Cheshire returning home*)

...

paid at Arley to the Chamberlaine there v s. 00 05 00
To the Chambermaide there xxx d. 00 02 06 30
To the Groome v s. to the undergroome ij s. 00 07 00
To the house keeper v s. to the musicke v s. 00 05 00
To the Trumpeter v s. 00 05 00

...

35

f [82] (19 September) (*At Gwydir*)

...

To the Trumpeters by my lady her appointment 00 10 00
To the musicke by her appointment x s. 00 10 00

...

40

SALESBURY OF BACHYMBYD AND RÛG

1601

Sir Robert Salesbury's Probate Inventory Huntington Library: EL 1782g
single sheet (15 June)

5

...

At Bachynbide

In *primis* in the Parlor one faire longe table with drawers and an other shorter without drawers./

Item one Court Coopboorde./

10

Item two Chaires with seates and backes of needle worke, and two other Chaires of wanscoate./

Item sixe ioyned stooles./

Item two formes for the shorter table./

Item eight Mappes with frames./

15

Item one Irishe harpe./

Item one paire of Andyrans./

Item the said Parlor wanscoted, and therin a settell of wanscott at the vpper end.

Item one Carpett of darinckes for the Longer table./

Item seaven thrumed cushions, one of tapstrie, one of darinckes and one of greene cloth./

20

...

SALUSBURY OF LLEWENI

25

1555

Sir John Salusbury's Receiver's Accounts NLW: Wynnstay MS 92
f 97v* (Christmastide)

...

To Iohn Broynock. ^['x s.] *dafydd* ap hoell gryxor. ^['v s.] Iohn
tu(..)r ^['vj s. viij d.] & hoell Lloid ^['v s.] & Iohn ap Saunder
^['ij s.] mynstrells

30

xxviij s. viij d.

...

1556

Sir John Salusbury's Receiver's Accounts NLW: Wynnstay MS 159
p 182

35

...

the same day to a minstrell

xij d.

...

40

1569/70

Sir John Salusbury's Household Accounts NLW: Lleweni MS 869

f 1* (8 January)

....

Item to your worship to geue to the minstrells ye viijth of Ianuary ij s. 5Item to Thomas wyn to pay for wyne the [x] viijth day of Ianuary xx d.

Item to Thomas Salusbury the said day to play with glynne iiij d.

...

1586

10

Posies for a Christmas Masque CCLO: MS 184

single sheet verso*

...

This Poysie was presented In A Maske att Berine In Christmas the xxvijth oF
 Deicember 1586: vnto Mistris Katherin Thelloall, Beinge written In A Sheelde 15
 And Deliuere by William Winn(.) OF LLanver Esquier at the Mariage of
 Iohn Salisburie of LLeweny Esquier Her Sonne and heaire with Vrsula Stanley
 Daughter vnto the righte Honorable Henrie Earle of Derby And devised by
 Roger Salisburie of bachegerige Esquier

20

Dame Venus deare youe Maye Reloyce
 at your Sonne Cupides happye Choyse
 To hym as By the Gods Asseigⁿde
 For to delighte hys doulfull mynde &c.

25

This other Poysie was presentede in The former Maske in A Sheeld alsoe
 by Roger Salisburie of bachegerige esquier Vnto Vrsula Salisburie wyfe Vnto
 Mr Iohn Salisburie Afore saide And devised by the sayde Roger Salisburie

The Lyon Rampinge for his Praye A princlye byrde hee dyd Assaye 30
 and hauinge winges to flye at Will, yet Caughte her faste & houlde(.) hir still
 With hyr to sporte as Lyckes them beste, Thoughe Lions stoute vse not to iest
 A thinge moste strange yet is ytt trewe, God graunt them Ioy and so Adewe.

Finies

Vrsula Salisburie

1592. 35

c 1595

List of Tunes UWB: MS Gwyneddton 4

p 130*

fourtune

hight for my towpens

40

Ionson his meddle	makinge was a kuntraye mayd	
pinsinge the peticote	1. blacke krooe fether	
hatharne budes	2. com [hither] [^] when I cole ¹ or labeta	
donne right squier	3. hole in my heele	
grine slifes	4. labandilo shot	5
	pegi ramsdale	
gouldilockes	5. Rooe well you mariners	
who can tell	6. woodes so wilde	
floweres of komfort	7. [Th] staynes moris	
hartes ease	soing of weetes	10
blacke smithe	8. Seedanen	
the countese of lester dump	9. sundaye morninge	
fadinge	10. [peper is blac]	
william stuard	11. can yow not hit it	
larouse	12. [woodes so wilde]	15
clif his rounde	cali his onestie	
about the bankes		
Broune smith	over the brode water	
Robing hud	nwe moten or nova castrona	
	Sasnet	20
	nwe antes vp	
mihill wheeler		
the sycke man ^e 's health		
lunden gege	goe to bed sweet hart & I will co [^] m ¹ to thee	
tarlton trunke hose	floures of the broume	
	tom duf	25
pegi hath lost hur garter	mundese	
light of love	[Rused] [^] motle ¹ & toni	
hamlinton his health	petisivol	
halfe haniking	orlando	
	[the milner] [^] nwecast ¹	30
shifling the kna [^] v ¹ e of klobes	tarlton is buten [for] cape	
gini gether payers	the marchent doghter	
wite a westemaster	shaking of sheetes	
loth to depart	lacoranto	
the begininge of the warld	motle	35
the milner	nutmckes & ginger	
the luge his danse	the vicker of fooles	
alen his flapes	the crampe	
alen his march	mistres shandoes good night	
mistres wite his choyse	listi galant	40

sweet barbera	blacke almor
Iocand dary	even 'at' [(<..)](<..)ard

1595

List of Performers at Christmas UWB: MS Gwyneddion 4 5
p 133* (*Christmas*)

Henwe y gwyr wrth gerdd a fv n lleweny wilie r natolic 159(<.)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| 1 Thomas ap Richard | |
| 2 Lewis penmon | 10 |
| 3. Simunt vaughan prydydd | |
| 4 Rytherch dylynior. | |
| 5. Iohn llivon. | |
| 6. peilin. | |
| 7 Walter gruthor. | 15 |
| 8 (<i>blank</i>) gruthor. | |
| 9. hughe penant prydydd. | |
| 10. Iohn Robert Telynior | |
| 11. Evan goch prydydd | |
| 12. Iohn Iames Tylynior | 20 |
| 13. Edward mechain Tylynior | |
| ... | |

c 1595–9

A Christmas Entertainment CCLO: MS 184 25
single sheet–single sheet verso*

...
A poore Sheapheards introduction made in A merriment of
christmas at the house of the Right worshipfull
Iohn Salusbury of Lleweny Esquier Etc. 30
Sheapheards be sylent and our musick cease
heare duells our frolique freind of Arcady
whose dogges defend our sheep from greedy wolues
whose sheep doth cloth our silly sheapherd swaines
whose oxen tills the grownd that yelds vs corne 35
whose corne doth relieue the fatherles
And fatherles still pray for his relieffe
we of Arcadia sometime frolique swaines
swaines that delight in homely pleasaunt mirth
in due obedience and regard of loue 40

2/ Iocand ... (<..)ard: letters obscured or illegible because foot of sheet cut off

shold heare present as newe yeares homely gifte
 peares Apples fildbirde or the hazell nutt
 or other fruite that this faire clymatt yelds
 but nipping winter and a forward spring
 blasted our trees and all our sommer budds 5
 whose blossomes shold haue yelded dainty fare
 therefore seing all giftes giftes that shold befreinds vs
 the balesome weather and cold spring denied |
 In signe of honor and obedience
 to the whight Lyon of Arcadia 10
 that doth defend our liues from ravenous beaers
 and feeds vs with the pray that he persues
 A homely cuntry hornepipe we will daunce
 A sheapheards prety ligg to make him sport
 and sing A madingall [and] or roundelay 15
 to please our Lordlike sheapheard [squier] ^l[king] ^l^ ^llord^l of vs
 take hands take hands our hartes lett vs Advauce
 and strive to please his humou^r with A daunce.

finis Robert Chester

20

1601

Sir John Salusbury's Household Accounts CCLO: MS 184

f 49v*

ffees due to be paid by all knightes made by her Maⁱestie & to the officers 25
 of her Maⁱesties chamber as followeth this note being laid downe by
 Mr Braconbirie & Mr Conwey gentlemen vshers, and paid to
 their hands for all by Sir Iohn Salusburie ^lknight^l .1601.
 To the foure gentlemen vshers in ordinarie v li.
 To the harraldes at armes xx s. 30
 To the yeomen vshers xx s.
 To the groomes of the great chamber x s.
 To the pages of the chamber x s.

Summe viij li.

35

There will be other ffees demaunded as followeth the which
 the said Sir Iohn Salusburie ^lknight^l paid.

The Sargeantes at armes xx s.
 The trumpetors xx s.

7/ giftes giftes: dittography
 7/ befreinds: for befreind

14/ ligg: I corrected over G

The porters xx s.
 The drumme maior xiiij s. iiij d.
 Summe iiij li. xiiij s. iiij d.
 (signed) Sir Iohn Salusbury
 Summa totalis 5
 xj li. xiiij s. iiij d.

...

1622/3

Sir John Salusbury's Household Accounts NLW: NLW MS 5390D 10
 p 491* (5 March)

...

To Evan the Harper (blank)

...

15

WYNN OF MOELIWRCH

c 1562

Moeliwrch House Book NLW: Peniarth MS 103D 20
 p 66*

...

Huw dai/ Robart ap Iohn Llwyd
 wiliam penfro wiliam goch grythor
 wmfre grythor morvs grythor.
 tomas grythor o gegidfa a 25
 howel gethin afv gida myfi yn kylera pan oedd ynodolig ar dduw gwener
 Rys wyn wiliam penllyn

...

FLINTSHIRE/SIR FFLINT

30

County

1547

Inquiry Concerning Entertainers 35

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/966/6/174

single mb*

transgressio

k. Inquiratur pro domino Rege si Ricardus downseor de Ruthyn in Comitatu
 denbighe Mynstrell Robertus ffydler de llanwyth in Comitatu predicto 40

Mynstrell hugo downnseor nuper ¹de¹ bello Marisco in Comitatu predicto
 Mynstrell & Ricardus prydydd bregh nuper de llandrywlow in Comitatu
 denbigh Mynstrell vicesimo die Iunij anno regni Edwardi Sexti dei gracia
 anglie ffrancie & hibernie Regis fidei defensoris & in terra ecclesie anglicane
 & hibernie supremum capitis primo & multis temporibus & visibus 5
 antea & postea quasi vacabundi infra Comitatum de fflint vacauerunt
 asserentes se esse mimos & hucvsque vagant ¹vi & armis ac¹ contra formam
 Statutorum in huiusmodi casu editorum & prouisorum & contra pacem
 domini Regis

Inquiry Concerning Entertainers

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/966/6/175

single mb verso

billa vera pro hijs
 Rychard Downseor de Ruthyn
 Robert ffydler de lanwyth
 Hugh Downnseir de Anglsey
 Rychard ap prydydd bregh nuper de llandryllo

et omnibus sicut Inquiratur

1577

Englynion by Hywel Bangor NLW: Peniarth MS 73

p 6*

...

howel bangor mewn ysteddfod a ganodd val hynn
 ysteddwch kynheliwch kawn holi pawb
 pybyr yw yn profi
 ar dyn ni bo yno da
 hael(..)n i glvst yngwydd hyn o glêr

y ssur moes arian i brydydd
 a briodes gwenllian
 onis kêr mi ath ddyfala
 mynn mair nas mynnit er march

1/ bello Marisco: Beaumaris, Anglesey

2/ Ricardus: R corrected over another letter, possibly p

2/ llandrywlow: Llandrillo-yn-Rhos, Denbighshire

5/ supremum: for supremi

7/ mimos: written over an erasure, possibly in another hand

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

CAERWYS

1523

5

Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan (1523) BL: Additional MS 19,711

mbs 2-12*

Bid hysbys i bawb o vonheddigion a chredin vod Eisteddvod ar wyr wrth
 gerdd Tavod a thant o vewn: Tref gaerwys yn sir y fflint yr ail dydd o vis 10
 gorffenhaf y bymthe(.)ved vlwyddyn o goronedigaeth harri wythved gar
 bronn Rishart ap Howel ap Ieuan Vachan ysgweir o gyd(.)deb syr Wiliam
 Gruffudd a syr Roetsier Salbri a thrwy bersonol 'gyngor' Gruffydd ap Ieuan
 ap (...) vychan (.) thudur aled bardd kadairiawc a llawer o vonheddigion a
 doethin am benn hynny Er gwnaethur ordur a llywyodraeth ar wyr wrth gerdd 15
 ac ar i kelvyddydd wrth Eiriav ystatus Gruffudd ap kynan Tywyssoc gwynedd
 nid amgen i gadarnhav a chonffirmio pennkerddiaid ar sawl a gavas gradd
 nny blaen ac i roddi ir sawl ai haeddaid ac i roi i eraill ysbas i ddysgv ac y
 vvyrio y nessaf i galler wrth gydwybod ac wrth ystatus y Tywyssoc Gruffudd
 ap kynan 20

Llyma y Rai mae Rydddid vdynt Er bod wedy ebargovi a ddysgasant val
 na bo gradd vdynt gwr wrth gerdd anavus dall nev vyddar hynny vydd o
 lvsenaws gynnwys a haeddigawl gynnwys

Tri disgybl ysydd disgybl ysbas disgybl disgyblaid disgybl penkerddiaidd a
 ffennkerdd disgybl ysbas nid oes dogyn ar i rodd nai radd ond barn pennkerdd 25
 a ellir gwr wrth gerdd o honaw

Disgybl ysbas graddol o gerdd davod a dyl gwybod eu silltavav oll a phump
 messur ynglyn a messvr kywydd devair hirion ai kanv yn yn awenyddgar
 ymarn pennperdd a ddyweto y gallir prydydd o honaw ac ateb drosto ar
 ddysgv gradd disgybl disgybliaidd Erbyn penn y tair vlynedd 30

Disgybl dysgybliaidd kerdd davod devddec or messurav pûmp o Englynion
 pedwar o gywyddav a thri o vessurav odlav Toddaid gwawdodyn byrr a
 gwawdodyn hir a gochel y pypmthec bai kyffredin a dangos kerdd oi waith
 e hvn ar bob vn or devddec messvr yn ddvai ddisgybliaidd

Disgibl pennkerddiaidd a dyl gwybod yr holl silltavav ai naturiaethav ac 35
 a berthyno arnynt a Reolav yr ymadroddion yn ol gramadec dosbarth y
 kynghaneddon yni holl reoledigaethav gochel yr holl veiaf kyffredin kanv yn
 gyvochr nev yn gydsain ar vn ar hvgain or messurav Er na chano gadwynvyr
 nev ddigwydd vn or mesurav Eraill y mae yn gydymddaith i bennkerdd ac

15/ doethin: *for* doethion28/ yn yn: *ditto*graphy29/ pennperdd: *for* pennkerdd

yn (<..>) Radd a phennkerdd eithr na ddyly ymgysdaith a phennkerdd Tra vo
yn y radd honno

Pennkerdd a ddyly gwybod y kwbl a chanv ^[yn] groes gynghaneddawl ar
gymeriadav yn ddefnyddgar o ddigrif^[f] wch yn ffrwythlawn (<.) synnwyr yn
ddefnygar o gerddlwriaeth yn warantedic o awdûrdod ac yn awenyddgar o 5
ddychymic val y bo Esmwytha dysgv nev atgan y gerdd a digrifaf i gwrando
ai ai darllain a hwyaf daly kof ar voliant bonheddigion

Kerdd dant disgybl ysbas graddol a ddyly wybod pûmp kwlm a chadair ac a
barno athraw o ganiadav a gostegion

Disgybl disgyblaidd a ddyly wybod .10. o glymav a .10. o ganidav kadair a 10
chlofn a gwybod pa vessurav a ffa gweiriav y bont

Disgybl pennkerddiaidd a ddyly wybod .20. o glymav ac .20. o ganiada(<.)
<.)wy gadair a dwy golofn ar .24. ar hvgain o glymav kydkerdd ar pedwar
messûr ar vgaint ai dosbarthv ai kanv yn bennkerddiaidd ac vn Rodd yw ar
pennkerdd ond na ddyly ymgystadlv ac Ef yn benkerdd 15

Pennkerdd a ddyly wybod .30. o glymav ymrysson ac o hynny or hynn lleiaf
.3. kadair a thair kolofn ac a vynno dwyn ariandlws Telynnv nev grwth Raid
iddaw wybod .4. kolofn ai .4. kadair ar .24. o glymav kydgerdd ar pedwar
messvr ar vgaint yssydd arnynt

Ac os Telynor Raid iddaw wybod Tri mwchwl odidoc Y kwlm a raddiwyd 20
gyvûwch a dec kwlm 40/ a gwybod dosbarth pob gwan a Ragwan vob
kynhwyssiad ac ysmvdva pob gorhwynfa ar dyniad a chywairdant a dangos
kerdd gvarantedic oi waith e hvn yn bennkerddiaidd ac yn athrawaidd val
y bo kydwbybodûs i bennkerddiaid a doethion varnv ai ddewisso yn awdûr
ar yn athraw ar (<.) gelyyddyd 25

Kans ni ddyly neb [^]ddysgv¹ orithr gann athraw pennkerddiaidd nev gael
ganto ossod yn iawn a ddysger gann arall ac a ddyger amigenach nabo
kyvrifawl nachynnwyssedic i ynnill gradd Eirth y modd ir ordeiniwyd
Llyma yr Eisteddfod a fv garbronn y tywysoc gruffudd ap kyan yn berssonol
Bid hysbys i bawb ar a sydd o vewn Talaith aberffraw ynrrf gaerwys vod 30
Eisteddvod gyfrathlawn o wys a Rybvdd drwy awdûrdod a charbronn y
talaithiawc dywyssawc ai brenhinllwyth Gruffudd ap Kyan a gwynn ap Egînîr
i ddistain ac Eraill o vonheddigion a brehyrion yr vnrryw dalaith i wnaeth[^]vr¹
kyvraith a llywodraeth ar holl anant a cherddwyr Tavod a thant ac ar i kelyyddyd
yn gymaint a thyfv gorweigion chwynn yn ev plith au haeddedic iw harvolli 35
kans n bvont dann law athraw kyvraithlawn or gelyyddyd i ddilav y Raîni
o gwbl ac i gadnhav a gralddio yr haeddedigion ac yw kynhorthwyo y
Raglyddedigion pawb yni radd ai haeddai

Ac yn gyntaf bod y dywyddedic dywyssawc o gydvndeb y gynnulleidfa yn
kenadv yn ordeinio ir athrawon ar pennkerddiaid gymeryd disgyblion wrth 40

5/ ddefnygar: *for* ddefnyddgar
7/ ai ai: *distography*

25/ ar': *for* ac
28/ Eirth: *for* Eithr

rolaeth y gelyyddyd nid amgen vn ar vnwaith mewn dogn o brentissiaeth y
 sef mal y kymerir y disgybl o rodd kenedl nev benndevic a vo dros y genedl
 ar athraw a ddyly ddyvod yngwydd yr orsedd bennaf ar mab kanto a govyn ir
 penndevigion ai kariadus gantyn i golwc ar y mab hwnnw o gellid gwnaethur
 gwr wrth gerdd graddol o honaw os dywedyt vod yn ffansiolt gantyn ac 5
 yn garedigawl i golwc arno i gymeryd a all yr athraw ai ddysgv ac ^Λos^Λ y
 penndevigiawn ni welant i golwc ai ffansi arno nis gall
 Hevyd bod drwy yr ystatûs honn Ryw vath ar ddyn niall athro i kymryd yn
 ddisgybl m^Λab^Λ aillt kaeth mab amhaus gann i dad a mab ac anaf Erchyll
 angharedigawl ar i wyneb 10
 Hevyd yrydys drwy yr ystatus honn yn kenadv Tair gradd a boob kelyyddyd
 ac a berthyno atynt nid amgen disgybl ysbas disgybl disgybliaidd disgybl
 pennkerddiaidd disgybl ysbas nid oes dogn ar i gelyyddyd nac ar i rodd oni
 wypo a varno athraw o gelyyddyd ac yna mae ef yn ysbas graddol i gael
 gradd a Rodd disgybl disgybliaidd ac oni bydd ef wedi kyrhaeddyd gradd 15
 ddisgyblaid Erbyn penn y tair blynedd na bo iddo mwy o hynny allan ddim
 or gelyyddyd honno nac i athraw ymarddelw o honaw
 Disgybl disgybl a all sefyll yn y radd honno drabo byw os mynn
 Disgybl pennkerddiaidd oni bydd Erbyn penn y Tair blynedd yn ynill o
 gwbl wrth vraint y gelyyddyd val y mae yn dangos Rac llaw Ef a gyll i radd 20
 o hynny allan
 Ac yn amser y gwnaethbwyd ystatus grûffudd ap kynan y meibïon iangaf
 I wyr bonheddîgion a ordeînîd yn wyr wrth gerdd ac mor anvynych kael y
 Rai hynny ac awenyddiaeth gantyn a Rac kolli y gelyyddyd y Roed i bob math
 ar ddyn a vai yn avr^Λi^Λ fed o awen a synnwyr a deall ddysgv y gelyyddyd 25
 gann athraw kyvreithlawn drwy nabo vn or Tri gwaharddedic vchod
 Hevyd na bo i ddisgybl wnaethûr disgybl arall na dysgv dîm ar a gafas gann î
 athraw onid a wnel dann i athraw yn ysgol yr athro nev drwy i ganiad i ddysgv
 arall ac ar i bob disgybl bod gida i athraw y grawys ac yn Enwedic pob disgybl
 ysbas nes ynill gradd disgybliaidd dan boen kolli i radd oni bydd karchar nev 30
 glevyd nev gyvryw achos kyvreithlawn
 Hevyd yddydys Trwy yr ystatûs honn yn kenadv o lûssenawl gynnwys Gwr
 wrth gerdd dall nev vyddar er i vod wedi Ebargofi a ddysgasant val nabo gradd
 vdynt bod ev Roddion yn y modd y bvont yni haeddv pann yt oeddynt iach
 Hevyd na bo prydydd a wnel kerdd i erchi march nev vilgi nev gyvryw 35
 anwyldlws nodedic heb gennad y perchennoc ac nas anvono gwr wrth gerdd
 dant dann boen ffin hevyd na wnel ddanwarded i athro ar i veddwl nai vyvyrddod
 ac na wnel disgybl gerdd heb i dangos yw athraw i wybod i bod yn iawn kynn
 i chanv allan
 Hevyd na wnel prydydd ond .4. kywydd yn y vlwyddyn o voliant i wr oni 40

bydd gwahawdd nev ddamvniad ac yn Enwedic nad eler ar gerdd adref ond ar
 wyl arbennic pasg nodolic sŵlgwynn nev wyl yr Hollsaint ac os a ynewis y neb
 y kaner iddo ai Talv ai paidio onid airc iddaw ddyvod ac o seirch doed pann
 archer amod a dyrr kyvraith neithr Ef all wnaethur a vynno val y digwyddo
 yr achos o varwnadav a dyvaliadav a dyvod ac hwynt adref pann vynno ar 5
 amser y diwyddo vod yn dda

Hevyd na wnelont arveroedd vakbwns nev Gler y dom hynny Rodiad ne
 grwydrad ac nad El neb [El neb] allan or Ty ydel tra barhao y wledd honno
 heb gennad gwr y ty a gwaodd gann arall ac oda ody idy iddav val Roddyn
 'iddel' a dwyn a fo yni bwrs ai roi yngolevad yr eglwys o brwysga yn y wledd 10
 val nallo i ym lywodraeth i hvn kolli I Rodd wrth yr ystatûs honn

Hevyd na wn^{el} on laceirwydd nac ansyberwyd am wraic nev vorwyn lle del
 i ddangos i gelyyddyd dan boen ffin a charchar a chida hynny kolli i radd
 saith mlynedd l

<...> saith mlynedd 15

Hevyd nadelont i dafarnav nev i gornelav kvddiedic i chwaraiv dissiaiv nev
 gardiaiv nev warae arall am dda ac o dant pawb yn swyddoc arnynt i ddwyn
 a avo yni pyrssav

Hevyd na ddysgont sennav na Rîmynnav gwradywddûs nav 'r' yw a hynny
 goganv gwatwar danwared kablv dychmygv kelwydd nev i ddywedud yn ol 20
 arall dan boen ffin a charchar

Hevyd na wnelont gynhennau ffraeau Twyll nev ledrad mvrn nev gynllwyn
 ym galyn a lladron nev ar neb a wnel llywodraeth ddrwc arall kans gwyr wrth
 gerdd a ddylai ddwyn ymarweddiad heddychol hawddgar karredic vfdd
 gwassnaethgar i bawb o gywiriaid y tywyssoc ai swyddogion i kadarnhav ai 25
 kanhorthwy

Hevyd mis ymlaen pob gwyl arbennic y perthyn vddynt ^{ymwel} ai hathrawon
 i wybont pa le yr ant Rac myned gormod ir vn lle ac nad el on vn att wr /10/
 pvnt o vywyd dav att wr o /20/ pvnt o vywyd y tair gwyl arbennic ac velly
 att a vo vwch o vywyd. 30

Hevyd or daw gwr o wlad arall ar gylchwyl heb ysgrivenu o law vn or
 pennkerddiaid i ddangos pa radd y bo onid e vod heb i rodd lle govynner ac
 yntav yn ddyffygiol

Llyma sy siars yr eisteddwyr ar brawdwy afo yn barnv ariandlwsav val hynn
 ar i llw pwy aplaf ac aplaf i ddysgv y gelyyddyd yn iawn i arall ac i wellav a 35
 vo arr [gam] l

Hevyd o bydd neb wedi kael gradd disgybl pennkerddaidd nev a vo abl yw
 chael yn ddiddifc wrth yr ystatûs y gall ymardd ^{el} ar Tlws ariant a thann
 i berigl i harwaîn arroî Rybûdd mewn llys a marchnad i vod yn kymeryd y

15/ <...> saith mlynedd: several words in red, apparently repeating end of preceding section, obscured by
 stitching of membranes

tlws arroi ateb i bawb aro sialens arno drwy roi kywerthydd yr aryandlws
 yni Erbyn o vewn vn a vlwyddyn ar dydd hwnnw dyvod o ddygiawdr yr
 ariandlws gann ovyn oes neb a ro klaîm arno ac or bydd ar y neb ai rroddo
 Roi kywerthydd yr ariandlws yn herbyn ir llawr ai radd hevyd ac os kyll na
 chaffo byth radd bennkerddiaidd am ym gystadlv ar neb nis gallai ac yna 5
 kymered y pennkerd yriandlws ac ni chaiff y llall roi sialens ar ariandlws byth
 Hevyd os ariandlws a enillir mewn Eisteddvod gyvreithlawn drwy gymissiwn
 vndydd a blwyddyn ni chaiff neb roi klaîm na sialens vyth ar ariandlws a
 yniller mewn Eisteddvodd ynoes y dygiawdr hwnnw a phawb a gyvadnabod
 a hwnnw yn vnîc athraw y dalaith honno ac ir athraw hwnnw wrth gymeryd 10
 yr ariandlws vachnio ar Edvryd yr ariandlws hwnnw yn ol i amser ir orffwysle
 berthynasol y ty y doeth o honaw allan l

Athro o gerdd dant a ddyly gwnaeth kwlmap a chaniadav E hunan yn
 waralntedic ac yw chadw kans: athro or gelvyddyd ac or dysc ac yn gwnaethûr
 ac i warrantedîc ac nid y Rai sydd yni chanv gwneler wrth wasanaeth a gwaith 15
 ac ysdigrwydd athrawon yn i dysgv val dysgv krefft arall ar kyvryw rai hynny,
 a elwir atkeniaid kerdd dant

A llawer o wahani^{ra} d yssydd Rwng gwnaethvriawdr ac atkeiniad kans
 gwnaethuriaidr a wyr gwnaethûr pob peth ac atkeîniad y ssydd yn kanv peth
 awnaeth ef or blaen achos y neb a fo yn gwnaethûr y peth nî wnaethbwyd 20
 erioed ac na wypo neb o atgeînid ymvssig beth avo hwnnw piav y glod ar
 braînt oi blegid ar neb avo yn kanlyn y gelvyddyd a heb wybod gwnethur
 dîm val anivaîl yddydyd ynî gyfflybû os kanmol vwchder llyverydd yr assen ar
 yr Eos ai ar llaw yn vwchaf o vwchder llais am hynny nid yr vwchaf a gano
 a roîr yn ddoethineb ar dysg 25

Llyma y modd y graddiwyd kerdd dant pob kadaîr o bedaîr a dalant pump
 kwlmap pob vn ond kanv pûmp kwlmap o vlaen yddwy gyntaf pob kolofn or
 pedaîr kolofn a dalant ddekwlmap bob vn ond kanv dekwlm o vlaen pob vn or
 ddwy gyntaf Tri mwchwl odidoc a dal dec kwlmap a devgaîm ond kanv y dec
 kwlmap ar hûgaîm oi vlaen ac yn y dec ar hvgaîm hynny Tair kadaîr a thaîr kolofn 30
 or hynn lleiaf ai kyfrif yno yn vn kwlmap bob vn val pebai yn keissiô gradd achos
 nida neb i geisio gradd a gaffo yr vwchelvraînt hwnnw nac i prissiwyd hwynt
 velly yn gyfwch o rifedi kwlmap Eithr lle baî ddav benkerdd yn ymrysson
 am ariandlws nev ymryson arall Rwng pennkerddiaid nev ddysgyblon am
 gael Ragiaeth wedy kaffael gradd yn y blaen mewn Eisteddvodav nev [neb] 35
 neithiorav Reiol nid dîm Eithr am gael blaen llaw vchaf a gossod o gyfadnabob
 ragor Rwng^{ra} kyd^{ra} raddolion vrodur vn gelvyddyd

Ac i benkerdd nev athraw o gerdd Tavod i perthyn bod atkeîniad i atken y
 gerdd a bryto Ef Trwy awdurdod kelvyddyd ar atkeiniad hwnn a berthyn
 iddo wybod darllaîn kymraec l a gwybod i wythrann ymadrodd i silltavav a 40

gwnaethur ynglyn yn devlûaidd i ddiddanv Rianedd a gwrageddda a gwybod
 dosbarth ac atkan Tair kaînk prydyddiaeth ynglyn kywydd ac awdl a chyvanabod
 o bydd bai ar bennill o waith prydydd ai ddangos i brydydd a disyf arno i roi
 yni le a gwnaethûr diwyd wasanaeth ir prydydd ai ddilud a gwisgo am dano
 a diosg am dano a dwyn dwfr a thwel iddaw a chwbl oi wasaeth kyvreidiol am 5
 benn hynny ar Rodd a ddichon Ef i sialaens yw grod
 Ac wedi hynny y dichon atkeiniad vwyhav i rodd godi i radd drwy: awdûrdod
 kelvyddyd kerdd dant nid amgen dysgv i blethidav oll a ffroviad kyffredin ai
 ostegîon a thair ar ddec o brif geînkiaiv ai gwybod yn iwn yn i partiav ac atkan
 i gywydd gida hwy a gwedi hynny y dichon Ef sialens grod drachefn o rann 10
 Tannav ac velly ac velly y gall atkaniad sialens dwy rod Rwngr Tavod a thant ac
 nifferthyn i atgeiniad glera ar gylchwwyl ond Trwy ddilid pennkerdd o gerdd
 davod nev o gerdd dant
 Ac î gerddwyr addol mae silens Roddion ar wyr o 100 swllt o rent allan pa ffordd
 bynnac y bo ef yn i oddiwes ai o rent tir ai o vric da gwylltdion ai dovîon 15
 Pwy bynnac a gyrhaeddo 'gradd' o gelvyddyd mewn vn dalaith Ef a ddichon
 sialens i rodd ymhob vn or Tair Talaith yn gystadl bob vn ai gilydd
 Ac na bo i brydydd dann radd disgybl brydv na chanv namyn i verched ac
 i ofer beihav yn ddyvaliadav i gyfadnabod ai awenydd nes kael gradd mewn 20
 Eisteddvod warantedic
 Hevyd na bo îneb arwaîn dwy gelvyddyd megîs Telynior nev grythor a
 ffrydyddiaeth nev a chreffft arall nev brydydd yn of ac yn brydydd ac nabo
 i neb o athraw gymryd yn ddisgybl neb avv brentis i grefft ac na kyvrifol
 a ddysgo l
 Pynkiav yr ystatûs honn Trwy ddyvndeb brenhin y deyrnas oi gwbl gennad 25
 bod Rydddid i gelvyddyd kerdd Tavod a thant Telyn a chrwth ac i gael pûmp
 Erw rydd nid amgen nodolic a chylchwwyl ynîol hyd wyl vair y kanwyllav A ail
 pasg ai gylchwwyl hyd ddydd iav drychavael y sulgwynn ai gylchwwyl hyd dydd
 sul y kreiriav pedwaredd Erw rydd pann vai benndevîc yn kyvodî Ty bod y
 wyr wrth gerdd rodd pob vn wrth vraînt i radd ac yn yn y kyvamser hwnnw 30
 y byddai ir penndevic anrregîon gann i dailiaid ai genedl ai berthynassav ar
 Erw rydd honno drwy ddyvndeb penndevigîon y dilewyd hi drwy ganadv i
 wyr wrth gerdd Erw rydd yni lle nid amgen gwyl mabsant y bvmed Erw rydd
 yw kyfarwys morwyn Ievank ysef priodas Rîaîn wryy ac o damwainia i ffriodî
 yr eilwaith nid oes i wyr wrth gerdd sialens Rodd o hynny allan 35
 Ac or Tair kelvyddyd i soniwyd vchod amdanynt nid amgen Tavod Telyn a
 chrwth ac y mae Tair gradd ymhob vn o honynt nid amgen pennkeirddiaeth
 disgybliaeth a thînkerddiaeth

2/ chyvanabod: *for* chyfadnabod9/ iwn: *for* iawn11/ ac velly ac velly: *distography*14/ silens: *for* sialens28/ iav: *added in left margin*30/ yn yn: *distography*

Llyma megis inodwyd Roddion gann vrehyrion Tref Tadawl o bûmp pvnt
o vywyd allan vnwaith bob daîr blynedd penkerdd kerdd davod a ddychon
sialens am i gywydd geinioc a .80. ac os athraw vydd Ef a ddylai gael Ryw
y dlws arf nev ddillad nev beth arall val y bai syberwyd y Roddwr ac os
neithior reirol vydd a gwnaethûr kyff kler yr athro nev y penkerdd avo kyff 5
kerdd a ddyly ddyblv i rodd nev swrkod sef yw honno y ddbwled nessaf ir
orav ir mab a brioder

Rodd penkerdd a disgybl penkerddiaidd Tavod a thant ar y tair gwyl ar bennic
devgaîn neithior [r] reirol yr vn modd a chylchwy swllt neithior gyffredin yr
vn modd 10

Rodd disgybl disgyblaidd am i gywydd iii s. iiii d. ac arr bol gwyl arbennic
dav swllt neithior reirol vn modd l ar gylchwyd dwy rod neithior gyffredin
yr vn modd

Tevlûwr o rann iachav lle gwypo achav y gwr ar wraic dwy geinioc lle ni
wypo on vn keînîoc gida syberwyd bonheddion a bod kopî or ordwr honn 15
gida ffob athro yw dangos yw ddysgyblon pann ddelont i gymeryd i dysc
y grawys

Pob dair blynedd y perthyn bod Eisteddvod yn yr Eisteddle nodedic a Gwys
a Rybûdd ym hob ffair a marchnad. i draethû ac atgan ir gynnulleidva ai
gosod vndydd a blwyddyn i gael ysbas ir disgyblon i ddysgû ac ir graddolion 20
vrodûr astudiaw a myvyr a myv^rriaw Tavod a thant

c 1540–50

Bardic Schedule of Fees NLW: Llanstephan MS 195

p 5

...

Hevyd am Roddion gwyr wrth gerdd bob Gradd yni gradd dan ddysgybl
dysgyblaidd nid oes dim Rodd iddo/ dysgybl dysgyblaidd pob vn or Tair
gwyl avrbenic nid amgen pasc ynydolic ar svlgwyn/ pedair ar hvgain/ o Rodd
pob neithior Reirol yr vn modd xxiii. kwrs klera chwechenioc vnwaith 30
bob Tair blynedd neithiorav kyffredin yr vn modd vj d. [vnwaith] dysgybl
penkerddiaidd iij Swllt a iijj keinoc pob vn or Tair gwyl avrbenic/ neithior
Reirol yr vn modd iij swllt iijj keinoc/ kwrs klera pob Tair blynedd devddec
keinoc/ pob neithior kyffredin yr vnn modd xij d. Rodd penkerdd o brydydd
am I gowydd keinoc a ffedwar vgain ac os athro vydd mae iddo angwanec 35
o ddillad nev arf nev Rvw dlws arall

...

11/ bol: *for* bob

13/ vn: n *corrected from m*

c 1550

Bardic Schedule of Fees and Regulations NLW: Peniarth MS 155B
pp 90–4*

Llyma val I nodwyd wrth ystatus Gruffudd ap kynan Roddion 5
I bob gradd yni radd o gerdd tavod a thant
Tair gwyl arbennic y sydd nid amgen pasc/ ynydolic/ A Svlgwyn/
Rrodd disgibl penkerddiaidd a phenkerdd athro/ kans vn rodd ynt ond na
ddyly y disgibl yngystadlv ar athro ond gadael idaw i barch ai ragor y rrodd
nid amgen iij s. iiij d. Rrodd disgibl disgiblaidd ij s. Rodd disgibl ysbas graddol 10
xij d./ Yr vn vaint rodd y dyly neithior rreiol vod i bawb ac vn or tair gwyl
arbennic vchod Ac os amledd prydyddion a vyddai a gwnevthvr kyff kler
ac wrth destyn gwnevthvr gostegion y kyff kler a dyly ddyblv i rodd nev y
ddwbled nessaf ir orav ir mab biewydd y neithiawr/ A rrodd neithiawr reiold
vydd tystiolaeth ar radd gwr wrth gerdd ai haeddo ar ni bv eisteddvod yni 15
amsser iw chael ac wrth hynny I gall govyn govyn i rodd oni ddel eisteddvod
iw Sikrav ynddi Ac onis ynill yno i cholli byth/ I
Rrodd penkerdd mewn neithior arall gwyl mabsant/ nev gylchwylyr yr hwn a
elwir kwrk klera xij d. Rodd disgibl disgyblaidd yr amsser yr amseroedd hynny/
neithior/ gwyl mabsant/ a chwrs klera viij d. Rrodd disgibl ysbas graddol yr 20
vnrryw am seroedd vchod nid amgen vj d. Disgibl ysbas heb radd nid oes
iddo rodd nodedic onid pa vaint a vo syber gann bawb I roi iddaw tra vo yn
ynill gradd a vo gwell wrth yr ysbas a gavodd val I dywetpwyd or blaen/
Rrodd telvwr o rann achav boneddigion lle gwypo dwyn ach y gwr ar wraic
at vn or llwythi reiold a vv yn dwyn arvav gynt ij d. Ar lle ni vedro ddwyn 25
iach ond vn air/ gwr ai y wraic j d./ A hynny gida syberwyd boneddigion
ymhob lle i delo ac velly nid oes heddiw ir penkerdd mwyaf onid Syberwyd
boneddigion Hevyd o daw gwr dieithr o wlad arall I glera/ Ar ni bydder
kyvadnabyddvs arno heb ysgriven vn or pennkerddiaid gidac ef I ddangos
beth a ddyly I gael/ bod heb i rodd lle I govynner am hynny ac yntav yn 30
ddiffygiawl Eisteddvod nev neithior reiawl a ddyly vod vdynt gyflawn rybydd
o ysbas vndydd a blwyddyn/ a hynny drwy gyffredinawl rybydd Egoed ar
gyhoedd ymhob hynod nodedic I varchnad ddinas, llys gyfreithlawn a mam
eglwys o vewn y dalaith/ O ddieithr I bendefigion y dalaith a phenkerddiaid
o gvdvndeb vyrrhav yr ysbas ar amser pann welont hwy vod yn Iawn ac 35
yn dda
O bydd ariandlws yn gorvedd yn Segvryn I orffwysle perthynassawl nev ple
bynac i bo lle gorchymyno yr athro ar dygiawdr diwaethaf a vo yni arwain/
A bod pennkerdd yn ymglywed I hvn yn abl iw dwyn wrth fraint I gelvyddyd

16/ govyn govyn: *distography*

38/ vo: o corrected over e

21/ ysbas: b corrected over another letter, possibly g

ac I atdeb drostaw/ I gymeryd a all oddyno A rroi kyflawn rybydd o
 vndydd a blwyddyn/ ymhob ffair a marchnad a llys gyfreithiawl o vewn
 I dalaith I ddangos I vod yn kymervd yr ariandlws dann i berigl ac yn ym
 adnav o honaw Ac os byddai neb a Roddai sialens arno o vewn vndydd a
 blwyddyn Roed dan i berigl yntav ys ef yw hynny kyva wrth yr ariandlws 5
 o avr nev ariant Ai radd heb law hynny ac ni chaiff neb sialenssio
 arweniawdr yr ariandlws ond a gavas gradd disgibl penkerddddiaidd yn y
 blaen/ Ac os Roi sialens l a wna nev ymadnav/ A heb allv dwyn hynny I
 benn, kolli I radd ai chywerthydd Ac os gallv kadw yr ariandlws a wna
 yr ymddiffynnwr y term a ddywetpwyd vchod, drwy atdeb i bawb ai 10
 sialenssio/ ni ellir i dwyn oddiarno yni oes/ onid raid yw iddaw yn yr
 eisteddvod gyfreithlawn nessaf a vo ddyvod yno a dangos i vod yn abl iw
 hadnav ac yw chadw o gelvyddyd ac Awdurdod I wnevthvr disgyblion
 wrth yr ystatus a braint y gelvyddyd/ Ac o hynny allan ir dalaith I
 gymervd yn athro ar I gelvyddyd ef/ Ac I bawb or pendefigion I swkrio 15
 wrth yr ystatus a braint y gelvyddyd/ Mal I dywetpwyd or blaen wrth
 Ragorfaint kelvyddyd Pob kadair a dal v. kwlm bob vn ond kanv pump
 kwlm oi blaen/ Pob kolofn a dal /x/ kwlm ond kanv .x. kwlm oi blaen/
 Tri Mwchl odidoc a dal dec a devgain o glymle ond kanv xxx or blaen/
 Ac or /xxx/ hyny iij or kadeiriav .iij. or kolofnav or hynn lleiaf/ Ackyfrif 20
 yno yn vn kwlm bob vn val pet vai yn keisio gradd/ Achos nid I neb i
 geissiaw gradd y kowssant y Ragorfaint hwnnw nac I l prissiwyd wynt
 velly yn gyfwrch orifedi klyme/ ond lle bai ddav benkerdd yn ymrysson
 am ariandlws/ nev ymrysson arall am flaen a gossod a chadw rragoriaeth/
 Rrwng penkerddiaid a disgyblion/ Gwedi kael i graddav or blaen mewn 25
 Eisteddfodav nev neithior Reiol.
 Llyma y Rrai A Raddwyd yngharwys nid amgen Tudr Aled a ganhiadwyd
 ac a gonffymied yn athro kadeirioc I arwain ariandlws val iroedd Er pann
 I kymerassai dann I berigl iw dwyn or lle iroedd.
 Dai nan Klyn <.) wnaethpwyd yn athro a Rrodai ariandlws telyn iddaw. 30
 Edwart Sirk/ Thomas amhadoc/ Edwart grythor/ A morys llarvair/ Araddiessid
 or blaen mewn neithiorav Reiol yn benkerddiaid ac yno I sikrawyd drwy I
 kanhiadv ai konffymio/
 Hwlkyn llwyd/ Ieuan delynior/ Ieuan grythor/ dai maessmor/ disgyblionn
 penkerddiaidd 35
 Hvw menav/ Rys grythor/ Bili ap owain/ a sion ap sander disgyblion
 disgyblaidd
 ond hynny gwrthod i graddio a wnaethant
 tervyn Explicit E dant

7/ penkerddddiaidd: word broken over line, causing dd to be written twice

19/ glymle: for glyme

c 1560

List of Licensed Musicians and Poets NLW: NLW MS 17,116B

ff 73-3v*

henwaw predyddion

5

lewch y (...)

llewys ap edward o 'v{...}f{...}f' votvair penkerth

Iohn brwynog o dir mon penkerth

Iohn tvdyr o llanelly yn hegyl

Symwnt vychan o ddefryn klwyd

10

morys ap Ieuan ap egino [(.)] o yvionydd

tylynorion or vn dalaith

hwlkyn lloyd or rvthyn diskibyl penkerth(.).ed

Iohn ap Rys o dir mon ^o radd¹ penkerth ond arosy(...)

15

william penllyn ^o radd¹ penkerth yr vn ssydy

Ieuan delynior o lyn diskybl penkerthiaith

Robert ap howell llânawr o bwyllheli or [vsy] vn rradd

llewys ap Iankyn o ddolgelle orr vn rradd

dai maenan o llanddoged or vn rradd

20

(blank) ap Iohn ap Res o dir mon or (...)

thomas [vychan] anwyl o vaenan or vn rr(...)

Iert vab Ieuan dylynior or vn rradd l

Ieuan penllyn o gaerwys diskybl disgyblaidd

ylisav dylynior o benllyn or vn rradd

25

llwelyn delynior o benllyn or vn rradd

Iohn ap Rys gyttyn ^o llanddyfnog¹ or vn rradd

Robert lloyd vab hwlkyn lloyd o rvthyn or vn rradd(.)

...

30

ff 74-5*

henwae krethorion o dalaith y berffertho

6/ lewch y (...): added between existing lines of text
by same scribe

7/ votvair: Bodfari, Flintshire

8, 15, 21/ dir mon: Anglesey

9/ llanelly: St Asaph/Llanelwyl, Flintshire

10/ ddefryn klwyd: the cantref of Dyffryn Clwyd,
Denbighshire

11/ yvionydd: Eifionydd, Caernarvonshire

13/ vn dalaith: the bardic province of Aberffraw

14, 28/ rvthyn: Ruthin, Denbighshire

17/ lyn: the cantref of Llŷn, Caernarvonshire

18/ bwyllheli: Pwllheli, Caernarvonshire

19/ ddolgelle: Dolgellau, Merioneth

20/ llanddoged: Llanddoged, Denbighshire

22/ vaenan: Maenan, Caernarvonshire

24/ gaerwys: Caerwys, Flintshire

25, 26/ benllyn: the cantref of Penllyn, Merioneth

27/ llanddyfnog: Llanddyfnog, Denbighshire

33/ y berffertho: the bardic province of Aberffraw

aros ysteddvo(.)

Ieuan penmon o dir mon penkerth ond

Iohn ap ednyved grythor o dir mon diskybl penkerthiaith

thomas mon or vn sir or vn rradd

Robert ap Rys gyttyn o llanddyfnog or vn rradd

5

thomas ap Rys lloyd o llanddoged or vn rradd

thomas grythor ddall or vn rradd

thomas grythor o llansannan diskyle ysbas l

henwav [tylynior] talaith vathyrae(.) penkerth

10

gruffudd hiraethog o langollen

Hugh Ar vystyl o rrwysteli

morgan elvel o dre esgob

Howell ap syr mathe [oyghof]

wylliam llyn diskybl diskyblaidd

15

owen ap syr Ieuan or vn rradd

Ieuan dew brydyth disgybl ysbas

telynorion or vn dalaith

Rys wyn delynor o bowys diskybl diskyblai(..)

20

dauid lloyd delynior o gydewen orr vn rradd

lewys ap howell wyn o bowys orr vn rradd

hugh dai o blwyf Ruabon orr vn rradd

Rychart glyn (*blank*) or vn rradd

hugh ap morys o llansilyn or vn rradd

25

Iohn ap edvard delynior

Iamys morlas o groesyswallt disgyb(.) (.)sbas

(..)uan ap mredyth ap howell goch o swydd (..) wavn diskybl ysbas l

henwav krythorion or dalaith vathyraval

30

Iamys eyton grythor o vaelor gymraeg ^l[o vowe powys ond] penkerth

1/ aros ysteddvo(.): added between existing lines of text by same scribe

2, 3/ dir mon: Anglesey

4/ vn sir: Anglesey

5/ llanddyfnog: Llanddyfnog, Denbighshire

6/ llanddoged: Llanddoged, Denbighshire

8/ llansannan: Llansannan, Denbighshire

8/ diskyle: for diskybl

10, 30/ vathyrae(.), vathyraval: the bardic province of Mathrafal

11/ langollen: Llangollen, Denbighshire

12/ rrwysteli: the cantref of Arwystli, Montgomeryshire

13/ dre esgob: Bishopston/Trefesgob, Monmouthshire

19/ vn dalaith: the bardic province of Aberffraw

20, 22/ bowys: the region of Powys

21/ gydewen: the commote of Cedewain, Montgomeryshire

23/ Ruabon: Rhiwabon, Denbighshire

25/ llansilyn: Llansilin, Denbighshire

27/ groesyswallt: Oswestry/Croesoswallt, Shropshire

28/ (..) wavn: Chirk, Denbighshire

31/ vaelor gymraeg: the commote of Maelor Gymraeg, Flintshire

morys grythor o groesyswall/ diskybl diskybla(...)

edward grythor o Ruabon or (...)

Robert ap Ieuan lloyd o wrycs(...)

Wylliam goch ¹grythor¹ o bowys wenwyny(...)

[thwmas]

thomas ddall grythor

thom(...)

dir(...)

5

1567

10

A *Royal Commission to Hold an Eisteddfod* Evans: *Report*, vol 1
pp 291-2* (23 October)

...

By the Quene.

Elizabeth by the grace of god, of England ffraunce and Ireland Quene 15
defendour of the fayth &c. To our trustie and right welbeloved Sir Richard
Bulkley knight, Sir Rees Gruffith knight, Ellice Price Esquiour doctour
in Cyvill Lawe, and one of our Counsaill in our marches of wales william
mostyn, Ieuan lloyd of Yale, John Salusbury of Ruge, Rees Thomas,
Maurice wynne, william Lewis, Peres mostyn, Owen John ap houell 20
vaughan, John william ap John, John Lewis owen, moris gruffyth, Symound
Theloall, John Gruffyth, Ellice ap william lloyd, Robert Puleston, harry
aparry, william Glynne, and Rees hughes Esquiours and to euery of
them, Greating
Wheras it is come to the knowledge of the Lorde President and other our 25
said Cunsail in our marches of wales that vagraunt and idle persons naming
them selves mynstrelles, Rithmers, and Barthes, are lately grown into such
an intollerable multitude within the principalitee of north wales, that not only
gentlemen and other by their shameles disorders are oftentimes disquieted
in their habitacions/ But also the expert mynstrelles and musicians in tonge 30
and Connyng therby much discouraged to travail in the exercise and practize
of their knowledges and also not a litle hyndred in their Lyvinges and
prefermentes The reformation wherof and the putting of these people in
order the said Lorde President and Counsaill have thought verely necessarye
and knowing you to be men both of wysdome and vpriight dealing and also 35
of Experience and good Knowledg in the science/ have apointed and
authorized you to be Commissyoners for that purpose/ And forasmuch
as our said Counsaill of late travayling in some parte of the said principalite

1/ groesyswall: Oswestry/Croesoswallt, Shropshire

2/ Ruabon: Rhiwabon, Denbighshire

3/ wrycs(.): Wrexham, Denbighshire

4/ bowys wenwyny(.): the region of Pouys Wenuynwyn

36/ apointed: for appointed (?)

had perfect vnderstanding by credible report that thaccustomed place for
 thexecucion of the like Commissyon/ hath bene heretofore at Cayroes in
 our Countie of fflynt, and that william mostyn Esquiour and his auncestors
 have had the gyfte and bestowing of the sylver harpe appertayning to the
 Cheff of that facultie/ and that a yeares warning at the least hath bene l 5
 acustomed to be geaven of thassembly/ and execucion of the like Commissyon
 Our said Counsaill have therefore apoynted thexecucion of this Commissyon
 to be at the said towne of Cayroes the monday next after the feast of the
 blessed Trynitee which shalbe in the yeare of our Lorde God/ 1568.
 And therefore we require and commaund you by the auctoritee of these 10
 presentes not only to cause open proclamacions to be made in all ffayours,
 markettes, Townes, and other places of assembly within our Counties of
 Anglizy, Carnarvon, meryonneth, denbigh and fflynt/ that all and euery
 person and persons. that entend to maynteigne theire lyvinges by name or
 Colour of mynstrelles, Rithmers, or Barthes, within the Talaith of Aberfrowe, 15
 comprehending the said fyve Shires, shalbe and appeare before you the said
 daye and place to shewe furth their learninges accordingly/ But also that you
 xx^{tie} xix^{en} xvii^{ijen} xvi^{ijen} xv^{ijen} x^{ven} xiii^{ijen} xii^{ijen} xi^{je} x^{jⁿ} x^{en} ix viij vij or vj
 of you, wherof youe Sir Richard Bulkley, Sir Rees Gruffith, Ellice Price, and
 william mostyn Esquiours or iij^{ee} or ij^o of you to be of the nomber to repayre 20
 to the said place the daye aforesaid/ And calling to you such expert men in the
 said facultie of the welshe musick. as to you shall be thought convenient to
 proceade to thexecucion of the premisses and to admytt such and so many as
 by your wisdomes and Knowledges you shall fynde worthy into/ and vnder
 the degrees, heretofore in semblable sort to vse exercise or folowe the seyences 25
 and facultes of theire professyons in such decent order as shall appertaigne to
 eche of theire degrees/ and as your discrecions and wisdomes shall prescribe
 vnto them geaving straight monycion and comandment in our name, and
 on our behalf to the rest not worthy that they returne to some honest Labour
 and due Exercise, such as they be most apte vnto for mayntenaunce of theire 30
 lyvinges vpon paine to be taken as sturdy and idle vacaboundes and to be vsed
 according to the Lawes and Statutes provided in that behalf/ Letting you wytt
 our said Counsaill looke for advertisement by due certificatt at your handes
 of your doinges in thexecucion of the said premisses forseeing in any wise
 that vpon the said assembly the peas and good order be observed and kept 35
 accordingly ascertayning you that the said william mostyn hath promised to
 see furnytüre and thinges necessary provided for that assembly at the place
 aforesaid Yeven vnder our Signet at our Citie of Chester the xxiiijth of October
 the nynth yeare of our Raigne/

Signed her highnes Counsaill 40
 in the marches of wales.

Statute of Gruffudd ap Cyran (1567) NLW: Peniarth MS 158B
pp 81–9*

...

yn el hyn i kalvn deddf ne gyfraith gryffudd ap kyan a Rai ai geilw ysdattv
gryffydd ap kanan yr hon y sydd yn Rany y llyfr hwn yn chwe llyfr nid 5
amgen pvm llyfr kerddwriaeth wrth y pvm gradd/ ellir devall/ ar gweddill
yn llyfr ar i ben i hvn

sef ar y gwyr wrth gerdd dafod a thanav fal i mae ynysbysv am yr hai y sydd
rydd vddynt gleraf nid amgen l gwr wrth gerdd anafys megis gwr dall er 10
na bo gradd iddo disgybl/ ysbas heb radd disgybl ysbas graddol/ disgybl
disgyblaidd/ disgybl pennkerddiaidd a ffenkerdd/ ag athro

disgybl ysbas kerdd dafod a ddyle wybod i silldafav a ffymp mesvr [(.)] englyn
ai dosbarthv nid amgen vn odl inion vnodl krwka ag vnodl kyrch/ pros 15
kefnewidiog/ a ffrosd kadwynog a dav fesvr kowydd/ devair hirion a devair
fyrion ai kanv yn awenyddgar ymarn pennkerdd a ddoeto ar i gydwybod
a ellir gwr wrth gerdd o hono ai nis galler llyna vn llyfr kerddwriaeth

yn ddisgybl disgyblaidd i dyle wybod y radd ar llyfr vchod yn llwyr a ffvmp 20
mesvr enghwaneg nid amgen kowyd llosgyrniog ag owdl gowydd a thri mesvr
owdl nid amgen toddaidd gwawdodyn byr/ a gwawd hir a gochel y beia
kyffredin a dangos kerdd oi waith i hvn am yn ddifai ddisgyblaidd ar bob vn
or devddeg mesvr vchod ai dosbarthv yn gyfion llynar ail llyfr

yn ddisgybl pennkreddiaidd i dylav wybod y ddav lyfr vchod a chael y
ddwy radd ag wybod yr holl [(.)] sildafav ar holl gananheddion ai Rwolav a
dosbarth y mesvrav ai wyth ran ymadrodd a Rwole gramadeg [^]dosbarth y
kanganheddion¹ a gwnythvr kerdd yn ddifai warantedig ar dri ar higen or
mesvrav [^]y sydd i henwav yn y llyfr dosbarth¹ a henwyd vchod oi waith i 30
hvn [^]gochel yr holl feia¹ a chanv yn gerddwrawl ag yn ffrwythlawn ar
dri enaid kerdd nid amgen mesvr synw[^]y¹r a chynghangedd er na chano
gadwynfyr [(.)] ne dowddgrych kadwynog ne ddigwydd vn or mesvrav heb i
wybod er hyny i mae ef yn gydymaith i benkerdd ag yn vn Rodd a ffenkerdd
ond na ddylav ef ym gysdadlv a ffenkerdd gwiliwed wybod i berthynasav 35
i gyd/ llyna y trydydd llyf a gwybod i achav brenhinoedd a doethion
[(.)]pendefigaidd l

yn bennkerdd y dylav wybod gwnaythvr i bedwar mesvr ar higain ai kanv yn
gyfochr yn gydseiniol ar gymeriadav yn desdyngar yn ffrwythlon o synwyr a 40

22/ gwawd: *for* gwawdodyn

26/ pennkreddiaidd: *for* pennkerddiaidd; 3 *minims in ms*

cherddwriaeth yn groes gangenheddol yn ddevnyddfawr ar felysdra a digrifwch
yn warantedig o awdvrddod yn awenyddol o ddychymig yn eglyredig o ddevall
yn benkerddiaidd oi waith i hvn fal i bo howsa i dysgv ai datgan a difyra i
gwrando nei i darllain a hwyaf i delir kof ar foliat dwv ai foneddigion ag yma
i diwedda y pedwerydd llyfr

5

yn athro i dyle wybod y pewar llyfr vchod a chael y pedair gradd a Roi arnyn
gyfion ddevall athrawaidd fal i perthyn ai i ddysgawdr sef docdor a chymryd
gafal dros i ddysgyblion ag na nelo neb drigionys ir gylfyddyd hon eithr Rai
onesd ag oryw a Rieni daionys kanys kydymaith i ail mab pendefig yw gwr
wrth gerdd os bydd fal i perthyn iddo ag am hyny i dylav athro fod yn ofalys
dros bawb or gylfyddyd a myny gwybod pafodd i bydd ai bawb yn kerdded ai
drwy awdvrddod ai nide ag o nid aen yn weddaidd peri i kosbi a hefyd llesdair
yddynt gael kam fel yw tiffedd i hvn ag iddo ariandlws sef kadair arian

15

bellach id oedwn am gerdd danav sef disgybl ysbas kerdd dant os bydd heb
radd nid oes dogvn nag ariradd nag arirodd ond barn penkerdd a ddoeto ar
i gydwybod a ellir gwr wrth gerdd o hono ai nis gellir

disgybl ysbas graddol a ddyle wybod deg kwlwm a cholofn a ffvm kwlwm a
chadair ag wyth o ganiadav

20

yn ddisgybl disgyblaidd i dyle wybod igain o glym a dwy golofn a deg kwlwm
a dwy gadair ag vn ar bymtheg o ganiadav ai bedwar mesvr ar higain ai kanv
drwy rwole l a dosbarthv yn ddifai ag yn gyfion ymarn athrawon

25

yn ddisgybl penkerddiaidd y dyle wybod deg kwlwm ar higain a thair kolofn
a thair kadair¹ a ffedwar ar higen o ganiade ar pedair gosdeg a medrv ai
dosbarthv a ffymtheg o glyme kytgerdd ag ydynabod gwahan Rwng pob
mesvr ai gilidd affob Ryw ddosbarth

30

yn benkerdd y dylav wybod deg kwlwm a deigain ar pedair kolofn ag igen o
glyme kydderdd ar pedair kadair a deuddeg ar higain o ganiadav ar pedair
gosdeg ar holl fesvrv ai Rwolav ar pedwar deifr ar higain a gwybod i holl
gweiriav ai p^rythynasav ar kynwysiadav ar gogynwysiadav fal i mae y llyfr
dosbarth yn erchi a medry gwnythvr kerdd i hvn yn ddifai warantedig
ymarn penkerddiaid a dosbarthv pob gwahan a Ragwahan pob kynhwysiad
a gorffwysiad (a gorffwysiad) pob ysmvdiad ar dyniadav a chowirdanav
kvddiedig ang anhvddiedig ai dangos yn warantedig oi waith i hvnan yn

35

7/ pewar: *for* pedwar14/ ag iddo ... arian: *added in different ink*23/ glym: *for* glyme38/ (a gorffwysiad): *parentheses apparently indicate expunction*

benkerddiaidd yn athrawaidd fal i bo kydwylbod i benkerddiaid a doethion
i farnv ai ddewiso yn awdvr ag yn athro ar i gylfyddy

kanys ni ddyle neb ddysgv ond gynathro ne gael gantho osod yn iawn a
ddysger gan arall ag os tylynior a fydd Raid yw iddo wybod y tri mwchl odidog 5
yr hwn araddiwyd yn gifiwch ar pedair kolofn kanys pob kolofn araddiwyd
yn ddeg kwlwm bobvn y tri mwchl newydd araddiwyd yn gifiwch ar pedair
kadair ar pedair araddiwyd yn bvm kol[ofn]^[m] bob vn onaddynt l yn ol hyny
i trefnwyd ir athrawon gymryd disgyblion nid amgen vn ar vnwaith mewn 10
dogvn brentisieth sef yw hyny saith mylynedd ag na ddylev neb ddysgv ond
gan athro ag ni chanhiedir i ddylgybl wnythvr disgybl arall kanys anghymwys
ag anferthol ydyw

ag ar bob disgybl bob grawys bod gidar athro dan boen kolli i radd oni bydd
klwyf ne ddolvr nev garchar nevr kyfriw achos kyfreithlon 15

[hebod] hefyd na bo prydydd a gano kerdd i ofvn ne erchi march/ gwalch/
milgi ner kyfriw anwyldlws heb genad y perchenog ag na anfoned gwr wrth
gerdd danav na datganiad mor kowydd hwnw [adrav] adre dan boen ffin
a charchar 20

hefyd nadelont i dafarnav ne gornelav kvddiedig i chware disie ne gardie na
dim chwarythieth arall am dda yn y byd ag o dant pawb yn swyddog arnynt
fal ar leidr a dwyn [(...)] hyn afon i pyrsav ai Roi wrth waith yr eglwys nev
ir tylodion 25

hefyd gorchymv na ddysgant na senav na Rimynav gwradowyddys gwatwar
danwared kablv ysbio doed kelwydd nai ddychmvgv nai ddoedyd ar ol arall
dan boen ffin a charchar 30

hefyd na wnelont gyneav ne ffraeav twyll ne ladradd mvrn ne gynllwyn na
chymdeithas a lladron ner rai dryg arferys a le anlyfodraeth dan boen ffin
a charchar

hefyd na wnel neb danwared na gwator athro am i feddwl ai fyfyrdod l 35

hefyd na nel disgybl gerdd heb i dangos yw athro/ kyn i chananv allan a
gwybod wrth farn[i] i bod yn iawn dan boen kolli i radd

hefyd gorchymvn nadelont i wnythvr arferoedd fagabwns Rodiad ne gyrwydrad 40

ag nad elont ar ywchwil gwledd ne wyl mab sant or [h<.)] lle idelon heb
genad gwr y ty ne wahodd gan arall dan boen ffin a charchar a cholli i gelera
ag o da o dy i dy i ddal fel fakabwnt a dwyn i glera ai roi wrth waith yr eglwys
ag o brwysga yn y wledd kolli irodd

5

hefyd o gwna lateieth ne ansyberwyd am wraig nev forwyn llei del dwyn ffin
a charchar a cholli i glera saith mylynedd yn y wlad hono

kans gwyr wrth gerdd a ddylent ddwyn ymadroddion howdd garaidd
hyddychlawn karedig vfvdd gar gwasnaeth gar ag i bawb o gowiriaid y brenin 10
ai swyddogion i kadarn hav ai swkrio/ ai konorthwyaw

mis ymlaen pob gwyl ymor[l]awl ai hathro i wybod ple i ddelon Rag mynd
gormod ir vn lle ag nadel ond vn at wr o ddegpvnt o ar dreth a dav at wr o
igen pvnt o ar dreth ag wrth yradd hono at afo vwch o rent ag i bob athro bod 15
kopi or ordyr hon gidagef yw dangos ir dysgyblon ai choffav pan ddelont i
gymryd i dysg bob grawys

bellach i doedir am roddion pawb yn ol i graddav/ nid amgen ¹disgybl¹
disgyblaidd am i gowydd a ddyle gael deigain o rodd l 20

disgybl pennkerddiaidd am i gowydd yw vn a ffedwar igen o rodd ag i
benkerdd ynghwaneg syberwyd ai dilledyn ai Rvw dlws arall

disgybl ysbas graddol kerdd dant swllt bob vn or pedair gwyl[l] arbenig nid 25
amgen/ dvw nydolig/ pasg svlgwynn a dvgwyl yr hol saint

disgybl disgyblaidd pob vn or gwiliav vchod pedair ar higain/ pob neithiar
yreiol yr vn modd a ffob neithior arall a chwrs klera saith geiniog

30

disgybl pennkerdd pob vn or pedair gwyl affob neithior yreiol/ deigain o rodd
gwyl a ffob neithior eraill [...] a chwrs klera swllt o rodd a ffenkerdd vr vn
modd oni fyn ir synied arno a chwrs klera vnwaith bob tair blynedd

disgybl ysbas graddol oni ddysg [oni ddysg] fod yn ddisgybl disgyblaidd kyn 35
penn y tair blynedd kolli radd a bod heb yr vn

disgyb disgyblaidd oni ddysg fod yn ddisgybl penkerdd ymhen y tair blynedd
kolli i radd a dowad yn ddisgybl ysbas

disgybl pennkerddiaidd oni ddysg fod yn benkerdd kyn penn y tair blynedd
kolli i radd a dowad yn ddisgyblaidd

hefyd i mae datganiad a ddylid son am i swydd er nad oes vn radd iddio kanys
yfe ywr penna or gylfyddyd hono ar kysefin henw yn tylevwr ag vn rodd a l 5
disgyblaidd ag ef a ddyle wybod part o dair kylfyddyd nid amgen o ran y
posfeirdd i dylav wybod i silldafav ai ganganheddion a medry gradd disgybl
ysbas graddol o gerdd dafod fal i gallai wybod a fyddai gerdd yngham a
medry i rhoi yn i lle

hefyd Raid ywiodd o wybop peth o swydd yr arwyddfardd sef yw hwnw
iachwr a Rodd yr arwyddfardd i bob ty i del a gwybod iach y gwr o dadidad
ne o fam i bo yn dal tir i bymtheg llwyth ne frenhin llwyth ne wehelyth i
rodd ef yw keiniog ag os medr ddwyn y wraig hefyd i maerhodd yn ddwy 10
geiniog ai gwrs vnwaith bob dair blynedd ef a ddyle fedry disgreio arfav a 15
gwybod chwedlav tylevaidd

hefyd Raid ywidd o wybod ar delyn ne grwth dair ar ddeg o brif geinkiaiv a
chanv gidanhwy ai dafod a medrv gosod bwrth ai godi garbron pen defigion
kerfio ne dori pobath ar y deryn gwyllt a bod yn wasnaethgar a chadw r 20
pynkiaiv vchod ag fal dyna y pedair kerdd raddol nid amgen/ prydydd telyniol
krythor a dadganiad

Pedair ofer[(>)]gerdd y sydd nid amgen ni lafasaf ddoedyd pibydd hvdol
tabner a chlerwr a rhodd pob vn or hai hyny yw keiniog achav oi sefyll 25
mae ng^Λwaneg¹ ir pibydd nid amgen offt sef gofram

a fal hyn i terfyna ystadud gryffydd ap kyanan l tywsog kymrv ai ffenaeth ag
yn i amser ef i doeth wiliam kwnkwerwr i dernasv i loegr ag ef a wisgodd
allan wiliam kwnkwerwr a wiliam goch i fab ef a hari y kyntaf ag ef afv wr 30
deddfol ag a fv fyw chwaneg i bedwarigen mylynedd ag ef a gladdwyd yn
ysgobdy daniel ymangor fawr yngwynedd or tv deav ir eglwys ag ef anaeth
lawer o bethav gorchesdol kanmoladwy

...

List of Eisteddfod Graduates (Version A) NLW: Peniarth MS 132B
pp 59–63*

llyma Gof am yr amser y bu Eisteddvod ynghaerwys ar wyr wrth gerdd

11/ wybop: *for* wybod
21/ telyniol: *for* telyniol

26/ offt: *for* osst

tafod a thant ac val i graddiwyd pawb yn i radd wrth i gelvyddyd wrth rym
 komvssiwn gras y vrenhines ai chynghoriaid ac wrth awdirddod y dwyssogawl
 ystatut/ yr honn Eisteddvod a wnaed yn gyfreithlawn a rooi vn dydd a
 blwyddyn o rybydd a gwys ac atgan i bod mewn ffeiriav a marchnadoedd
 pann oedd oed krist 1567 y chweched dydd ar hugain o vis mai y nawwed 5
 vlwyddyn o dernassia[s]d gras y vrenhines Elssbeth gar bronn Elis Prys ysgwier
 a doktor o gyfraith Sifyl ac vn o gynghoriaid gras y vrenhines ynny mars
 kymry// wiliam mostyn// Piers mostyn// ywain ap Sion ap Howell vachan//
 Sion ap Wiliam ap Sion// Sion lewys ywain// morys gruffudd Simwnt thelwal/
 Sion gruffudd Sarssiant Robart Pildwnn// Ieuan llwyd o ial a Wiliam glynn 10
 lliwon y rrain oeddynt Eisteddwyr komussiwnol l
 llyma belhach henwav y prydyddion a raddiwyd ar graddav a ynnillasant
 yn gyfraithlawn

Pennkeirdd¹iaid¹ kerdd dafod

15

Lewys ap Edwart	pennkerdd
wiliam lleyn	pennkerdd
Simwnt vachan	pennkerdd
Owain gwynedd	pennkerdd

20

disgyblion Pennkerddiaidd

Sion tudur	disgybl pennkerddiaidd
lewys menai	disgybl pennkerddiaidd
Huw lleyn	disgybl pennkerddiaidd
wiliam kynnwyl	disgybl pennkerddiaidd
bedo Hafais	disgybl pennkerddiaidd
Sion ffylib	disgybl pennkerddiaidd
huw kowrnwy o von	disgybl pennkerddiaidd l

25

disgyblion dyssgybliaidd

30

Ieuan tew brydydd	disgybl dyssgybliaidd
huw keirioc	disgybl dyssgybliaidd
huw Pennant	disgybl dyssgybliaidd

Disgyblion yssbas

35

dafydd alaw	disgybl[i] yssbas
Rissiart brydydd brith	yssbas
Edwart Huw o bennllyn	yssbas

y telynorian ai graddav

Howell llwyd	}	pennkerddiaidd ynt	5
Sion ap Rys benkerdd o von			
wiliam pennllyn			
dafydd llwyd ap Sion ap Rys			
Edwart mab Ieuan delynior			
Robert ap howell llannvor			
wmffre goch			
tomas annwyl l			

Disgyblion pennkerddiaidd

Robert llwyd	}	disgyblion pennkerddiaidd ynt	10
Ieuan pennllyn			
Rissiart glynn			
llywellyn hwssman			
huw dai	}	disgyblion dysgybliaidd	15
huw ap morys			
siams morlais			
Elis gruffudd			
Sion nywbwrch			20

Dissgyblion yssbas

Ieuan ap mredydd	}	ysbass ynt	25
lewys merain			
gwalchmai			
rrissiart llwyd			

y krythorion

Siamys Eutun	}	penkerddiaid(.) ynt	30
Ieuan pennmon			
tomas mon			
Robert ap rrys gvtynn			
Thomas grythor ddall			
Sion ap Ednyfed			
Sion ddv grythor		dysgybl pennkerddiaidd l	35

dissgyblion dissgybliaidd

3/ von: *Anglesey*

9/ annwyl: 3 minims in MS

31/ penkerddiaid(.): final letter obscured by rebinding

tomas llwyd o bowys	}	dissg ^f y ^l blion dissgybliaidd ynt	5
Robert ap Ieuan llwyd			
tomas vychan grythor			
Edwart grythor hir			
wiliam ap ednyfed			
rry ^f s ^l grythor o lann Sanan			
rrys grythor o geric i drvdion			
Rissiaert Konwy	}	disgyblion yssbas ynt	10
Robert Konwy			

List of Eisteddfod Graduates (Version B) NLW: NLW MS 872D
pp 473–5*

...

1567.	Yr eisteddfod ynghaerwys yn Sir y fflint a gynhaliwyd y 26 o fis Mai yn y nawfed flwyddyn o deyrnasiad y frenhines Elsbeth ger bron ⁿ	15
	Elis prys doctor o'r gyfraith, ac vn o gynghori(.. ⁿ) ardaloedd Cymru, Wiliam Mostyn	
	Piers Mostyn	20
	Owain ap Iohn ap howell vchan o Caergai	
	Sion ap william ap Iohn o Skeifiog	
	Sion Lewys Owain o ddolgelle	
	Morys Gruffydd yr aer	
	Simond Thelwal o Blas ward	25
	Sion Gruffydd Sersiant	
	Robert Pilstwn	
	[Sir] Ieuan llwyd o Ial °/Sir Ieuan llwyd wedi hynny° a wiliam Glyn ysqwieriaid.	30
	Ac yn yr eisteddfod yma y graddiwyd	
	Lewis ap Edwart	} yn benkerddiaid a gerdd dafod
	Wiliam llŷn	
	Owain ^f ap gruffydd ^o Ieuan	
	Simwnt Vychan l	

*oedd owain
Gwynedd*

1/ bowys: *the region of Pouys*

6/ lann Sanan: *Llansannan, Denbighshire*

7/ geric i drvdion: *Cerrigydrudion, Denbighshire*

21/ Caergai: *Caer-gai, Merioneth*

22/ Skeifiog: *Ysgeifiog, Flintshire*

23/ ddolgelle: *Dolgellau, Merioneth*

25/ Blas ward: *Plas-y-ward, Denbighshire; seat of the Thelwall family*

	Wiliam kynwal Lewis Menai Sion Tudyr Huw llŷn Bedo Havesp. Sion phylib. Huw Cornwy	}	yn ddisgyblion pencerddiaidd kerdd dafod.	5
	Ieuan Tew Huw pennant Howel keiriog	}	yn ddisgyblon disgyblaidd kerdd dafod.	10
	Dafydd Alaw Edwart Brynlllys Rhys Gelli	}	yn ddisgyblon yspas kerdd dafod.	15
Telyn	Sion ap Rys bencerdd wiliam penllyn Hwlkyn llwyd	}	yn benceirddiaid ac yn athrawon cerdd [dant]dant.	20
Telyn	Thomas Anwyl dafydd llwyd ap Iohn ap Rys Edward ap Ieuan Robert ap howel llanvor Humffrey Goch	}	yn bencerddiaid cerdd dant	25
	[®] *[yn godre'r ddalen nesaf]*			
Telyn	Risiart Glynn Robert llwyd Ieuan penllyn Lewis llanvor	}	yn ddisgyblon [ddisgyblaidd cerdd dant] pencerddiaidd cerdd dant	30
	[®] *Cais yn godre'r ddalen nesaf.*			
Telyn	Lewis Berain Ieuan ap meredydd Gwalchmai ap dafydd	}	yn ddisgyblon ysbas cerdd dant.	35
Crwth.	Siams Eutyn Ieuan penmon	}	yn bencerddiaid ac athrawon cerdd dant.	
Crwth.	Robert ap Rys Guttyn Thomas Mon Sion Ednyfed Thomas Grythor	}	yn bencerddiaidd cerdd dant °hwn oedd y crythor dall o Ruthyn./°	40

Crwth Sion ddu grythor /yn ddisgybl pencerddiaidd cerdd dant

Crwth	Robert ap Ieuan llwyd Edward Grythor Thomas Kegidfa Rhys grythor hiraethog Thomas Grythor bach <i>dafydd</i> ap howel grythor wiliam Ednyfed	}	yn ddisgyblon disgyblaidd cerdd dant.	5
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Crwth	Risiart Conwy Sion Alaw. Robert Conwy. Crythor llwyd Marchedd	}	yn ddisgyblon yspas cerdd dant.	10
-------	--	---	---------------------------------	----

Telyn	Huw dai Huw ap Morys Siams Morlas Sion Newbrough <i>Elis Gruffydd</i>	}	yn ddisgyblon disgyblaidd cerdd dant.	15
-------	---	---	---------------------------------------	----

...

A *Simwnt Fychan's Bardic Licence* NLW: Wynnstey MS 10
f 146v

Llyma'r FFurf y graddwyd *Simwnt* Vachan y^[n] Benncerdd
Bid yspys i bob kyfriw ddyn vod Eisteddvod ar wyr wrth gerdd tafod a thant
ynhref Gaerwys yn Sir y Fflint y chweched dydd ar hugain o vis Mai yn y
nawfed vlwyddyn o dernassiad Gras y vrenhin[<.>]^[e]s Elsbeth Gar bronn Elis
Prys ysgwier Doctor o Gyfraith Syfyl ac un o gynghoriaid Gras y vrenhines ym 30
Marches Cymru. Wiliam Mostyn Prys Mostyn. Owain ap Sion ap H^[o]wel
vychan. Sion ap Wiliam ap Sion. Sion Lewys Ywain. Morys Gruffudd. *Simwnt*
Thelwal. Sion Gruffudd Sersiant Robert Pilstwnn. Ieuan llwyd o Ial a wiliam
Glynn ysgwieriaid An bod ni yr Henwedid Eisteddwyr drwy Comussiwn Gras
y vrenhines ai chynghoriaid yn Rhoi ac ^[yn] kenathau i *Simwnt* Vychan 35
Prydydd radd Penncerdd ac y bawb i^[ei] Gynnwys ai groesawu i bob lle
1567. kyfleus i fyned ac i ddyfod ac i gael i rodd wrth ei radd yn ol y dywyssogawl
Ystatus pann yw oed Crist mil a hanner a saith a thrugain.

Elis Price.

Sion ^[Iohn] Gruffudd	Wiliam Mostyn	40
---------------------------------	---------------	----

lege Iohn pro
Sion ubique.
Sic Autograph/

Morys Gruffydd
Robert Pilston
Ieuan LLwyd
William Glynn

Pyr's Mostyn.
Owen ap Sion 'Iohn' ap howell vychan
Sion 'Iohn' ap Wiliam ap Sion 'Iohn'
Sion 'Iohn' Lewys Owain
Simwnt Thelwal

5

Simwnt Fychan a fu farw Anno Domini 1606. Aprilis xij^o/ ibidem
Transcripta ex Autographo Plaswardensi per me Guillelmi Maurice

1569/70

Will of James Eaton, Crwth Player

10

NLW: St Asaph Probate Records 1569/R.2

f 6* (19 January)

...

Testament
James Eaton./

In the name of God Amen The xixth daie of Ianuarie Anno domini 1569.
I Iames Eaton being sicke of bodie and whole in minde and also in good and
perfecte memorie doe make my last will and Testament in manner and foorme
following.... Item I bequeth to my host Roberte ap Iohn ap kinnerike iij s.
iiij d. and to his servaunt katherine xij d. Item I geve and bequeth crowther
my crowd with his ffurnitures...

15

20

c 1570

Bardic Schedule of Fees BL: Additional MS 15,038

ff 96v–7v*

...Rodd disgybl pennkerddiaidd yw iij s. iiij d. bob vn or tair gwyl arbenic
a ffob neithor reirol vn rrodd ar tair gwyl arbenic Rodd pennkerdd yn vwy
o syberwyd na rrodd y dysgybl// dysgybl ysbas graddol oni ddysc vod yn
ddysgybl dysgyblaidd erbyn penn y tair blynedd yn ol kymryd y radd honno
kolli y radd a gowse na bo vn radd iddo dysgybl dysgyblaidd ni ddysgo bod
yn ddisgybl l pennkerddiaidd ymhen y tair blynedd to ce(...) i [dd]^radd
ddysgyblaidd dysgybl pennkerddiaidd niddysgo bod yn benkerdd ymhenn
y tair blynedd kolli i radd pennkerddiaidd a sefyll yngradd dysgyblaidd//
datgeiniad a ddyle wybod kanv telyn ai chweirio a gwybod pedair ar ddec
o brif geinka^re^r ar danne a datgan kowydd goda hwy a gwybod kwlwm a
chaniad a gwybod i Sylldafav a gwybod a fydd pennill o gowydd yni le a modry
i rooi yni lle oni byddant ai rodd yw pedair ar hygain pob vn or tair gwyl
arbenic a neithiore kyffredin a chwrs klera bob tair blynedd chwecheinoc//
Pedair kerdd radd ysydd wrth yr ystatyd prydydd telyniar krythor a
datgeiniad// pedair diradd ysydd yni galw yn bedair ofgerdd nid amgen pibydd

25

30

35

hydol tabner a ffidler a rodd pob vn or pedair hynny yw keinoc ac ganv oi
sefyll ac oni bydd bodlon yw rodd gofrani// llyma val i dodwyd wrth ystatyd
gruffydd ap kynan roddion i bob gradd yni radd o gerdd dafod a chanav athro
a dysgybl pennkerddiaidd vn rrodd ynt/ ond na ddyly dysgybl ym gystadly ar
athro ond gadv iddaw i ragawr/ i rodd yw iij s. a iiij d. Rodd dysgybl ysbas 5
graddol Swllt Rodd dysgybl disgyblaidd l dev swllt a hynny yw i rodd bob vn
or tayr gwyl arbenic// ac os amledd o brydyddion a vydd gwneythr kyff kler
ac wrth destyn gwneythr gostegion// y kyff kler a ddylai ddybly i rodd ne
ddwbles nesaf ir orav ir mab a bioedd y neithior// A ffob neithor reiol i gellir
graddio gwr wrth gerdd yn y radd a ddylai oni bydd ysteddfod yni amser yw 10
chael ac wrth hynny i gall ef ofyn i rodd yni ddel ysteddfod yw sikrav yndi ac
onid ynill yno i cholli byth Rodd pennkerdd mewn neithor gyffredin gwyl
mabsant ne gyl¹ch¹wyl ay hwnn a elwir kwrs klera Swllt Rodd dysgybl dysgybl
desgyblai¹dd¹ yn yr amseroedd hynny neithor (>) ne wyl mabsant a chwrs klera
viiij d. Rodd dysgybl ysbas graddol yr amseroedd ychod vj d. desgybl ysbas 15
heb radd nidoes rodd nodedic iddaw ond syberwyd trafo yn enill gradd wrth
yr ysbas a gafodd...

1605

Examinations Concerning a Disturbance

20

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/974/6/55

ff [1–2]* (13 November)

Examinations taken before Roger Mostyn, JP

...

25

Robert ap Thomas ap william of Caerwis, deposeth and sayth/ that the said
xijth day of november at night, he the said Robert togeather with Robert
williams, Thomas gruffith and william[s] Pyers beinge appointed to watch by
hugh ap Iohn wynne the head Constable, within the towne of Caerwis, the
said Robert williams beinge verie vnwillinge to watch the same night, but 30
would haue appointed one for him and the petticonstables refused to licens
him soe to doe ¹in respect of the great Charge given by that service¹ whervpon
the said Robert williams came himself with the rest that were formerly
appointed to the heigh Crosse at Caerwis to watch, and at there Cominge
thither, some of the neighbours of the Towne sent them some Ale, they drunke 35
the same night xxj^{tie} pottes of Ale, duringe the tyme of the said Watch the
said Robert williams and one hugh ap Thomas ap Richard of Skiviocke (who
came to the place by Chaunce) did singe Certaine Christmas Carrolles, vntill
Iohn Thomas ap harry petticonstable came to the place to Commaund them

1/ tabner: *for* tabrer13/ dysgybl dysgybl: *dittography*32/ by: *corrected over another word, possibly Robert*37/ Skiviocke: *Ysgeifiog, Flintshire*

to keepe sylence, afterwarde^s one william Thomas williams [toulde this
 deponent that he would walke] passinge by aboute^s vj roodes from the place
 where the watchmen did sitt, the said Robert williams came to him and
 would knowe of him whither he would goe, who aunswere^d that he would
 goe homewardes, yett the said william Thomas williams tolde this deponent 5
 that he would walke vp and downe the towne to see whither they would keep
 true watch that night, and soe he went by them three or foure tymes, at
 the laste Robert williams tooke excepsions against the said william Thomas
 williams and woulde haue taken his staffe from him that hee had in his hand,
 which the said william Thomas refused to deliuer to him/ but sent this 10
 deponent to the pettieconstable and said that he would deliuer his staffe vnto
 him (beinge an officer) and soe he did, whervpon the said Robert williams
 gaue the said william Thomas williams very badd wordes, and the said william
 Thomas annswere^d that in respect he was a watchman he would haue nothinge 15
 to do with him, sayth further that ^{he} knoweth of his owne knowledge
 that katherin uerch Ithell wief to the said Robert williams is a great recusant,
 and hath absented her self from Church for many yeares past, and that Iohn
 Thomas ap harry & Evan Thomas Pettieconstables of Caerwis appoincted
 to survey the watch for that night, gaue Chardge to the watchmen for the
 stay of all maner of straungers, sayinge that Certaine treasons, weare Comitted 20
 against the kinges *maiesties* owne person by recusantes, wherefore they weare
 willed to be more vigilant in there watch, Robert williams as this deponent
 thinketh beinge very angry that he was appoincted to watch, gaue himself
 to singe and drinke the moste parte of the night till morninge at which tyme
 this deponent with the rest of the watchmen were brought before Roger 25
 Mostyn Esquiour to be further examined as aforesaid

signum predicti X Roberti ap Thomas

william Pyers one of the watchmen appoincted to watch the said xijth
 of November Depose^th and sayth that he beinge appoincted by the 30
 pettieconstables to watch at Caerwis togeathers with Robert williams and
 others came the said night with the rest of the watchmen to the heigh
 Crosse, where Robert williams and hugh ap Thomas ap Richard fell a
 singinge of Christmas Carrolles vntill such tyme as Iohn Thomas ap harry
 one of the pettieconstables sent this deponent to Commaunde them to 35
 keepe sylens, and afterwarde^s some of theire neighbours sent them Ale,
 they drunke betweene that which was given them and that they payd for
 aboute^s xxj pottes, which tyme the said Robert seemed much offended that
 he was appoincted for that service, and one william Thomas williams many
 tymes passinge by vp and downe the towne, havinge tould this deponent 40

that he would see whither they kept true watch that night, At length was stayd by Robert williams, who would haue taken his staffe from him, sainge that, that night was his, whervnto william Thomas williams replied that he would deliuer his staffe vnto the Pettieconstable and that he would haue nothing to doe with Robert williams that night in respect he was a watchmen, 5 and desired that he might quietly passe by, And further sayeth that to this deponentes hearinge and knowledge, the said william Thomas williams did not give eny offence to the said Robert williams eyther in word or deed to the hinderance of that service, but as it seemed | seemed to this deponent that the said Robert williams tooke advantage of the tyme to be revenged of the 10 said william Thomas williams of some old grudge that was betweene them, and soe Charged the Constable with him, And further sayth that the Ale sent by the neighbours only was sent to Robert williams, who spent the moste parte of the night singinge and drinkinge at the crosse, the said Robert williams beinge an Ale keeper himself and his wief a great Recusant for this 15 many yeares & further doth not say

signum predicti X willelmi

Thomas gruffith beinge examined deposeth and sayth in euerie point as william Pyers doth in the former examinacion 20

signum predicti X Thomæ

1612

Examinations Concerning a Disturbance

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/976/4/37

25

ff [1–1v]* (3 July)

Examinations taken on 3 July before Sir Thomas Mostyn and Thomas Ravenscroft, jps

...

30

Iohn Gruffith, of Caerwys, in the countie of fflint, yoman, beinge sworne and examined, Deposeth, and saith that he with Hugh gruffith, Ieuan Tudyr and Iohn Thomas, beinge appointed by the Constable of that Limitte to watch at the Crosse [^]of Caerwys[]] in the countie of fflint vpon friday beinge the xijth daie of Iune Last past, at night, made their repayre thither and then 35 one Harry ap Iohn Taylor came thither, and helde a Long pike staffe of about iij yards and a halfe towards the watchmen aboue named. and presentlie after came one ffoulke Rutter, to this examinats and the rest of the watch, and tooke houlde in this examinats staffe, and spake theis words to this deponente. Let

9/ seemed | seemed: *ditto*graphy; first seemed acts
as catchword (?)

17/ X: Pyers has signed with his personal mark

21/ X: Griffith has signed with his personal mark

me see your staffe, wherunto this *examinat* annswered. you shall not haue it. then the said Rutter asked this *examinat* and the rest of the watche, whether they woulde goe with him vnto an alehouse, wherat Harry ap Iohn Tailor dwelled, euery man to drinke, and spend his penie. and this *examinat* then aunswered that he would not goe, and that none of the rest should goe then 5 with him, by his good will, and if they did, he would complayn against them. whervpon the said Rutter tooke one Hugh gruffith, by the hande, beinge one of the watche, and sette his staffe, to a greate ashe tree there, and bad the watche keepe the same staffe. sayinge this man shall come with me. do what yow will. and then spake in this *examinattes* eare. I will not Meddle with yow 10 now, I will Meete you another time, after *which* speeches he departed with the said Hugh Gruffith. Harry ap Iohn tailor, and one other stranger, and they all wente to the house of the said Harry ap Iohn tailor, beinge within a stone cast of the Crosse, and thence abode singinge, shoutinge, and drinkinge about the space of an houre, it then beinge about Midd night. then after Hugh 15 gruffith, the watchman came out of the said house vnto this deponent, and the reste, and asked them whether they Longed for him, they replied they might not be without him, then to doe the Kings service, and presently the said Hugh Gruffithe returned to the said house, and came with ffoulke Rutter out, who both talked priuatelie together vpon the streete. And this *examinat* 20 spoke to the said Rutter. I pray yow. Let the watchman come to vs, and go yow home, and then the said Rutter came towards this *examinat* and sayd Haue you eny thinge to doe to bid me goe home? and Made at him, and I and tooke houlde in him by the necke, and pulld him by the coller of his dublet, and by his bande, thervpon this *examinat* arose, and when he was vp, 25 the said Rutter violentlie thrust him downe vpon the stones, and thrust his thombe in to his chinne, shooke and Bruised this *examinat* hauinge his tother hand vpon his dagger and without eny harme done to the said Rutter, the watchmen intreated him to departe peaceably, *which* he did. then wente he againe to the house of Harry ap Iohn Tailor where he abode. In the meane 30 time, this *examinat* and the rest of the watche wente towards the house of one William ap Robert, a pettieconstable dwellinge about halfe a quarter of a Mile thence, and about three, or fower a clocke in the morninge, they called vpon the said Constable, and prayed him to Come, and Aide them, for that the said Rutter menaced to Kill them, and hindered them from the Kings 35 service, who said, he woulde come as soone as he [h] Could putt on his clothes. And this *examinat* together with the reste of the watche, came backe to the Crosse, and there beinge aduised, agreed euery man to departe thence, for feare the said Rutter woulde do them some Mischiefe. So they went euery man home, And about a quarter of an houre after their departure, this 40

deponent beinge in bed coulde heare, one Harry ap Iohn Tailor shoutinge harde by his owne house doore. and ffoulke Rutter, Hugh Gruffith, and an other stranger Likewise shoutinge vpon the streete, and the said Rutter came to the Stocks, and putt the stranger in the stocks, when he had so done, Rutter (as this deponent thinketh) did Malitiouslie directe the said Hugh gruffith to come to this *examinats* shoppe, to Call for ij d. worth of Candles, who aunswered he woulde not open his shoppe, it then beinge about daylight, and further saith not./ 5

ff [2-2v]*

10

...
John Thomas of Caerwys, in the County of fflint yoman, beinge Sworne and examined deposeeth, and saith. That he beinge Come to the highe crosse in the towne of Caerwys, aforesaid with others to watche there, one Harry ap Iohn Tailor came thither with a Longe pikestaff in his hand, and helde the same towards the watche. and presently after one ffoulke Rutter came to the said place, and said to the Watche. What meane so many armed men of yow to be heere? and one Iohn Gruffith aunswered, we are heere to watche, wherunto the said Rutter aunswered and asked, what did they watch? the said Iohn gruffith aunswered, we watche for feare of Traitors, and other Malefactors, and Rutter said. yow haue good weapons, yow may doe the Kinge service, beinge such tall Lustie persons you be good fellowes will yow come with me, euery one of yow to Harry ap Iohn Tailors house euery man, to spende his penie. wherunto one Iohn Gruffith annswered. whosoeuer will goe, I will Complayne against him. And Rutter tooke a staffe out of the handes of one Hugh gruffith, beinge one of the watchmen, *which* he sett to the greateshe there. sayinge This staffe shall watch for one watchman, and badde them to watch the same staffe and tooke houlde in him by the sleeue and said This fellow will followe me, do *your* worst, I will aunswer for him. soe the said Rutter. Harry ap Iohn Taylor. and Hugh Gruffith with one other stranger went alonge to the said Harry ap Iohn Tailors house where they abode for an houre drinkinge, singinge, and shoutinge. Then the said Hugh Gruffith, came out of the house, vnto this deponent and the rest of the watche and said. I had rather haue stayed with yow, then haue gone with them, but I was forced to goe with Rutter for feare of him, I must yet go to them to pay for my drinke, and make vp the shotte, and I will come to you againe. when he had gone into the house, he came out presentlie with Rutter, to the watche, and then one Iohn Gruffith, asked the said Rutter whether he were not about to go home, and Rutter replied, and swore Gods wounds, what hast thou to doe to aske me, whether I will goe home, the said Iohn Gruffith annswered, if it please you, I had no Malice in askinge that. whervpon the said Rutter menaced to drawe out his dagger hauinge his hand already thervpon, and 15 20 25 30 35 40

helde the said Iohn | Iohn Gruffith by the throte, swearing manie horrible
 othes, and thrust, pulled, and haled the said Iohn gruffith to, and from him
 agayne so that he terrified, and brused the said Iohn gruffith. vpon which
 vprore and stirre the watchmen desired the said Rutter, to departe who wente
 to the house of Harry ap Iohn Tailor, and tooke againe with him the same 5
 Hugh gruffith. in the meane time, this *examinat* and the rest of the watche
 wente to the house of the pettie Constable and called vpon him, and they
 toulde him, what stirre the said Rutter had Comitted, and they desired him
 to Come, and Aide them, the said [Rutte] Constable replied he woulde come
presentlie after them, then the Watche returned to the Crosse, and *presentlie* 10
 departed euery man to his house, for feare the said Rutter woulde come
 agayne to sett vpon them, and hurt them./

And further saith, that he this *examinat*, hauing brought home with him the
 staffe of the said Hugh Gruffith, which Rutter had sette to the Crosse, the
 said Hugh gruffith, came to this *examinates* fathers house, and called for this 15
examinat and asked him, whether he had broughte his staffe with him, and
 this deponents father toulde [^]him he had, and deliuered the same vnto him,
 then the said Hugh gruffith wente againe to the Crosse wherat the Stocks
 were and there Mette Rutter and the stranger afore mencoed. Rutter bad the
 said Hugh gruffith, houlde vp the stocks, and putt the same strangers both 20
 Legs into the stocks, and walked about him, and asked him howe he did, and
 the said stranger aunswered this is a h[.]arde place for me. whervpon the
 said Rutter bad Hugh gruffith houlde up the stocks, and tooke out one foote
 of the said stranger, and anon after said, Thou art a good fellowe, and tooke
 houlde in the stocks, and threwe one *parte* therof, so that the nailes therof 25
 were Loose, and downe./ And further saith not.

FLINT

1611

30

Complaint at the Flint Assizes NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/976/1/51
 f [1]* (9 April)

9 Aprilis 1611

Iohn lloid, william Mores, Evan lloid and Thomas Edwardes beinge ffoure 35
 of the mynysters attendinge your Lordship, were quietly at supper in their
 Lodginge vponn Teusday at night of this present Sessions
 one Roger ap Iohn hugh of kilken (beinge a Man vnknownen to Evan lloid

1/ Iohn | Iohn: *dittography; first Iohn acts as catchword (?)*

19/ mencoed: *for mencioned; abbreviation mark missing*

38/ kilken: *Cilcain, Flintshire*

or to any other of the said Company except Thomas Edwardes) Came into the Roome havinge with hym a base felowe with a Crowd or fidle who then & there playd vpon the same beinge vnbydd by eny of the Company. Evan lloid not knowing them saied to the fidler that they were disposed to be quiet and that after supper they were to goe to their busines and desired
 ^[°hym°] [h<..)] to geave over playing for that they were not disposed to heere hym

Roger ap Iohn hugh (to whom the said speeche was not ment or aymed at) did break into vnseemly termes bydding the fidler to play or elles he would Cast his Crowde into the fyre sainge to the said Evan lloyd that he knew who he was, and that hadd bin his attorney before that tyme and hadd his money
 Evan lloid answered if I haue bine your attorney (as I haue ^[°not°] bine to my knowledge) I haue don my best for yow to deserve my ffee/ he replied, you hadd my ffee and I know what you did, and you hadd other ffees two
 Evan lloid asked him haue I receaved ^[°any thing°] of thother side against yow, he answered what I saied I nowe stand to

And after many wordes multiplied he saied that the said Evan lloid should not sitt where ^[°hee°] sate the next Morning with many wordes to the distreitt of the said Evane lloid and to the great disquieting of the whole Company

(signed) Iohn Price

W Maurice
 Thomas Edwardes

°10 April 1611°

°Mr Byrckhened in regarde of this disorder being verryfyed by the Attorneys abovenamed, & of other drunkennes & disorders & dysturbances of the peace commytted by the abovenamed [I] Roger ap Iohn ap hugh in this Towne during the tyme of this Assizes [mak] I wolde have you to make oute a
 ^[°wrytt°] [warrant] of the goodbehaveor againste the saide Roger retornable the next Sessions.°

(signed) Richard Lewkenor

1624

Presentment for an Assault NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/978/7/22
 single sheet (*October sessions*)

The presentment of the Burrowes for our Soueraigne
 Lorde the kinge within our liberties of fflint

...

we doe present Robert Griffith & hugh Griffith shoemakers of wrecham for

making a bloudie free vpon one Evan ap Iohn fidler vpon the [eighthe da]
seauenth daie of this Instant moneth october

...

HANMER

5

1592

Chester Episcopal Visitation Book CCALS: EDV 1/10

f 47 (26 September)

10

Proceedings of the Chester consistory court held before David Yale, LLD, official principal, and in the presence of John Morgell, notary public

[ex] egrotat
citetur de novo

contra thomam bradshaw de hanmer

for sellinge victualls and sufferinge Bagpiping in his howse at time of
devine service./

15

...

HAWARDEN/PENARLÂG

20

1607

Examinations into the Death of John Thornton

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/975/1/1-2

ff [1-2v]* (19 October)

25

Taken before John Eyton, coroner

...

Thomas Ledsham of hawerden in the County of fflint taylor aged xxxj^{tie} yeares
or there aboutes sworne and examined of his whole knowledge touchinge the
death and supposed murther of Iohn Thornton deposeth and saieth that
vppon sonday being the xiiijth day of September last past/ in the afternoone
the sayd Iohn Thornton [^][deceased] and one william potter with divers others
in their Companie did together daunce in the sayd Towne of hawerden,
and at the latter ende of their dauncing the sayd Iohn Thornton deceased
and the sayd William potter, did fflypp one another, and at [lenght] length
they growe to wordes, what the wordes were this deponent knoweth not for
he stode somewhat distant from them, for there were a great Companie
assembled then together to behold their dauncinge, and this deponent
stode behynd them all/ and this deponent further saieth that as the decedent

30

35

14-15m/ egrotat ... novo: 'he is ill: he should be cited anew'

36/ growe: fôr grewe (?)

and the sayd william potter were at some highe wordes as afforsayd, there rushed towardes them a man (to this examinat vnknownen) havinge a longe staffe and a dagger vppon him, in whom this Deponent tooke hold, and as this deponent did holde the same man, he might [^]perceive¹ some fightinge and blowes given behynd his backe, but by whom they were given and to whom this deponent knoweth not, because he hadd his backe towardes them, but presently after he sawe the decedent hurte and the blood runing downe into his necke, but [$\langle \cdot \rangle$] [^]by¹ whom he was so hurte this [^]deponent¹ knoweth not, for he sawe never a blowe offered towardes the decedent that day./ And this deponent further saieth that the sayd Iohn Thornton died aboutes a fortnight after that he hadd receaved the sayd wounde, but whether the same wound was the occasion of his death this deponent cannot depose. And this examinat beinge further demaunded whether he knewe of any former malice betweene the sayd decedent and the sayd william potter or any other of the Companie, this deponent saieth that he neither hard nor ever [hard] knewe of any former malice betweene the sayd decedent and any of all the Companie/ and further therin Cannott Depose./

Signum predicti + Thome ledsham |

William Sponne of hawerden in the County of fflint weaver of the age of xxx^{tie} or theire aboutes sworne and examined of his whole knowledge touchinge the death and supposed murther of Iohn Thornton deposeth and saieth that vppon sonday beinge the xiiijth day of September Last past this deponent in thafternoone was Cominge vpp the towne of hawerden and as he then came he might perceive assembled together to the number three hundred [^]people¹ or thereaboutes, at or neere the Crosse scituate and standing [at or neere] in the midst of the sayd Towne, and as this Deponent Came neere the sayd [^]Companie¹ he might perceive a man (to this examinat unknownen) havinge a naked sword in his hand strike at the decedent with the sayd sword, the which blowe this deponent did see to light vppon the decedentes head to the effusion of his blood, but who it was that gave the decedent the same blowe this [knoweth] deponent knoweth not, [for] neither [did] doth he knowe his name, for he saieth that to his remembrance this deponent never sawe him neither beffore nor after, the which blowe was all the blowes and stroakes that this deponent did then see givenn, neither doth this deponent knowe how the beginning was or betweene whom the quarrell was./ and this deponent further saieth that the sayd Iohn Thornton aboutes a fortnight after died, but whether he died of any blowe or wound he then receyved this examinat cannott depose./ And beinge further demaunded whether he knewe of any former malice betweene the decedent and any of

the Companie, he saith that he neither knewe nor ever hard of any/ and further therin [(<.)] he Cannott depose/

Signum predicti Willelmi X Sponne

Robert Garner of hawerden in the County of fflint Carpenter aged xxv^{tie} 5
yeeres or theirabouts sworne and examined likewise of his whole knowledge
touchinge the death and supposed murther of Iohn Thornton deceased
deposeth and saieth that vppon sonday being the xiiijth day of September
Last past aboutes two of the clocke in thafternoone this deponent amongst
many others was looking vppon some that were dauncinge in the said Towne 10
of hawerden, and the said decedent and one william potter were two of the
dauncers, and as they were dauncing the sayd | william potter did often clappe
the decedent vppon his shoulder with his hand, for the *which* the decedent
seemed to be offended and warned the sayd potter that he shold doe so no
more, But as they still Continued in dancinge the sayd potter happened agayne 15
to clappe with his hande the sayd decedent vppon the shoulder, wherevppon
the decedent turned to the sayd potter and gave him a boxe of the Eare
and thervppon their was greate strugglinge betweene them, in the *which*
strugglinge the sayd potter was hurte vppon the head to the effucion of his
bloud, but by whom this deponent knoweth not, but he thincketh that the 20
^¹sayd¹ potter was hurte by the decedent who had a naked dagger in his hand/
and instantly came [one] a man (to this *examinat* vnknown) and demaunded
of the sayd potter who hadd hurte him, and the sayd potter aunswered and
sayd these wordees or the like in effect. viz./ I am hurte by yonder man in
the dublett, poyntinge to the decedent, and thervppon the same man that 25
hadd so demaunded of the sayd potter drewe his sword and went towardes
the decedent, and overtaking the decedent, the sayd stranger with his sayd
sword naked did strike the decedent vppon the hynder parte of his heade
to theffucion of his bloude *which* were all the blowes that this deponent
did then and their see given to the decedent And this ^¹deponent being¹ 30
demaunded what was his name that so gave the decedent the sayd blowe,
this deponent aunswereth that he knoweth not, for to his knowledge he [(<.)]
never sawe him but that tyme neither beffore or after, but he saieth that he
hard that he was mr pope his man./ And this *examinat* further saieth that
the decedent died aboutes a fortnight after that he hadd receaved the same 35
blowe and wound but whether that blowe was the occasion of his death
this deponent knoweth not, howebeyt he saieth that he hard that the sayd
decedent died of the ^¹sayd¹ wound./ And being further demaunded whether
he knewe ^¹of¹ of any former malice betweene the decedent and any of the

3/ X: Sponne has signed with his personal mark

12/ william: also appears as catchword at foot of f [1v]

Companie he saieth that he neither knewe nor ever hard of any/ And further
cannott Depose./

Signum predicti + Roberti

Iohn messam of pentrehobyn in the County of fflint laborer of the age of 5
xxx^{tie} or therabouts likewise sworne and examined of his whole knowledge
touchinge the death and supposed murther of Iohn [T(...)] Thornton
deceased deposeeth and saieth that vppon sonday in thafternoone being the
xiiijth Day of September [^][last] this deponent being in the towne of hawerden
and standing some x^{en} or xij roodes distant from the place where they were 10
dauncing, this deponent might perceiue some stirre and allso some weapons
drawenn amongst the Compani(.) that were dauncinge, wherevppon this
deponent went towardes them and as he came neere vnto them, he did see the
decident goinge towardes the house of one dauid mynshawe (being hard by)
and another man (being a stranger and vnknownen to this examinat) goinge 15
after [^][the] decident with a naked sword in his hand, but this deponent did
not see him [th] strike the decident, for theire were a greate Companie of
people betweene this deponent and them, therfor(.) this [^][deponent] knoweth
not howe the decident was then hurte or by whom, neithe(.) doth he [^][knowe]
any thinge of the beginninge of [stirre], the sayd affray or stirr(.) neither of 20
any former malice betweene [any] the decident and any of the Companie/
and further this deponent cannott depose/

Signum predicti + Iohannis messam

1638

Churchwardens' Presentments for Vicar's Peculiar FRO: D/BJ/2/10
f [1]* (20 July)

...

Item we present Thomas Lawrence of Broughton for playing his musick at
the time of Evening prayer

...

Consistory Court Acts for Vicar's Peculiar FRO: D/BJ/1/15
f [1v] (2 August)

*Proceedings of the court held in the parish church of Hawarden before Robert
Browne, cleric, MA, and in the presence of John Barkley, notary public*

...

Idem contra Thomam Lawrence de Broughton [clandestina]

3/ +: Garner has signed with his personal mark
5/ pentrehobyn: Penrobryn, Flintshire

23/ +: Messam has signed with his personal mark

quibus die et loco comparuit et fassus est yat hee [pyped] played to yonge people vpon sunday in the afternone, & was not himself at church, Unde magister ad abstinendum in posterum et [...] ad peragendas penitencias iuxta schedulam et ad certificandum erga diem predictum sub pena &c.

...

5

HOLYWELL/TREFFYNNON

1617

Examination of Richard Holland TNA: PRO CHES 24/114/2
single sheet* (27 July)

10

...

Richard Holland millar of litle Neston informeth vpon his oath that vpon Sunday after St. Iames day beinge the 27 of Iuly last, william Barowe Constable of Nesse did ride vnto Hallewell accompanied with most of the inhabitantes of Shotwicke Rabie Puddington & litle Neston to the number [of] neere vnto two hundreth, & they had in there Company one Iohn Harrison & his boy who are fidlers & dwell as this informer thinketh in Saughton vpon the hill or there aboutes, which said Harrison and his boy did ride in like manner vnto Hallewell & spent the whole day in fidlinge & danceinge too and fro vntill they Came to litle Neston that night, & this informer saith further that one Evans a young man who dwelleth in the fflint was in werrall the weeke before this goinge to Hallewell & there did report that they might Come over into wales & play & dance & nothings would bee said to them & further saith not.

25

°fait Capcio versus [ffidler] le ffidlers supranominatos°

Chester Great Sessions Crown Book TNA: PRO CHES 21/3
f 12 (15 September) (Presentments)

30

Sessions held at Chester before Sir Thomas Chamberlain and Sir Henry Townshend, jps

...

for drawing people to holliwel [on the] Iohn harrison of Saughton fidler
in an assembly on the sabboth

35

4/ diem predictum: 22 August 1638

13/ litle Neston: Neston, Cheshire

15/ Nesse: Ness, Cheshire

16/ Shotwicke: Shotwick, Cheshire

16/ Rabie: Raby, Cheshire

16/ Puddington: Puddington, Cheshire

18/ informer: second r corrected over t

18, 35/ Saughton vpon the hill, Saughton:
Saughton, Flintshire

22/ werrall: Wirral, Cheshire

1618

Chester Great Sessions Crown Book TNA: PRO CHES 21/3
f 22v (13 April) (*Indictments for Wirral Hundred*)

Sessions held at Chester before Sir Thomas Chamberlain and Sir Henry Townshend, jps 5

...

Thes persons hyred a	Ricardus holland de parua Neston °plegius	
piper to hollywell	per se°	
vpon the Sabboth day &	hugo Sone de Nesse °plegius per se°	10
were Consortes with	Willelmus Guddykar de parua Neston.	
one william Barrowe	°plegius per se°	
theether in disordered maner	Thomas Handcocke de Nesse °plegius per se°	
	Robertus Benson de eadem °plegius per se°	
	Edwardus launcen de little Neston	15

...

1636/7

Examinations Concerning a Theft

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/22/3/32 20
f [1]* (19 March)

The Examinacions of Henry Daid *alias* Kynllys Late of the parish of
llangyvelech in the Countie of Glamorgan: harper. taken at Ruabon in the
Countie of Denbigh the nineteenth of March 1637 Before Richard lloyd 25
Doctor in Diuinitie and Richard lloyd Esquier Iustices ^ of the peace of the
said Countie of Denbigh Concerning the felonious taking away of nine
pound and ten shillings in money, twoe flaxen sheetes one cloke and one
safegard one apron of the goods of Iane Moris of Churt stock in the Countie
of Montgomerie spinster: 30

The said Examine being demaunded whether he had taken the said goodes
and mony denieth the taking thereof But saith that one fflorence ap Harry
being his Concubine and in Company with him at the tyme and place of the
supposed taking of the sayd goods and money: Did borrowe the money or
had the money and goods [^] aforesayd ^ or some part of them 35
given to her the said fflorence by the said Iane Morice: as the sayd Examine thinketh
Being further Examined touching the occasions that did drawe him out of
his Countrie he said that being a harper he intended to goe to Holywell in the

8, 11/ parua Neston: *Neston, Cheshire*
10, 13/ Nesse: *Ness, Cheshire*
15/ little Neston: *Neston, Cheshire*

24/ llangyvelech: *Llangyfelach, Glamorgan*
29/ Churt stock: *Churchstoke, Montgomeryshire*

Countie of fflynt there to get his livelihood [for] the [^]next¹ summer and that in his way he [had] intended to stay at Chert stock vntill Maye daye and to that End hired a lodging in the house wherein the sayd Iane [Chert stock] [^]Moris¹ liued: And being questioned when he departed from his said lodging he said he departed thence vpon wednesday [^]last¹ vpon the dawening of the day: But sayd he did not acquaint the sayd Iane Moris nor any of the familie of the house wherein he lodged with his departure at the time of his said departure:

...

f [1v]*

...

The deposicions of Iane Morris of Chertstock aforesayd taken [^]vpon oath¹ the day and yeere aforesayd touching the aboue mentioned felonie: She saith that about five weeks before the taking [^]of¹ these deposicions the said Henry ap Daid. fflorence ap Harry with one old woman and twoe children did come to the house of Roger Morris in Chert stock aforesayd where this deponent liued: and these were lodged for one night and afterwards from tyme to tyme did desire libertie to stage and [in] lodge in one kitchin nere the house: where they were suffred [for] to be vntill [about] Tuesday last at which tyme in the night they departed from thence and Carried with them the forementioned parcells of Goods and shee further saith that she mist nine pound ten shillings in siluer and gold which were taken out of a chest of this deponents: which this deponent verily belieueth were taken by the sayd fflorence ap Harry

...

PENLEY/LLANNERCH BANNA

1570

Chester Consistory Court Depositions CCALS: EDC 2/9

p 43 (23 or 24 November) (*Deposition of Alice Hanymer of Bangor, aged 25*)

Taken on behalf of Margaret Randle, plaintiff, in a matrimonial suit against Robert ap Randal

...

Ad articulos omnes et singulos This deponent saiethe that she was present at the mariage betweene the parties and was the brides maid that Daie but

2, 17/ Chert stock: Churchstoke, Montgomeryshire

4/ when: en corrected over other letters

13/ Chertstock: Churchstoke, Montgomeryshire

howe longe hit is ago or what age they were of at that tyme she saieth she knoweth not And further this deponent saieth that at sommer was xij moneth ther had bene a play at Pendley grene and as this deponent was goinge homeward in Companie with the said *plaintiff* & others the said Roberte ap Randle ridinge bie the way ouertoke them and this deponent said vnto him shall any [bodie] ¹of vs¹ ride behind you and one Iohn ap harrie said if you let any bodie ride let *your* owne wief ride whereapon he toke the said *margaret* behind hym and when she was set behind hym on horseback he rode awaie from the rest of the company with her behind hym and they went the foote way and he caried her the space of iij miles or thereaboutes coming from the syde of Pendley grene to her brother Iohn Hanymers dwelling nere bangor and this deponent sawe the said *defendant* no more at that tyme to her knoledge...

p 44 (*Deposition of John ap Harri of Holt, aged 21*)

...

Ad articulos omnes et singulos This deponent saieth that in sommer [this] was xij moneth ther was a play in Pendley grene where the said parties and this deponent with many others were present and after the play was done they [deponent] all departing away [h] homwardes the said *plaintiff* & diuerse went afote and the *Defendant* was ridinge & ¹ouertoke¹ [awaie and was passing by] them on Pendley greside and this Deponent spake to hym and willed hym to take his wief behind hym innuendo dictam *margaretam* whereapon he answered he cared not or was contented [wh] and one Iohn ap Iohn Did helpe her vp behind hym and when she was so set behind hym they rode awaie alone together without other company for the space of iij miles or thereaboutes to the house of hir brother in Lawe Iohn Hanymer...

PENRHYN

1534–43

John Leland's Itinerary Bodl.: ms. Top. gen. e. 12
f 56

...

Hoele communely caullid in Engliche Poele and as sum say it is the name that we caullid Hughe.

Hoele a gentelman of Flyntshir that by auncient accustume was wont to gyue the bagge of the syluer harpe to the beste harper of ¹north¹ walys, as by a priuilege of his auncetors, dwellith at Penrine yn Flyntshir: He hath also a ruinus castelet or pile at a place caullid Castel yollo. This word yollo is the same in walsche yat LLuelen ys and Ludovicus in Latine.

...

TALLARN GREEN

1608

Examinations Concerning an Assault

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/974/8/68

f [1] (17 August) (*Examination of Robert Hall of Newhall, Cheshire, husbandman*)

Taken at Emral Hall before Roger Puleston and William Dimock, jrs

...

Being examined saith that vpon sonday [being] the second Day of August
 being at the tallorne greene at one hugh lloides house in a lofte there
 Drinking in the company of one Richard hall a kinsman of thys examinantes
 and Roger hanson, Rondell Dee, [and] Thomas Madock/ Ioane Roe [^] this
 examinantes wief¹ and others/ there came [this] Richard penck vp into the
 lofte with a potte of Ale in his hand, and being a[s] [[^].]straunger to this
 examinant, he [spake] [^] sayd¹ by your leave to the Company, and drunck to
 this Ioane Roe being this examinantes wief, and whether she did pledge hym
 or no, this examinant knoweth not/ and ymmediatly after penck prayed that
 he might speake two wordes with the said Ioane [^] yf she could be at Leasur[^]¹
 [w] and she answered that she had nothing to say vnto hym nether was she
 at leasure/ and therevpon this examinant bad her take her leasure to speake
 with hym: and after they had [so bene] byn a pretty while together, and no
 wordes past betwixt them, this examinantes kinsman Richard hall gotte vp
 from the table, and went vnto them, and tooke[[^].] her by the hand, and bad
 her come from the said penck wherevpon penck would not lett her go, and
 therevpon [he] Richard hall bad him loose her or elles he would make hym
 loose, and withall asked what authority he had to hould her/ wherevpon penck
 replied that he had as good autoryty as [[^].] [^] any¹ man there vnlesse she
 were [some of there wives] wife vnto some of them, and then this examinant
 came vnto them and tould penck that yf he had any thing to say touching
 her, the cause was his, and he would answeere hym or yf she had rather go
 with penck then with hym, he would not stay her, and then [she] he sayd
 that she had some thinges of his, [which he would haue,] and therefore [s][^] [^] he¹
 had not made an end with her/ whereupon she replyd that she had nothing
 of his but a Scarffe which she had delyuered hym vpon Midsomer day last
 and yf she owed hym any thinge elles, lett hym clayme yt before that company
 and she would paye yt hym/ and then this examinant called hym Rascall and
 tould hym that he scorned hym, and scorned the company that was fitt for
 hym for they were not fitt for [me] [^] this examinant¹ and he asked hym, what

was his reason to scorne hym and he tould hym that his Mayntenance was not answerable to his/ and then penck tould hym he had abused hym and therefore would fight with hym/ and therevpon he rown[⟨..⟩]ded hym in his Eare and bad hym goe downe or elles he would send | hym downe/ and would come after hym [presently], and therevpon penck went downe, and a while after penck sounded his trumpett by the house dore and then this *examinant* came downe vnto hym and asked hym whether he had any thing to say vnto hym and he tould hym that he had to say vnto hym for he had abused hym in wordes, wherevpon this *examinant* willed hym to goe alonge with hym to [se] reason of yt, and so they both went together and penck tould hym that he must fight with hym vpon monday morning following for the wrong he had Done hym/ and he answered that he could not [come] [^][come then] but bad hym take hym [nowe] [^][at that tyme] yf he would, and then penck tould hym he was not furnished for hym then, and so vpon multiplyng of wordes, penck struck this *examinant* [in] two blowes with a Cudgell/ and then this *examinant* struck hym with a [shot] short [hanger] [^][sword] over the hand, and being re[^][a]dy to strik againe, this *examinant* was houlden/ and then the said penck gotte vp [ane] and Ranne [^][at] hym with his Dagger, and [he] thrust hym into the hand and parte of his dubblett. and [then] further this *examinant* cannott say:

x

Examinations Concerning an Assault

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/974/8/69

f [2]* (28 September)

Taken at Emral Hall before Roger Puleston, jr

Thomas Mason of the age of Thirtie [^][yeares] or therabouts sworne and examined saieth, that being in the house of Hugh lloyd vpon sonday in the evening being the second day of August he did heare in a lofte in the said house a great sturre and brabbling amongst the Compennie in the said lofte and did heare Robert Hall calle [th] Richard Pencke Roage [& Rascall] and that neither he nor his Compennie were fitt to come into that Compennie, and then this *examinant* went fourth into an Arbor or play place in the greene and there being in Compennie with diuerse others heard [^][one say] that they were fighting on the greene whervpon this *examinant* ranne fourth of the said play place to see what the sturre was and vpon his Coming fourth he sawe the said Pencke rising vp [of] [^][from] the ground and being vpon his knees, sawe the said Robert Halle strike a great blowe at him with his sword

21/ x: Hall has apparently signed with his personal mark

which this examinant tearmeth as though he had byn falling an oak, but whether he receaued his hurte by that blowe he knoweth not, and further saieth not./

Examinations Concerning an Assault

5

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/974/8/70

f [1]*

Bartholemew key of the age of xliijty or thereaboutes sworne and examined sayth, that comming together with his wife vpon Sondag [^]in the evening¹ 10
being the second day of August from a certayn tenemente of this Deponentes
towards the Tallorne greene, and being tould [be] by the way that there
had byn a brable there, they both went thither and comming to the dore
of one Hugh lloides house there stood Richard Penck by the dore/ and
ymediatly after there came [a messen] one out of the house and willed 15
Pencke to sound his trumpett/ and he answeard in this deponentes hearing
that he would not sound for any mans [^]pleasure¹ here but his owne/ and
then there came annother fourth and willed hym lykewise from Mr Rondell
lloid of the Tallorne/ and Penck answeard that yf Mr lloid would haue
hym sound he would and therevpon he did sound, and ymedyatly after 20
Robert hall came out of the house in great haste, and stood vpon the
doresyll vntill he had don sounding, and then the sayd hall and Penck
went together alonge, but whe[^]a¹ther of them spake first to the other this
deponent knowes not but walking together Pencke havinge a lytle Cudgell
in his hand and hall having a sword at his syde they went both out of this 25
deponentes syght, and ymedyatly [^]after¹ this deponent hearing two blowes
geven, he rann towards them and then this deponent might see hall drawe
his sword, and then Penck gave ground [in] having nothing then in his hand,
and hall verely hottly pursuinge hym the [^]said Penck¹ fell over a lytle dytch/
and [a] being downe the said hall stroke at hym one blowe, and as he was 30
getting vp he stroke at hym annother blowe as this deponent did decerne,
for he was then comming towards them, and then this deponent swore a
great oath and said to hall wilt thou kill a man when he is downe/ and
then Penck gotte vp and Stru[^]n¹ck away, and [at] hall still pursued hym
and then this deponent mett hall and catched hym in his armes and held 35
hym and this deponent doth verely thinke that Penck was hurte [^]by¹ one
of those two blowes for he did not see hym strike any more at hym and
further sayth not./

(signed) Bartholomew key

29/ pursuinge: inge corrected over other letters, possibly ed

31/ decerne: c corrected over s

Households

BANKS OF ST ASAPH

1634

Inventory of Thomas Banks, Dean of St Asaph BL: Additional MS 14,919
f 17v (4 August)

...

Item j payre of Virginalls in the hall 0 - 6 - 0

...

5

10

MOSTYN OF MOSTYN HALL

1613/14

Letter from Sir Roger Mostyn to Sir John Wynn

NLW: NLW Additional MS 466E

f 1* (16 February)

15

Sir

The reason I stayed this enclosed with me thus lo(...) it thearby you myght
be [saf] satisfied with Sir Richard (...)pte '(...)'¹ your letter was that I stayed
to speake with one that (...)quainted [w(...)] with that howse and knew the
children he ha(...)estowed with whom I haue this day spoken [with], who
also had (...) speach with Sir Richard of this matter. Sir Richard hath but
ij daughters vnbestowed, thelder aboutes xij yeares olde the yonger x^{en}
thelder which is the prettyer he sayeth is in speach for already to a lankyshyre
gentleman. he cannot resolue to dispose of her till some ende taken, for
thother he is pleased with many good wordes to bestow this waye/ a privatt
ffrind comendeth thelder very much, and telleth me that the yonger hath a
littell halt wich cannot be well deserned at the first yett beinge narrowly
looked vnto is quickly perceaved/ Sir Richard is desiring I should [see he]
come thither to see them. I hold that iorney to smale purpose, since we
are [^]['tied'] to one only. I am advised to take no notice of this halt till the
gentleman I send thither perceave yt himself. I entend my cosin powell shalbe
the man to performe that who knoweth nothings of this exception of Sir
Richard who beinge thear shall desire thelder in respect of the adge of
the children, [whearby] and nearest of yeares to [^]['make a']¹ marriedge not
questionable, Sir Richard himself wysshed that yf I cannot myself that my
cosin powell should be the man sent to see the daughter how to manage this

25

30

35

20/ lo(...): text lost due to damaged area 3mm
x 1.5mm

20/ thearby: th corrected over other letters
32/ we: corrected over another word

busines I desire *your* advise for yf the yonger halt and that Sir Richard will not be perswaded to part with thelder I will not deale with him at any hand. She shalbe perfect to [any] seeminge with whomsoever I deale in this kynd for no money shall make me hazard. (...) [^]fortune¹ I know you haue as great care of his well doinge as my self therefor doe I desire you to advise me [either to enter(...)] what to doe/ 5

I haue sent for Holmes to confer with him touchinge *your* children and myne/ I find yt somewhat difficult to find them a convenient house pasture for 2 kyne and hay for wynter, thearfor did I cause him to write this note enclosed that *you* may consider thearof/ hârden in [this res] respect of thenglysh tonge is a fitt place and thear yf *you* please they may learne to dance a musition beinge in the towne; but thear are very many Children thear and the master in some [bb] brables with a neyghbour *which* yet cannot be reconsiled *which* may hinder the schole for that he is Cyted befor the hyghe [co] Comissioners at London, I purpose to send to Ruthin whear [the] thear is a good schole, the master hath an exceeding report, whear also howserowme grasse and haye is to be had, and only fire ¹is¹ scant and also ¹in¹ my way to *you* will come to St Assaphe whear thear is a excelent schole, and the better by much in respect my lord Bushoppe vseth once or twise a weeke to come to the schole to oppose the children into both these thear are scholers come from harden schole/ havinge knowen what is to be had in the three wee may then resolve on wich *you* please, and I thinke the worst of the three may better fitt the boyes then whear they are/ Commendinge my best love to my mother and *your* self doe take leave and rest Kylken this 16 of ffebruary 15

your lovinge sonne
(signed) Roger Mostyne 25

GLAMORGAN/SIR FORGANNWG

County

c 1580

Siôn Mawddwy's Letter to Meurig Dafydd BL: Additional MS 14,886 ff 45v-6

...

Llythyr a ddanfenodd y bardd dysgedig Sion Mawddwy at vn Meurig davydd o forganwg o achos ei fod yn gogany ei gerdd, ag yn dwedyd ei fod ei huu kystal ar goreu 35

10, 20/ hârden, harden: Hawarden, Flintshire

36/ ei*: corrected over y in darker ink, probably by second hand

36/ huu: first u corrected over y in darker ink, probably by second hand

37/ goreu: u corrected over y in darker ink, probably by second hand

Attoch Meirig davydd ychydig lythyr gan fy mod yn Gwbwl rhyfedd ych bod
 yn beio fyngherdd kyn belled yr hwn y kaf foneddigi¹on¹ a chyffredin kymeru
 a ddoweto ich herbyn, heb ddysgyblion a ffenkerddaid, ond etto nid y
 dyoy mor gwbwl Ryfedd genyf a hyny kans ywch oddwedyd ych bod kystal
 ar goreu o dydych i felly chwi wyddoch iawn gany lawn farny, lawn ddysgy 5
 trwy gyflawn gyd gordiay ymadroddion, gramadeg mydr a sylldafay a
 chyfothawgrwydd gerddiaeth nid amgen mesyray kowdday, ag odlay ag
 englynion, a chany y Rheini yn awenyddga¹r¹ y marn penkerddieyd mal y
 mae, n Rhaid ywch kyn bod yn brydydd wrth f faint a defod ag arfer yr hen
 frytanied, ene (...) mi welais wr ual chwi a gafas l genif fenthig pvmp llyfr 10
 Cerddwri(...) ddwy flynedd, ag y bym fy hynan yn (...) y ddysgy py delse
 ddysg ynddo, ond i Roed(.) mor ddwl at y ddysg ar wydd wyllt mor falch
 ffol a Sattan, mor genfigenys a lywsiffer kyn galled ag Ieuan kedewen kyn
 hawsed ymddiried yddo ag y Iddeio korn brydain ae ben yn fawr ay synwyr
 yn fachan y ddysgy kany kerdd blethedig gysylldedig/ gyfochredig ddadwyay 15
 synhw¹ol¹ ond etto yn oedd ef yn gall y gasgly da by(...) yn llawn lloriay fal
 hen gastell, kymain(.) y gwilydd ar afar, kyn daered ar ab v(..)wen a Syddas,
 kyn haeled ar llyffant an y pridd, kymaint y gariad ar Iar ar y halen, kymaint
 y weniaith a charn byttain, a mel ar y fin a bystyl yn y galon, ar holl wlad yn
 adrodd y gampa(.) oy febyd hyd y henaint minay ay had(...) ef yn awr nid 20
 chwi Meirig y hwnw ha ha, he nage nage, wrth hyny day nage, a wna vn ei
 dewch Iach meirig nes boch gwrda ffarwel ith fyw

Sion Mawddwy

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

25

CARDIFF/CAERDYDD

1637

Edward Collins' Probate Inventory

30

NLW: Llandaff Probate Records LL/1637/6W

f [1] (5 September)

...

Imprimis in the parlour one table boord iiiij^{er} stooles
 two low stooles and one Chayer, one Iron backe,

35

1/ Attoch: ch added in darker ink, probably by second hand

1/ Gwbwl: G corrected over K in darker ink, probably by second hand

2/ kymeru: u corrected over y in darker ink, probably by second hand

3/ ich: i corrected over y in darker ink, probably by second hand

3/ y: corrected over ro in darker ink, probably by second hand

4/ dyoy: first y corrected over another letter in darker ink, probably by second hand

16/ by(...): trimmed in binding

two Iron dogges of cast Iron one Iron barr, Two Iron
 tongues, one slice a frying pan one *paire* of brigons,
 one brandiernes two Iron hangers, for to hould the
 pott, one pott hooke, one back stone, one old Chest
 one *paire* of tables, one muskett, one glaystafe, one
 old harpe and one bellice all to 01 li. 10 s. 2 d. 5
 ...

1643

William Gamage's Probate Inventory

10

NLW: Llandaff Probate Records LL/1643/15

single sheet

A true and perfect inventory of all the goodes and Chattles of William Gamage
 of the parishe of *Saint Iones* in Cardiff, within the Diocesse of Landaff 15
 taken and praised the xvth day of Iune Anno domini 1643 by the persons
 vndernamed as followeth

In the lower Roome.

Inprimis one presse Coubort, one standing bedstead with a
 tester Curtaines and valence, one table boord with sixe Ioynt 20
 stooles, one little Coubort, one Cofer two Chayers one boxe,
 three smale tripetts, one beench, one featherbed and a doust
 bed, two feather boulsters a feather pillowe three Cushinges
 one shagg Coverlett and another Coverlett a sheete and a
 blankett a little Cushing on the Coubort [^]all[^] praised att 04 00 00 25

Item two brasse Crocks and one Iron Crock a little kittle and
 skillet of brasse, and foure brasse pannes, one brasse kittle a
 basting ladle of brasse praised att 02 00 00 30

Item on bassen and Ewer of pewter Tenn platters greate and
 smale a quarte and a Pinte and a Tenpeny pott, a salt seller,
 two little pewter Candlestickes, foure poringers and five
 saucers of pewter and a brasse mortar all praised att 01 00 00 35

Item a *paire* of Andiers, slice, tongues potthookes and hangers
 one spitt one bellwes praised att 00 05 00

Item one harpe two wrought Cushinges [three (...)], one
 backstone potthookes and gredierne all praised att 00 03 00 40
 ...

LLANDAFF

c 1585

Anecdote of Sils ap Siôn NLW: NLW MS 13,068B

f 40*

5

...

Gyles ap sion ay kant

Gyles ap sion yn gwnithyr englyn (extempor(..) pan oed kwmpayni o
 prydyddion yn kowrdd yn hydd, y gany ar wawd am y vaistrolae(..) gerbron
 Mr william Evans shawnsler llan(...) a Mr Thomas Lewis o Llandaf y
 pryd hyny(..)

10

°+ Dal sylw!°

Hay,r, drwns, ar larwm, olwir wawd berwv(..)

pawb y arvay yn barawd

kyrwn y sias, kryiwn y sawd

pawb ay ddarn [b]poby ddyrnawd

15

Gyles ap sion extempore ay kant

°°cryiwn°

°°finis°

ST HILARY

20

1598

Sir John Stradling's 'Storie of the Lower Borowes' Merthyr Mawr House
 ff 13v-14*

...

A couple of
 herehaughtes.

...In good tyme had the defendant provided him at barr a Cople of herehautes 25
 to trye pettigrees, Iohn Gamege gentleman and mericke David rhymr: Bardes
 I may terme them both more properlie, the one of them ys a gentleman of
 good name, and therefore I would be loath to touch him with ought that
 might moue him to Chollour, whereto he ys by nature much subiect, and in
 very truth he deserveth the rather to be spared, for that he behaved himself 30
 so Conceptedly at the barre in derivinge pettegrees, as he caused all the Court
 to laugh merilie, Let him passe therefore, and for his name sake: But of the
 other I shall tell you a pleasaunt storie and a true. Hee would be Counted a
 bard, and a poet: sure I am he was not by many hundred degrees so good an
 herehaut as was Iaques Dart(..)u^lell, who first taught kinge Edward the third 35
 to quarter ye armes of ffraunce with the armes of England. Of his skill in
 poetry I am not able to Iudge, but I cann tell you for a truth howe ould

A story of
 Mericke dauid
 Rhymr.

7/ Gyles ... kant: a box has been drawn around
 this line

8/ kwmpayni: y corrected over i

14/ pawb: b corrected over d

16/ [b]poby: b corrected over d

17/ Gyles ... kant: separated from preceding text by
 horizontal rule

27/ properlie: l corrected over b

29/ he: e obscured by blot

William Basset of bewper a good learned esquier Iudged of yt, who was a l man
 very iudiciall in deede. This bard resortinge abroad to gentlemens howses in
 the loytringe tyme betweene Christmas and Candlemas to singe songes and
 receave rewardes, Comminge to Bewper hee presented the good ould squier
 with a [good] Cowydh, odle or englyn (I knowe not whither) containinge 5
 partlie the praises of the gentleman, and partlie the pettegrees and matches
 of his auncesters: the gentleman havinge perused the rhyme, prepared in his
 hand a noble for a reward and called the poet who came with a good will; of
 whome he demaunded whether he had reserved to himself any Copie of that
 rhyme; no by my fayth (sayd the rhymmer) but I hope to take a Copie of that 10
 which I deliuered you: Then replied the gentleman, hould here ys thy fee, and
 by my honestie I swere yf there bee no copie of this extante, none shall there
 ever bee, and therewith put yt sure enough into the fier. Then I neede not to
 tell you further what was his iudgment thereof...

15

SWANSEA/ABERTAWE

1617-18

Common Attorneys' Accounts WGAS: B/S Corp C 1

p 2* (*Receipts*)

20

...

Receved of the players towardes the mending of the window
 which was broken

0 vj d.

...

Receved of the players towardes mending of the windowes broken

j s. 0 25

...

p 5 (*Payments*)

...

Item paid for mending the window in the hall & drawing
 downe of ye bell & setting vp

iiij s. 0 30

Item fo thomas the smyth for a bare of Iron ffor the Lower
 window & for Iron & his worke about the bell

vj s. viij d.

Item paid for Lead

0 iiij d.

...

35

p 6

...

Item paid the glasier for mending of the towne hall window

j s. ij d.

...

40

1/ man: also appears as catchword at foot of f 13v

32/ fo: for for

6/ pettegrees: second e corrected over y

1619-20

Common Attorneys' Accounts WGAS: B/S Corp C 1p 25 (*Payments*)

...

paied to [the] *william* thomas majsone for diging pavinge and
setting vp of the boollring

5
x d.

paied to thomas llucky for lengthening of the bowlt and making
of the boollringe with a linke to the chaen and a Ryvett for
a bowllt

iiij d.

paied to thomas Iohn *david* phee for an owtfalle plank to the
setting vp of the boollring

10
x d.

...

p 26*

...

Paied to Iohn Scott and Ieames leaighen
more paied to the Rest of ther company

15
ij s. vj d.
xviij d.

...

1621-2

Common Attorneys' Accounts WGAS: B/S Corp C 1p 40 (*Receipts*)

...

Resevid of the stadg players towards the hall windows

j s.

...

25

p 45 (*Payments*)

...

Paied the glassier for the mendinge of the halls windowe

iiij d.

...

30

p 46

...

paid the glasier for mending the hall windowe

4 d.

...

35

1622-3

Common Attorneys' Accounts WGAS: B/S Corp C 1p 51 (*Receipts*)

...

Receved of to Stagplayers towards the mending of the windose

xij d.

...

40

p 53 (*Payments*)

...

payd to thomas david for the taber and pipe

xix d.

...

5

p 56

...

payd for a block to set the bole Ring and the holling of
t blocke

iiij d.

payd for nayles

i d. 10

payd for mending of the boulte of the bole Ring and the spke

iiij d.

...

p 57

15

payd for taking vp of the boll Ring and seting of it faste
and pafeing

viij d.

...

1624-5

20

Common Attorneys' Accounts WGAS: B/S Corp C 1p 71 (*Receipts*)

...

Receved of the stagplayers the viij^t of Ianuary towards the
mending of the windowes

vi d. 25

...

1626-7

Common Attorneys' Accounts WGAS: B/S Corp C 1p 79 (*Receipts*)

30

...

Receved of the stage players toward Reparinge of the
hall windowes

0 0 8 d.

...

35

p 88 (*Payments*)

...

payd to the glasier for mendinge of the halle windowes

0 6 s. 6 d.

...

9/ t: *for the* (?)11/ spke: *for spike*

1628-9

Common Attorneys' Accounts WGAS: B/S Corp C 1p 105 (*Payments*)

...

paid Robert Austine the 10th [^][of] November for the
mendinge of the bulls Coller

iiij s. 0 d.

5

...

1631-2

Common Attorneys' Accounts WGAS: B/S Corp C 1p 137 (*Receipts*)

...

Receaved of the statplaiers for the breackinge of 6 quarells
of the hale winddow

vj d.

15

...

1633-4

Common Attorneys' Accounts WGAS: B/S Corp C 1p 155 (*Receipts*)

...

Receaued of the stadge players the 24^o of 8ber towards
mendinge of the glasse windowes

j s.

20

...

Households

25

HERBERT OF COGAN PILL

1630

William Herbert's Probate Inventory NLW: Bute D 260/6

mb ii

30

...

In the Hall.

ffive table boardes

ij li.

Three old Carpett clothes

xv s. 35

Two livery Cupboardes

v s.

Two little Cupboard Carpettes

iiij s.

ffoure lether Chaires

viij s.

ffoure lether stooles

iiij s.

(*blank*) Ioynedstooles

viij s. 40

One paire of tables and one chest board

ij s.

Three pictures and five old cushions

ij s.

Two old windowe say Curtaines

ij s.

One broken Clocke	xx s.
One brasse Chafeing dish	ij s.
One deske and one harpp	iiij s. iiij d.
One paire of Andyrons	vj s. viij d.
One paire of tongs and one backe	iiij s. 5
Summa	vj li. vj s.

...

STRADLING OF ST DONAT'S CASTLE

10

1583/4

A *Letter from Arthur Bassett to Sir Edward Stradling*Traherne: *Stradling Correspondence*

pp 239–40 (6 February)

...

15

To the right worshipfull my very good frend
Sir Edwarde Stradlinge, Knight, with speed.

Good Sir Edwarde Stradlinge, I doe alwaies thanke yow for *your* greate curtesyes, with no lesse l to *your* good *ladie*. I am hereby to requeste you to sende unto me, at any of my houses in Devon, *your* servaunte, Thomas Richardes, by the last daye of this instante moneth; and to cause him to bringe with him bothe his instrumentes, as well that *which* ys stringed with wyar stringes, as his harpe, bothe those that he had when he was laste in Devon. I have given some comendacions of the man, and his instrument with wyars, unto sondry of my good frinds, namely, to my cosen Sir Phellipp Sydney, whoe dothe expecte to have *your* man at Salisbury before the viith of Marche next, where there will be an honorable assemblye and receyte of many gentlemen of good calling. So, hoping yow will herein acomplishe my request, doe most hartely comende you to Godes good keepinge. From London, the vith of Februarye 1583.

Your very loving frend,
Arthur Bassett.

...

MERIONETH/SIR FEIRIONNYDD

35

Households

LLOYD OF RHIWEDOG

1555

40

Poetry at a Wedding Feast NLW: Peniarth MS 81

pp 127–33* (20 October)

byd hysbys vod neithior yreiol yn y plas yn riwedog rhwng wilan llwyd mab

ac etivedd Elissav ap wiliam llwyd am morys ag Elssbeth verch owain ap Iohn ap howell vychan o lwidiarth ymhowys a chaer gai ym henllvn dddwsvl yr igeinfed dydd o fis hydref oed Krist M v [(<.)]C lv llymar gostegion a wnaethbwyd yno y dydd

vchod ysdor yw neithior a wnaethant y rhain 5
 ywr henwaw a folant
 y ma/n/ y kwrt mae naw kant
 o vewn pyrth [p] avyn poriant
 kytvn vor ddevddvn ddiweddiant drwy
 hap draw yw [h(<...)] hepil ffyniant 10
 devfwy yw plaid dyfy [p] plant
 [de(<...> d(<...>)dd]
 deall yddyn daw llwiddiant
 [m(<...>)ff(<...>)] gwir
 [<...>] 15
 [<...>]

Mae tesstyn vyllyn vwyall aniant gwir
 ag eraill ai traethant
 trwy iaith och wyr travthv chwant 20
 tysdio yno testvniant

Gruffydd gorff evnydd gwir ffyniant yr ae^[th]
 Hiraethog y galwant
 gwibiodd i varch ir gobant 25
 ddoe ar naid i ddwr y nant

ssyrthiodd ymdrechodd o drachwant ^[ir llvn]
 nid er llenwi moliant
 y gleissiad ocheliad [(<.)] chwant 30
 dissbaddodd dewis byddiant

os gwir chwedel hir havrant ymoddi(<..>)
 y maddav a glowssant
 y merched gocheled chwant 35
 keilliav y prifardd kollant

Geldingodd mynodd mwiniant y gafla(<.)
 ag aflwydd nid llwyddiant

2/ lwidiarth: *Llwydiarth, Montgomeryshire*

2/ henllvn: *Penllyn, Merioneth*

8/ poriant: *for porthiant*

ai gydav chwith gwedi chwant
gwall evssoes a gollasant |

ai gal yn ddyval ni ddovant merched
i gweled a goiliant
ai geilliav plwm gawell plant
ymol eoc ymliwiant

5

o bv hyn dessyn a dysdiant nid kas
ond keisio kerdd warant
[rohi] rhoi gair nod rhagor a wnant
rhac kwilidd rhai ai koiliant

10

lewys ap Edwart ales
lewys meir[(>)]chion ai kant
wyd ryffydd [y]^[yn] brydd mae brad ith gaill
ef aeth gwall mawr arnad
mewn y lle hwn men llai had
ith glos am a wnaeth gleisiad

15

drwy avon daethost ar dr^[o] fad y march
ni char merch ddim arnad
ymhen awr ymhoen irad
yn waeth o gaill yno ath gad

20

mae gloision irad oirion oi rad
ith din am a wnaeth danedd gleisiad
ar dy gaill gefaill nid gwad
gwae dy wraig i doe rwigiad |

25

Gossawc hiraethawc ai rrad y ssiwr/n/ai
oes arnog ofn gleisiad
oth valoc yr eoc rad
mewn dwr ymennai doriad
diav gwyl dangnav gldingiad kefaist
kai ovid or farchnad
ni chais merch golevserch gwlad
nawdd gwr newydd gyweiriad
Gwae vi am deivi dyfiad gener gamp
Gwn wirgas ir gleisiad
ai vach drwy afiach drofiad

30

35

40

yw ddial gofal a gad

Iohn tvdyr

llys rydd heddiw sydd a swyddav yn hon
ag iawn hynod freiniav
llys wyr kynan freisglan frav
lle ssy lwys llys elisav

5

eglevrwr neithiawr rhwng penaythiav blant
yrddiniant ar ddoniav
arlwy oedd frawd ir wledd vrav
a gordefyn pob rryw gerddav

10

gwaodd kler niver nwyfav heb orddig
beirddion a cherdd danav l
ac vn o vrig awen frav a gwimpiodd
ni ddwg impiav

15

Gryffydd awenydd ddoniav avr ieithydd
o hiraethawc freiniav
a gofyned gwae finav
ddifradwy gerdd i ddyfrdwy gav
dvg gleisiad rhediad orhydav at hwn
tynodd vn oi geilliav
antvr plant iddo yntav
hitrwm oll yw y tarw mav
yn ssokan tryan trovav anafys
wedi nofio llynav
doeth hwn wedi adwythav
lliw nos a chaill yn eisiav.

20

25

30

ssimwnt vchan

Gwledd arthvr oedd bvr o birion seigiav
Gwres a gar kaerlleon
aer elis ail reirol son
wyr oedd Wiliam yrddolion
rhifer mil haner ar amal hinon teg
ag att deigain inion
a ffymtheg aml anrhegion
oed [d]tvw pan i gwnaethbwyd hon
rhybydd awenydd ddynion ag eraill

35

40

a garo kael rhoddion
 dan dithiad yno i doethon
 a dwv <...> ssvl dywiso hon l
 val ir oyddwn gwn gwinion diofal
 yn dyfod trwyr ffynon 5
 hevrwyd arnaf drwyr deirnion
 anifir daith nofior don
 om kyfrwy [(<.>)] dwrdwy dardon mwll yn kyrch
 vn kyrchodd ir eigion
 a geirw a ffysg o gorff hon 10
 im tra chwys am[tr(<.>)] trochason
 am ddowad gleisiad a glowson ataf
 i gwnaf ateb gwirion
 a rhoi yno yn rhy inion
 a gwelle grifft ar gaill gron 15
 lewys gre dyrws gward wirion ganv
 ei enw gynt meirchion
 hen garw brith yw hwn garbron
 mair tost vn or tysdion 20

 a ssimwnt vychan pan synion [y gair] y gwr
 a geiriav anglynion
 kododd lygaid kaeadion
 i edrych distrych y don 25

 sion tvdyr brysyw mewn brisionn
 ffvglyfr ffaglyfre y kerddorion
 oer braw ar gelwydd garbron
 oes gwblach vynn ysgyblion
 doevid kelwydd sydd am soddion edw hww 30
 yn herad krevlon l
 a chidag ef salw ferf son grydd arall griddie [oirion]
 hits aled galed galon ymhyle
 nid ymhylith kerddorion
 a chyrrydd barch barch wraidd a bon 35
 os kae radd ymysg kryddion
 nach vn dyn a chalon y rhain
 yn rhanv tysdynion
 nis gwyr bardd nis gwarddon
 hwyntav sy iawn tewi son 40
 Gryffyth hiraythog

MONMOUTHSHIRE/SIR FYNWY

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

ABERGAVENNY/Y FENNI

1320

Episcopal Register of Adam Orleton HRO: AL19/3

ff 51v-2* (27 September)

...

¶ Innouacio reformationis Prioratus de Bergeveny

Vniuersis &c. [^]vt supra[^] vsque Nos igitur volentes huiusmodi Mandatum apostolicum reuerenter exequi vt tenemur & ad predictam domum que Prioratus vt premittitur [^]nuncupatur[^] die Iouis proxima post festum sancti Mathei apostoli & ewangeliste Anno domini M^o CCC^{mo} vicesimo/ personaliter
 accedentes comparentibus[^]que[^] dicto die in ecclesia Conuentuali/ Prioratus
 predicti coram nobis in dicto negocio pro inquisicione in ea parte per nos
 auctoritate predicta facienda/ sedentibus/ quodam fratre ffulcone Gastard
 nuncupato/ Priorem dicti prioratus datuum a dicto Abbate se dicente prefectum
 predicti Abbatis procuratore/ tam suo quam ipsius Abbatis nomine/ ac aliis
 Monachis dicti prioratus in eodem tunc residentibus/ iuxta premunicionem/
 Ac vocacionem eis/ vt Inquisicioni predictae faciende vt premittitur certis die
 & loco interessent/ facturi & recepturi quod dictum Mandatum apostolicum
 exigebat & requirebat eis auctoritate nostra factas/ perlectisque mandato
 apostolico supradicto ac littera certificatoria super premunicione & vocacione
 predictis ipsorumque copia omnibus quorum interfuit/ ac omni [^]defensione[^]
 legitima in ea parte decreta pariter & concessis eisdem: inquisicionem super
 contentis in Mandato apostolico supradicto iuxta formam eiusdem tam per
 loci diocesanum/ quam per eiusdem loci Monachos/ ac eciam per Rectores
 vicarios/ Capellanos/ clericos & multitudine copiosa de dicta diocesi & vicinis
 qui premissorum per dictum nobilem/ vt premittitur suggestorum verisimiliter
 melius scire poterant veritatem predictis personis omnibus & singulis/ per quas
 inquirebamus/ super hiis prius in forma iuris iuratis/ & nostra auctoritate
 singillatim examinatis fecimus diligentem/ per quam evidentem comperimus
 bona Prioratus predicti valorem/ & a diu est/ videlicet. a quadriginta annis
 citra & amplius valuisse/ ducentas/ & quadriginta Marcas sterlingorum/ &
 amplius annuatim/ ex quibus bonis tresdecim Monachi & plures iuxta morem
 regularium & patrie consuetudinem. possent comode sustentari (blank) &
 onera eis/ ac dicto Prioratui incumbencia supportare/ Idemque nobilis/ ad

14-15/ die Iouis ... vicesimo: Thursday, 25
 September 1320

35/ valorem: for valere

38/ (blank): apparent erasure covered by line filler

diuini cultus augmentum/ & ampliorem numerum Monachorum in dicto
 Prioratu futuris temporibus sustentandum/ duas Carucas terre iuxta Castrum
 de Bergeueny/ cum pratis/ pascuis/ moris/ & alijs pertinentiis ad terram
 predictam pertinentibus. & viginti libras sterlingorum annuas/ de eodem
 Castro singulis annis/ in festis beati Michaelis Archangeli & Annunciationis
 dominice/ pro equalibus porcionibus in dicto Castro percipiendas quousque
 eisdem Monachis & predicto prioratui/ de aliis redditibus & proventibus/ vsque
 ad valorem dictarum viginti librarum/ per eundem nobilem seu suos heredes
 fuerit provisum/ & plenarie satisfactum/ pro se [^] & [^] heredibus suis eidem/
 Prioratui dedit concessit/ & cum | effectu ac realiter assignauit/ Comperimus
 etiam per inquisitionem predictam Monachos dicti Prioratus in eodem
 residentes propter nimiam Abbatis predicti distanciam ab eodem Abbate/ seu
 ipsius auctoritate a quadraginta annis citra minime visitatos/ Inuenimus insuper
 omnes & singulos Monachos in eodem prioratu residentes observancias
 regulares in eodem Prioratu adiu est retroactis temporibus nullatenus
 obseruasse/ sed ipsos quasi omni [^] s abiecta religionis honestate/ vitam duxisse
 enormiter dissolutam videlicet. incontinenter viuentes & quam pluries extra
 dictum Prioratum etiam nocturno tempore devagantes & aliqui [^] o ciens cum
 mere [^] tri cibis & aliis suspecte vite mulieribus a laicis deprehensos & vulgo
 ostensos/ in scandalum & obprobrium/ totius ordinis supradicti ipsosque
 monachos silentium in claustro Mensa & aliis debitis horis & locis minime
 obseruantes sed potius simul inhonesta & turpia colloquia immiscentes &
 garula loquacitate vtentes carnes in refectorio etiam [a\.] quartis feriis/ & in
 septuagesima comedentes/ ieiunia aduentus domini/ quatuor temporum/ &
 alia precipue Monachis solita & consueta nullatenus obseruantes. diuinum
 officium pariter & nocturnum ordinate in ecclesia horis competentibus minime
 peragentes/ sed illis horis ad taxillos & alias & alios ludos vetitos colludentes
 & quosdam ipsorum spectaculum/ suorum corporum facientes [^] & [^] aliquociens
 quod non sine cordis amaritudine referimus nudi extensis brac [^] h iis cum
 baculis & ligatis ad modum crucifixi stramine vel alio aliquo ad modum
 corone/ capitibus eorum superposito de ipsorum dormitorio nocturno tempore
 descendent & sic incedentes. ac ludentes coram sociis suis/ [^] & [^] aliis inibi
 morantibus & alia enormia facientes que ad presens/ propter ipsorum
 enormitatem nimiam subticemus/ Inuenimus etiam quod a quadraginta
 annis proximo preteritis/ ante datam litterarum apostolicarum predictarum
 communiter quinque Monachi dumtaxat/ quandoque tamen sex in dicto
 Prioratu residebant/ nec priorem electiuum inuenimus prefectum aliquo
 tempore in eodem/ Inuenimus etiam per dictam inquisitionem quod dictus
 Prioratus propter culpam & insolenciam Monachorum degencium in eodem ac
 per alienacionem bonorum eidem pertinentium in temporalibus & spiritualibus
 quam plurimum est collapsus/ nec non predictum fratrem fulconem Gastard
 paulo/ ante aduentum nostrum predictum/ ad dictum Prioratum duos calices

argenti/ tresdecim coeliaria argenti/ quinque pannos de serico/ Munimenta
 varia/ statum dicti Prioratus tangencia quedam *eciam* originalia *sanctorum*/
 & libros alios/ ac quedam alia bona ad dictum prioratum spectancia temere
 fecisse ad remota loca temeritate *propria* & [^][ausu] [^][cesu] sacrilegio clanculo
 asportari/ qui *eciam* postquam per nos [^][ad] restituenda Munimenta *predicta* 5
 & alia per eum amota monitus & iussus fuerat idem facinorum suorum conscius
 clam de nocte a dicto prioratu recedens vltorius coram nobis comparere/ aut
 huiusmodi amota per ipsum res[istere] [^][tituere] non curauit/ Comperimus
eciam per inquisitionem *predictam* dictum ffulconem de adlvteriis variis.
 ac pluribus incontinencie viciis & aliis dissolucionibus criminosis adeo fore 10
 culpabilem quod in dicto prioratu/ sine graui scandalo non poterat vltorius
 inoffensa iusticia tollerari/ & quod omnia & singula fuerunt & sunt ita publica
 & notaria in partibus de Bergeueny & locis vicinis quod nulla poterant nec
 poterunt tergiuersacione celari [Cisterciensis ordinis] Vnde nos habita super
 hiis plena deliberacione/ cum venerabili in Christo patre domino Iohanne dei 15
 gracia landauensi Episcopo loci diocesano & religioso viro domino Ricardo
 eadem gracia Abbate de Dore Cisterciensis Ordinis sacre [^][pagine] doctore/
 & aliis peritis nobis [^][assidentibus] [^][assidentibus] & in dicta inquisitione &
 in processu toto per nos in hac parte facto & habito continue presentibus?
 quia inuenimus vt premittitur facultates ipsius Prioratus preter illas quas dictus 20
 nobilis de bonis suis eidem Prioratui vt premittitur erogauit/ ad sustentacionem
 duodecim monachorum et prioris perpetui in eodem? per nos auctoritate
predicta instituendi [^]ac *eciam* ordinandi/ sufficere iuxta morem regularium/
 precipue patrie memorate/ prefatum numerum monachorum et Priorem qui in
 spiritualibus et temporalibus presit eisdem/ sub ipsius Prioris obediencia iuxta 25
 formam Mandati apostolici moraturis & servaturis ibidem ad laudem diuini
 nominis obseruanciam regularem in eodem prioratu auctoritate *predicta*
 instituimus & *eciam* ordinamus? & eidem prioratui de religioso viro fratre
 Ricardo [^][de] Bromwich monacho prioratus ecclesie Cathedralis Wygorniensis
 ordinis *sancti benedicti* sacre pagine doctore in ordine sacerdotali & etate 30
 legitima constituto & de legitimo matrimonio procreato viro vtique prouido
 & districto ac in spiritualibus & temporalibus plurimum circumspecto & in
 dicto Prioratu Wygorniensi ordinem *predictum* expresse professio/ canonice
 prouidemus & ipsum fratrem Ricardum eadem auctoritate in priorem dicti
 prioratus de Bergeueny hac vice preficimus/ instituimus ac *eciam* ordinamus 35
 curam & administracionem dicti Prioratus eidem fratri Ricardo plenarie
 committentes/ ordinamus *eciam* auctoritate *predicta*/ vt quociens/ deinceps/
 dictus Prioratus Priore carebit? Monachi *predicti* prioratus priorem sibi
 per eleccionem Canonicam eligant/ per loci diocesanum/ vt iustum fuerit

8/ huiusmodi: corrected from huius

23–6/ [^]ac *eciam* ... formam: inserted at foot of sheet

*confirmandum/ ac faciendum vltorius quod dictum mandatum apostolicum
exigit & requirit Salua prefatis Abbati & Monasterio Cenomannensi pensione
centum & septem solidorum quam per Inquisitionem predictam inuenimus
fuisse & esse consuetam & eisdem debitam ab antiquo In quorum omnium
testimonium has litteras nostras per infrascriptum notarium/ scribi & publicari
mandauimus sigillique nostri fecimus appensione muniri. Data apud Bergeueny
v. kalendum Octobris Anno Domini Millesimo CCC^{mo} vicesimo & nostre
consecrationis quarto*

1537

Depositions Concerning the Church Bells TNA: PRO E 315/117
sheets [2–2v]* (November)

The deposicions of Certen parsons off the towne of Aburgenny taken
by Edward Gostwyk and Edward Watturs commysioners of the courte
of augmentacions in Southwalles accordinge to the commaundment of
Maister Chauncellour and other of the counsell of the same as hereafter
ffolloweth conserninge three bells of the late pryore there/

That is to sey

ffurst Thomas ap lethin beinge of the age of lxvj saith and deposeth apon his
othe taken the vjth day of nouember in the xxixth yere of our soueraigne lord
kinge henry the viijth that one called Ienkyn ap lethin of Aburgenny his
father beynge a Smyth dide worke of his owne proper costes and charges
to the Settinge vpp of the said belles in the late priore And also besides pade
his parte to the byenge of the saide belles how muche he can not tell And
otherwise he knoweth not//

Iohn ap polle ap Iohn beynge of the age of iiij^{xx} yeres saith apon his othe
taken at the same tyme That one Iohn ap Ieuan Vaghan of Aburgenny his
father in lawe did paye xx s. for his parte & his ffather in lawes brother called
Thraherne ap Ieuan ap Gruffudd paide for his parte xiiij s. iiij d. to the byenge
of the saide belles ffurthermore he sayeth that the parische of Aburgenny shuld
Ringe and did ringe the same belles if any of their seruantes dyed withoute
lycence or Restrant of the priore or couent & so dide vse till the Suppression
of the saide late [Monastery] priore And also the saide parische shuld ffynde
all maner of costes and charges belongynge to the saide belles also further he
saieth that he was one of them with one Ienkyn da blether Iohn bengreth
Thomas coke Ienkyn ap gwillim llwelyn vynneth and william ap polle ap Ieuan
that went aboute into the countrie with games and playse to gather money
to pay for the forsaide belles. and otherwise he knoweth not// I

Thomas Richard bouchier beynge of the age of iiij^{xxx} Saieth and deposeth
apon his othe taken at the same tyme that he knoweth that the towne of
Aburgenny bought the belles and saieth he pade ij s. iiij d. for his parte to the

byenge of them and saide the prior nor couent pad [e] neuer A penny to the byenge of them but the towne and the countrie And also saieth that one Ieuan *dauid* Taillour pade x s. to the byenge of the belles for his parte/ and the cause in knoweinge of the same he saieth he dwelt next howse vnto hym/ And ffurther saieth where the towne of Aburgenny was not able to pay 5 the some of money for the belles the countrie helped and made owte the rest And lykwise saieth the said towne founde all costes and [g] & chargis belonyng to the said belles and otherwise he knoweth not//

Maredudd ap polle ap Iohn beynge of the age of iiij^{xx}viiij deposeth apon his othe taken at the forsaid tyme that he paid viij d. for his parte to the byenge 10 of the same belles and one william morgan gentelman his maister paid vj s. viij d. at one payment to the byenge of the sad belles And also saieth he neuer sawe no man pay any thyng for the same belles but only the towne and the countrie that they gatte apon theym with games and plays and otherwise he knoweth not// 15

Morice Iohns Thomas phillip/ Meryke Ieuan lloyd Rice ap phillipe gentelmen and yomen & one william fflecher of the ages of lxx and iiij^{xx} A pece saieth and Deposeth apon their othes taken at the said tyme accordinge as the other deponentes hath saide before and otherwise they knowe not//

20

CAERLEON

1187/8

Gerald of Wales' Itinerarium Kambriae BL: Cotton Domitian A.1 f 74v* (On passing by Usk Castle and Caerleon) 25

*Caer lheon ar
wysc°

...Transeuntes inde per kaerleun Munemute castrum/ nobilemque danubie siluam que ferinam ferrique copiam Glouernie ministrat trans waiaam citraque sabrinam longe a leua relinquentes. in nouo burgo ter osche flumine iam

Collation with BL: Royal MS 13.B.VIII f 82v col 2–f 83 col 1 (C); BL: Additional MS 34,762 (E) ff 120v–1; BL: Harley MS 359 (Hc) ff 158–9; BL: Royal MS 13.B.XII (Rd) ff 29v–30 27–8m °Caer ... wysc°] CEHcRd omit 27 kaerleun] kairleun CEHcRd 27 Munemute] monemute CEHc 28 waiaam] uagam CEHc 28–9 citraque sabrinam] Rd omits 29 osche] Oscha Rd 29 iam] navi Rd

7/ and [g] &: & redundant

8/ belonyng: for belongynge

27/ Munemute castrum: Monmouth

27–8/ danubie siluam: the Forest of Dean

28/ Glouernie: Gloucester

28/ waiaam: the River Wye

29/ sabrinam: the River Severn

29/ nouo burgo: Newport

29/ osche flumine: the River Usk

transcurso? pernoctauimus. *Dicitur autem* Kaerleun: legionum urbs. Kaer enim
 britanice: urbs uel castrum dicitur. Solent quippe legiones a romanis in insulam
 transmise? ibi hyemare. Et inde urbs legionum dicta est. *Erat autem hec* urbs
 antiqua & autentica/ & a romanis olim coctilibus muris egregie constructa.
 Uideas hic multa pristinae nobilitatis adhuc uestigia. palacia immensa? aureis 5
 olim tectorum fastigiis romanos fastus imitantia/ eo quod a romanis principibus
 primo constructa/ & edificiis egregiis illustrata fuissent. Turrim gyganteam.
 terminas insignes. templorum reliquias. & loca theatralia egregiis muris partim
 adhuc extantibus? omnia clausa. Reperies ubique tam intra murorum ambitum
 quam extra? edificia subterranea. aquarum ductus. ypogeosque meatus. 10
 Et quod inter alia notabile censui/ stuphas undique uideas miro artificio
 consertas/ lateralibus quibusdam & preangustis spiraculi uis occulte calorem
 exalantibus....

DIXTON NEWTON

15

1618

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office HRO: HD4/1/177

f [206v]* (27 October)

20

*Proceedings for Archenfield deanery, held in the consistory of Hereford Cathedral
 before Gabriel Wallwin, MA, deputy judge*

...

contra Georgium Llewelin/

dimissio

he was carried on a pole into the church on whitsonday last fassus est et 25
 dominus iniunxit ei duos dies penitencie/ vltimo ffebruarii 1618 david williams
 certificavit et dominus dimisit.

contra davidem william/

dimissio

for carrynge him fassus est et dominus iniunxit ei vnum diem penitencie. 30
 Similiter

contra william Rosser/

Similiter. similiter vltimo ffebruarii. excommunicatur

Collation continued: 1 Kaerleun] kairleun CEHcRd 1 legionum urbs] urbs
 legionum CEHcRd 1 Kaer] kair Rd 2 britanice] britannicae Hc 2 Solent]
 Solebant E 3 legionum] legiones Hc 4 muris] E adds circumdata &; Hc
 adds circumdata et after this word 5 pristinae] E adds pre after this word
 6 fastus] faustas Hc; fastos Rd 7 fuissent] fuisset Rd 8 reliquias] Hc omits
 8 egregiis muris] muris egregiis CHcRd; muris egregiis E 9 adhuc] extunc Hc
 10 ypogeosque] ypogosque Rd 11 censui] sensui Hc 12 lateralibus] lateribus Hc
 12-13 occulte ... exalantibus] Hc omits 12 occulte] occulto Rd

contra William Price/
 dimissio for the like. similiter °28 Septembris in loco Consistoriali &c comparuit
 walterus Horwell clericus in cuius persona dominus ^{vicarius} absolvit dictum
 Price eumque restituit &c et desuper decrevit. deinde facta fide per dictum
 Horwell dictum Price peregisse penitenciam iuxta decretum dominus 5
 eum dimisit°

contra Lodovicum Prichard/
 for the like. similiter

10

dimissio *contra Richardum Clarke/*
 for the like similiter °quarto die mensis Iunij 1619 apud Herefordiam coram
 magistro Gabriele wallwin artium magistro deputato &c comparuit et exhibita
 causa dominus ipsum dimisit cum admonicione°

15

dimissio *contra Thomam dillwin/*
 vltimo ffebruarii 1618 in loco Consistoriali comparuit et fassus est et dominus
 iniunxit ei penitenciam vt supra./ certificavit
 ...

20

MONMOUTH/TREFYNWY

1621

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office HRO: HD4/1/172
 ff [171v–2]*

25

*Proceedings in the consistory of Hereford Cathedral before Gabriel Wallwin, MA,
 deputy judge, and in the presence of Thomas Crumpe, registrar*

...

Philippus Howell de Butholl 30
 detectus for that he the said Phillipp Howell the 20th of Maie 1621 beinge
 the saboath daie, did plaie vpon the taber vnto certaine people that were
 daunceing before the end of all devine services for that daie contrarie to
 the kinges ^{declaration} [iniunctions] quesitus &c in xxiiij diem Iunij 1621
 predictus preconizatus &c non comparuit vijs et modis in proximum °citatus 35
 per publicum edictum 13 Iulij 1621 preconizatus &c et non comparuit
 &c excommunicatur°

Ricardus Acton for dauncing publike at the same tyme

xxii^o die Iunij 1621 [Iun] similiter °citatus per publicum edictum 13 Iulij
predicti similiter°

Morus Acton pro consimili

xxii^o die Iunij predicti similiter °citatus per publicum edictum 13 Iulij
predicti similiter° |

Blanchia Davies pro consimili/

°citata per publicum edictum (..)3 I(.).lij 1621 similiter°

...

10

NEWPORT/CASNEWYDD-AR-WYSG

1187/8

Gerald of Wales' Itinerarium Kambriae BL: Cotton Domitian A.I
ff 77–7v* (On passing by Newport and Cardiff)

15

...

Apud nouum itaque burgum ubi osche flumen ab originali de cantrefbochan
fonte descendens in mare dilabatur. ad crucis obsequia multis allectis fluuio
renni transcurso/ ad nobile super aquam [de] thaph de kaerdif castrum
peruenimus. Serpit autem in noviburgi finibus terra scilicet de wenloch riuulus
cui nomen Nant pencarn. non tam aquatum profunditate quam alvei concauitate
palustrique limositate? non nisi certa per loca uadaque transmeabilis. Habuerat
autem antiquitus uadum cui nomen red pencarn. ad quod publica strata
ducebat. Sonat autem latine uadum sub capite rupis. Red enim britannice?
uadum latine. pen? capud. carn? rupis. De quo Merlinus siluestris mentionem
faciens: in hec uerba prorupit. Cum fortem lentiginosum in dextrales briltones
irruere uideris. si Red Pencarn transierit? Kambrie uires noueris eneruari.
Contigit autem nostris temporibus cum anglorum rex henricus secundus in

20

25

Collation with BL: Royal MS 13.B.VIII f 83 col 2–f 83v col 2 (C); BL: Additional
MS 34,762 (E) ff 124–4v; BL: Harley MS 912 (G) ff 211–11v; BL: Harley MS 359
(Hc) ff 162v–3; BL: Royal MS 13.B.XII (Rd) ff 34–4v 18–21 Apud ... peruenimus]
G omits 18 nouum itaque burgum] Nouumburgum itaque Rd 18 cantrefbochan]
kanterbochan C; kantbochan E; kantbochan Hc 20 thaph] taph E; Taph Hc; Gaf
Rd 21 autem] G omits 21 wenloch] wenleoch CEHc; Went G 21 riuulus] Rd
omits 23 palustrique] plaustrique EHc 24 red] rit C; Rith EGHc; Ryt Rd 24 ad]
non ad G 25–6 Sonat ... rupis] G omits 25 Red] rit C; Rith EHc; Ryt Rd
28 Red] Rit CERd; Rith GHc 29 temporibus] diebus G 29 henricus] Edwardus G

18/ osche flumen: *the River Usk*

20/ aquam [de] thaph: *the River Taff*

18/ cantrefbochan: *Cantref Bychan, Carmarthenshire*

20/ kaerdif: *Cardiff, Glamorgan*

19–20/ fluuio renni: *the River Rhyddi*

Resum Griphini filium arma sumeret/ & per maritimam dextralis kambrie uiam
uersus kaermerdyn tenderet: die quo Nant pencarn transire debuerat: antiqui
partium illarum britones circa predictum uadum cum summa sollicitudine
principis aduentum obseruabant. scituri pro certo quoniam & fortem nouerant
& lentiginosum si uadi transitus concordauerit: de ipso proculdubio uaticinium 5
esse complendum. Cum igitur rex ad predictam aquam uia duce festinasset/ &
uaticinali ueterique uado dudum obsoleto. ad aliud eiusdem aque uadum quod
modernior usus frequentauerat. iam transire parassent: tubicines & buccinatores
quos cornhiriez uocant. ab hir quod est longum. & cornu eo quod longis in
cornibus flatum emittant: ex altera uadi ripa quasi regi exultantes. in eiusdem 10
honore buccinare ceperunt. Unde cum equus in quo rex sedebat pre timore
tam horribilis & insueti sonitus calcaria respuens/ aquam intrare prorsus
abnuerat: rex lora regirans/ ad antiquum uadum se conferre ira preuia
deproperauit. Quo statim impetuose transcurso: britones eo experimento/
quasi de imminente iam certi exitio: ad propria mesti sunt reuersi. 15

...

Households

MORGAN OF PEN-COED

20

1625

Complainant's Interrogatories in Morgan v. Sotherton et al

TNA: PRO C 21/M1/1

mb [1]

25

Provided for witnesses on the complainant's behalf

...

17 Item ^Λ 'doe yow knowe or have yow heard' what bookes instruments

Collation continued: 1 maritimam] maritima Hc 1 uiam] et uiam Hc
2 tenderet] se tenderet Rd 2 Nant pencarn] Rithpencarn G; Nantpencarn Hc
5 concordauerit] G omits 5 de ipso proculdubio uaticinium] uaticinium de
ipso G 6 ad predictam ... duce] uiam duce ad predictam aquam G 8 parassent]
parasset EGHc 8 tubicines] tibicines Rd 9 cornhiriez] cornhiriet CEHc;
cornirien G 9-10 ab hir ... emittant] G omits 9 eo quod] quod est Rd
11 honore] honorem CEHc 12 intrare prorsus] prorsus intrare G 13 abnuerat]
renueret G; abnueret Hc 15 certi] EHc omit 15 exitio] excidio uel excicio E;
excidio vel excicio Hc; Rd omits 15 ad propria mesti] mesti ad propria CGEHc;
et mesti ad propria Rd

of musicke pictures mappes trunks and other thinges therein conteyned
had the (...) Anne (...) late of Pencoeat at the time of her deceasse and
in whose possession are they or what became of the same (...) heerein
at large

...

5

Witnesses' Depositions in Morgan v. Sotherton et al

TNA: PRO C 21/M1/1

mb [3] (7 September) (*Deposition of Anne Johnson, aged 53, wife of
Bartholomew Johnson, yeoman, of Pen-coed*)

10

*Taken before Nicholas Moore, esq., Walter Aldey, esq., and Richard Thomas,
gentleman, commissioners, in the house of Janet Morgan of Newport, widow*

To the Seaventeenth Interrogatory shee saith that the Lady Anne Morgan had
att the tyme of her decease at Pencoyd one faire paire of Virginalls and one
Irish harpe, And diuerse faire pictures that is to say – the picture of Sir Walter
Montague knight & the Lady his wife the picture of Sir William Morgan late
of Pencoid knight and the picture of the said Mistris Grace Morgan mother
of the said Lady

20

...

POWELL OF LLAN-PILL AND LLAN-SOE

1608

25

Sir William Powell's Accounts NLW: Badminton Deeds 1211 [Group I]
f [2v] (*Michaelmas 1608*) (*Disbursements*)

...

To hanllon for the Virginalls

iiij s. iiij d.

...

30

1611

Sir William Powell's Funeral Expenses NLW: Badminton Deeds 1251
single sheet (*Expenses at the burial*)

...

for the harper

vj d.

...

35

2/ (...): Anne (...): damaged lower right corner; said Lady and Morgan likely lost

3/ (...): lower right corner damaged; declare your knowledge likely lost

MONTGOMERYSHIRE/ SIR DREFALDWYN

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

BURGEDIN

1591

Inquiry into the Death of Humphry Curton

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/135/1/9-13

ff [1-4v]* (8 November)

Depositions taken at Guilsfield, Montgomeryshire, before William Whittingham, coroner

...

Richard Chatterton of Burgeding in the said County yoman being sworne and examined of his knoledge towthching the supposed murdering of one Humffrey Curton Comitted & done by one Robert ap dauid [^]ap Iohn[^] kerynion/ dauid ap Thomas & Meredudd ap Thomas or somme of them/ Deposeth and saieith that upon Sonday was senight last past being the laste day of october last aboutes one of the Clocke in the After noone the said Robert ap dauid [^]ap Iohn[^] kerynion Came to this deponentes howse and asked for this deponent (who then was at his dynner) and at this deponentes Coming to hym he said, you haue killed me a hog which was worth xx s. which this deponent vtterly Denyid saing my dog did goo with [^]me[^] to Churche this day mening that sonday Then said the said Robert your familie or your brother in lawe humffrey Curton did weery & kill the same wherunto this deponent answered hym saing my familie did not so do, what my brother in lawe Curton Did I do not knowe, you may speke with hym your self And therupon the said Robert ap dauid [^]ap Iohn[^] kerynion departid from this deponent & did goo to the howse of the said I Humffrey Curton/ being aboutes a Coettes Cast from this deponentes howse/ and within ij^o howres after this deponent Came furthe of his howse to a grene or pleing place where certen of the neighbours were, and then the said Humffrey Curton Came to this deponent & declared [h] vnto hym, howe that the said Robert dauid [^]ap Iohn[^] kerinion had bynn with hym & Chardged hym with the killing of the said hog and desired this deponent to goo with hym to the howse of the said Robert to see the said hog, And therupon this deponent and one Thomas Russell together with the said Curton

18/ dauid²: first d corrected over another letter

27/ hym: hy corrected over other letters

did goo to the howse of the said Robert dauid [^]ap Iohn[^] kerynion for the
 purpose foresaid and at their Coming nere the said house they sawe the said
 Robert dauid [^]ap Iohn[^] kerynion sitting vpon a tree there mending of a
 harpe/ and when they Came to hym they saluted hym and vpon the same
 the said Curton willed the said Robert that he, this Deponent and the said
 Russell might see his hog which he alledged to be weered or killed by him
 the said Curton wherunto the said Robert answered hym iije seuerell tymes
 by thes termes folowing viz., whersoever my hog ys thowe hast killed hym &
 thowe shal(.) pay for hym, this deponent percevering the said Robert to be
 grettly moved & vnpacient willed hym to yeld feirer spetches & better termes
 and therupon the said Robert rose vpp & with his fistes gave sondry blowes
 vnto the said Curton & then this deponent, the said Russell & one meredudd
 ap Richard (who Came to the said place) parted them and as this deponent
 was holdyng the said Robert, he the said Robert Did not only buffett this
 deponent but also bade the said meredudd ap Richard stricke them meaning
 the said Curton & this deponent/ & therupon they were parted without eny
 more blowes then gyven. And vpon the same this Deponent and the said
 Curton and Russell did goo from thence towardes the howse of one [Rinald]
 Gruffudd ap Rinald being father in lawe vnto the said Robert ap Dauid [^]ap
 Iohn[^] kerynion meaning to Complayne vnto hym of the abvse of his said
 Sonne in lawe towardes the said Curton and as they were going a longe A lane
 there the said dauid ap Thomas & meredudd ap Thomas [^]being Cosynes to
 the said Robert[^] [Came after them & when they had over taken them] [^]Did
 mete them & at their meeting[^] the said dauid ap [meredudd] [^]Thomas[^] having
 in his hand a staf of aboutes ve quarters long said vnto the said Curton, this
 deponent and vnto the said Russell howe nowe Sirs haue you bynne feighting
 with our frend[es] here (meaning the said Robert) we will be yeven with you
 and that you shall know yt wherunto this deponent answered & said are you
 men or bestes will you feight with vs before you knowe [w] in whome ye falt
 was, if the falt be in [y] vs you may take the law agenste vs, yf not you may
 beat vs/ And vpon the same the said Dauid & meredudd ap Thomas [turned
 backe] [^]Did goo[^] to the said Robert dauid [^]Iohn[^] kerynion & the said
 meredudd ap Richard who then were standing [nere] where the affray was
 before the said meredudd ap Richard holding the said Robert, and therupon
 the said Curton, Russell & this deponent did goo one their wey to the howse
 of the said gruffudd ap Rinald (being aboutes one quarter of A myle distant
 from the place where the first affray beganne, and at their Coming to the said
 Gruffudd and as they were acqennting hym of the l abvse of [the] his said
 Sonne in lawe the said Robert, They the said Robert ap dauid [^]ap Iohn[^]
 kerynion & [came together][^] dauid ap Thomas, meredudd ap Thomas &

meredudd ap Richard Came after the said Curton Russell & this deponent to the place where they [we(..e)] 'were' talking with the said gruffudd as aforesaid [^]the said Robert ap dauid & dauid ap thomas going some what before the others¹ & then and there the said Robert ap dauid [^]ap Iohn¹ kerynion with a staff of aboutes ve quarters long having a Clubb end with both his handes willfullfully stricke the said humffrey Curton vpon the leeft side of his [D] head vntill he fell vpon the ground & there laie as Dead aboutes the space of a quarter of an howre & of the said wound longwished from the said sonday aboutes iiij^{or} of the Clocke vntill setterday then folowing [vpon] [^]vpon¹ which day aboutes iiij^{or} of the Clocke Diid of the said wounde/ 10
wyttnesses at the wretinge +
hereof

(signed) Teste Eduardo moris

(signed) Thomas Aldred

15

Thomas Russell of Trefnaimey in the Countie of mountgomery yoman also sworne and examined towthching the supposed murtheringe of the foresaid Humffrey Curton Deposeth and sayeth as followeth (viz.) That vpon Sonday was senight beinge the last day of October last past, this deponent beinge at Service at the Church of Gyllesfilde, and after service was ended, he was desired [he] by the said Curten to dyne with hym, [and] and this deponent went with the said Curton [d] to dyner, and as the said Humffrey Curton and this deponent were at dyner [^]the said¹ Robert ap dauid ap Iohn kereynion Came to the howse, & asked for the said Humffrey Curton, wherevpon the said Curton his wief went to the dore and answered the said Robert and gave hym drynke, and after he had drunke the said Robert sayed vnto the said Humffrey Curton, Thou hast kylled me a hog that was worth x s., Then the said Humffrey Curton asked the said Robert, when, [was his hog killed] and the said Robert answered, at service tyme, then the said [Roberte] Humffrey Curton sayed, that is not true, for I was at gods service/ and the said Robert sayed agayne, either thou or thy mynie [has] have donne yt/ and thou shalt paye for yt And therevpon the said Robert departed & went his wayes/ And alonge whyle after dyner, aboutes an howre before Sonne settinge the said Humffrey Curton requested this deponent, and the former deponent Richard Chaterton to goe with hym to see the said hog that the said Robert ap dauid ap Iohn kereynion had [^]reported¹ [tolde] to be killed by hym the said Curton, and soe the said Curton, this deponent & the said former deponent Chaterton went all three together to the said Robertes howse to see the same hog[e], 35

6/ willfullfully: for willfully

11/ +: Chatterton has signed with his personal mark

16/ Trefnaimey: Trefnannau, Montgomeryshire

20/ Gyllesfilde: Guilsfield, Montgomeryshire

26/ drunke: u corrected over i

and at their Cominge to the howse, the said Robert was syttinge on a tree
 mendinge a harpe and as they came to hym they saluted hym and vpon the
 same the said Humffrey willed the said Robert to shewe this deponent & the
 said Chatterton the hog *which* he alledged to be killed by the said humffrey |
 wherevnto the said Robert answered hym, aboutes iiij^e seuerell tymes by thes 5
 termes followinge (viz.) wheresoeuer my hog ys thowe hast killed hym and
 thowe shalt pay for hym/ And then this deponent & the sad Chaterton
 perceavinge the said Robert to be moved & vnpacient requested hym to [be]
 gyve fayrer speeches & termes, And therevpon the said Robert rose vppe &
 with his fystes gave sundrie blowes vnto vnto the said Curton, and then this 10
 deponent the said Chaterton, & one *meredudd* ap Richard (whoe then was
 Come to the said place) parted them, and as the said Chaterton was holding
 the said Robert, the said Robert did also buffett hym the said Chatterton, and
 also [^]the said Robert¹ did speake some woordes vnto the said *meredudd* ap
 Richard, whether yt was to byd *meredudd* also stryke or noe this deponent 15
 knoweth not, for that he doth not well vnderstand the welshe tonge And
 therevpon they were parted, & noe more blowes was then gyven, And
 ymediatlie after the said Curton, and this deponent, & the said former deponent
 Chatterton, did goe all three togeathere towardses the howse of *gruffudd* ap
 Rynalde being father in lawe to the sad Robert, meaninge to Complayne vnto 20
 hym [^]of¹ the abvse of his sonne in lawe towardses the said Curton, And as
 they were goinge alonge a lane there, one dauid ap Thomas, & *meredudd* ap
 Thomas beinge Cosyns | vnto the said Robert ap *dauid* ap Iohn kereynion
 mette with this deponent, the said Curton, & the said Richard Chatterton,
 the said dauid havinge in his hande a staffe of aboutes v^e quarters longe, and 25
 the said dauid sayed vnto the said Curton, this deponent & the said Chatterton,
 howe nowe Sirs, have you byn fyghting with our fryndes here, (meaninge the
 said Robert), wee will be yeven with you, and that you shall knowe yt, Then
 this deponent and the said Chatterton answered, & sayed, are you men, or
 beastes, will you fight with vs before you knowe in whome the falt was, yf 30
 the falt be in vs you may take the lawe against vs/ And therevpon the said
 dauid and *meredudd* ap Thomas went on their way towardses the howse of
 the said Robert ap *dauid* ap Iohn kereynion, (the said *meredudd* ap Richard
 standing with the said Robert in the place where the affray was before,) And
 therevpon the said Curton this deponent and the said Richard Chatterton 35
 did goe one their way [^]towardses¹ [tow] the howse of the said *gruffudd* ap
 Rynald, (beinge aboutes a quarter of a myle distant from the place where the
 ffyrst affray began, And at their Cominge to the said *Gruffudd* ap Rynald,
 and as they were acquaintinge hym of the abvse of his said Sonne in lawe, |

3/ same: 2 minims in MS

3/ shewe: w corrected over e(.)

7, 20/ sad: for said

10/ vnto vnto: dittography

38/ began,: comma used for closing parenthesis

They the said Robert ap dauid ap Iohn Kereynion and dauid ap Thomas both together, and the said meredudd ap Thomas & the said meredudd ap Richard beinge (as this deponent thinketh) somewhat behynde the said Robert and dauid, Came after the said Curton, Chatterton and this deponent to the place where they were talkinge with the said gruffudd ap Rynald as afforesaid, and then and there the said Robert ap dauid ap Iohn kereynion with a staffe of aboutes v^e quarters longe having a Clubbe ende with both his handes did wilfullie stryke the said humffrey Curton vpon the leafte syde of his heade vntyll he fell downe to the grounde, and there laye as deade aboutes a quarter of an howre. And after the said humffrey had reuerted agayne, he sayed with a lowe voyce, vnto the said gruffudd ap Rynalde [^]thes woordes (viz.)¹ O gruffudd, gruffudd I Came to shewe you [^]the Cause¹ & I thinke I ame kild for my labour/ And further sayeth That the said humffrey Curton languished of the said wounde, from the said Sonday aboutes iiij^{or} of the Clocke vntill Saturday last, vpon which day aboutes [iiij] iiij^{or} of the Clocke, he died of the said wounde or stroke soe vnto hym gyven by the said Robert ap dauid ap Iohn kereynion/

x wytnnesses at the
repetinge hereof
(signed) Teste Eduardo moris/
(signed) Thomas Aldredd

BUTTINGTON/TAL-Y-BONT

1619

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office HRO: HD4/1/177
f [312v] (12 October)

Proceedings for Pontesbury deanery arising from detections at a general session in September 1619, held in Ludlow parish church before Gabriel Wallwin, MA, surrogate judge

...

contra Thomam Phillips/

detectus for receivinge into his house one Iohn ap Iohn ap dauid an excommunicate person comparuit et fassus est articulum et dominus iniunxit penitenciam iuxta schedulam et monuit eum ad extrahendum formam &c et ad comparendum. °9 Novembris predicto preconizato &c non comparuit &c excommunicatur°

contra eundem/

detectus for vsinge the trade of a butcher on sondayes the last summer to cut dresse & sell meat Similiter

18/ x: Russell has signed with his personal mark

contra eundem/

for havinge divers [^][his neighboures & others[]] quaffinge in excessive manner in
his house in service tyme on the sabbaoth dayes in service tyme vntill they
& he be disabled in theire sences comparuit et negauit et dominus iniunxit
ei purgacionem canonicam et monuit eum ad extrahendum proclamationem 5
°postea fassus est articulum esse verum vnde dominus iniunxit ei 2 dies
pennitencie more penitenciali quorum vnum in ecclesia ibidem alterum in
ecclesia de fforden Et ad certificandum in proximol° °9 Novembris predicti
similiter vt supral°

contra eundem/

for havinge & sufferinge a minstrell to play on sondayes in service tyme at
or in his house. Similiter

BWLCHYCIBAU

1653

Inquiry Concerning Assaults at a Morris Dance

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/154/2/23-7

ff [1-2v, 7v-7]* (25 June)

Examinations taken before Hugh Price and Lewis Price, esqs., jps

...

The said examinat sayeth that he at the instance of Iohn Tomkins of Llandrinio
in the said County, came vpon the xxiiijth day of this instant Iune with a
pipe & tabor to play before a Maurice daunce at Bulch y keebe and that he 25
accordingly did play before the said Iohn Tomkins, and Griffith Pugh, Evan
Pugh, Iohn davies, Iohn Tomley and another young man, being the six men
that [pla] daunced a Maurice daunce the *said* day at Bulch y Keebe aforsaid
And that while this examinat was playing & the fornamed persons dauncing
[there] by the house of Richard Owen An alehouse keeper, there came sume 30
souldiours & sume Countrey men there, And an affray happened, but who
began or ended the same this examinat knoweth[not] not, for he sayeth that
he ranne away & hid himselfe in a bush a little from the said house, vntill a
child brought him his pipe and tabor, And being examined who wounded
the *said* Richard Hamer, Thomas Calcott & Richard davies he sayeth that 35
he doth not knowe the Hamer nor the *said* Richard davies neither did he
knowe who wounded them, or whether they were wounded at all or not,

3/ in service tyme ... in service tyme: *second
occurrence redundant*

6/ 2: *corrected over 3*

8/ fforden: *Forden, Montgomeryshire*

25/ tabor: *bor corrected over other letters*

25/ daunce: *unce corrected over other letters*

36/ Richard davies: *inserted later in the same hand*

And denyeth that he did, or doth knowe who wounded the said Calcott,
 And further is not required to be examined/
 the marke of *William* + Lucas |

Richard Owen of Bulch y keebe in the *parishe* of Llanvechan in the said 5
 County ale keeper, [examined] examined before vs, the tyme aforsaid touching
 the *premisses*, sayeth, that a Maurice Daunce came to his house vpon the
 xxiiijth day of this instant Iune and were playing by the house, at *which* tyme,
 an affray happened, And this examinat sayeth that hee did see one *william*
 daves of Peniarth in the *parishe* of Myvot in the said County strucke vpon the 10
 side of his head downe to the ground, And that he did see Thomas Calcott
 ^of Gilrhewe¹ downe vpon the ground, but who strucke [him] or wounded
 [him] ^either of them¹ this examinat doth not knowe/ And further sayeth
 ^that¹ there were at the said place and Maurice daunce Lumley *williams*
 [^]gentleman ^and one of the sunnes of Evan Pugh¹ Armed with [a] swordes or 15
 rapiers, And that an other of the sonnes of the said Evan Pugh had a [bill]
 bearing bill in his handes, And was likewise at the said Maurice daunce, And
 being examined whether he had a naked sword in his hand in the said affray,
 he sayeth that he doth not well remember whether he had a sword in his hand
 the *said* tyme or not, & ^that if¹ he had he doth not remember of whom he 20
 had the same, And denyeth that he did any hurt or harme ^there¹ with [the
 same], And sayeth that [^.] he doth not knowe the *said* Hamer nor whether he
 was there the *said* tyme or not, And further is not required to be examined/
 the marke of + Richard Owen |

Ellen ^the¹ wife of Richard Owen of Llanvechan aforsaid examined before 25
 vs, the said day touching the wounding of the *said* Richard Hamer, Thomas
 Calcott and *william* daves, sayeth that she did here an outcry by the house, and
 being within; she hastened out and found the said *william* daves down vpon
 the ground being strucke, wherevpon the *said* Calcott came to her & strucke 30
 her vpon her Arm[e] [And presently after the *said* Calcott] And this examinat
 Confesseth that she did stricke the *said* Calcott with a Cudgell vpon his Arm,
 And further sayeth that she did see the said Calcott & otheres [^...] ^runing¹
 a way vp hill, and Lumley *williams* ^with a rapier¹ Iohn Davies, Iohn Tomley 35
 and otheres [coming] ^going¹ after them, And what happened afterwarde this
 examinat doth not knowe/ And further is not required to be examined/
 the marke of the + said Ellen |

3/ +: Lucas has signed with his personal mark,
 resembling LW written upside down
 10/ Myvot: Meifod, Montgomeryshire
 12/ Gilrhewe: Cilthriuw, Montgomeryshire

24/ +: Owen has signed with his personal mark
 37/ +: Owen's wife, Ellen, has signed with her
 personal mark

David Pugh of Collffrin in the said County *gentleman*, being *examined* before vs, the *said* day touching the wounding of the *said* Richard Hamer, Thomas Calcott and william davies, sayeth that he happened to be endeavouring to Arbitrat and end some varience that were betweene some neighbours, at the house of the *said* Richard Owen at Bulch y keebe *aforsaid* vpon the *said* 5
xxiiijth day of Iune, at *which* tyme there came a Moris daunce to the *said* house as this *examinat* heard, but this *examinat* did not see the *said* Moris daunce And further sayeth that he being in the *said* house, he heard [that] some crying out of the house, and one called to this *examinat* and sayed that Salaman Pugh his brother was like to be killed wherevpon this *deponent* 10
went furth & found his *said* brother downe vpon his face vpon the ground with a naked sword in his handes and the *said* Richard Hamer trampling [^][with his feete] [vpon his handes & his sword] vpon the *said* Salomon Pughes handes and his [face] [^][sword], And this *examinat* sayeth and Confesseth that he did put his handes vpon the *said* Richard Hamers Arm 15
who had a sword drawne in his handes, but denyeth that he did either hurt or harme vnto him, neither did he see any body | stricke or thrust at the *said* Hamer, And being further *examined* who wounded the *said* william davies and Thomas Calcott he sayeth that he did see the *said* william davies downe vpon the ground, but who did stricke him he doth not knowe, 20
neither doth he knowe who did wound the *said* Calcott, but sayeth that he did see two or three [^][men] by him, & Ionn Pugh this *examinates* brother stood betweene them, And this *examinat* sayeth that he did see the *said* Calcott bleeding down his stockin, and asked him who hurted him, And the *said* Calcott sayed that he knew who wounded him, [And sayeth that 25
he doth not knowe who did wound Hamer] And further is not required to be *examined*/

(*signed*) David Pughe |

Moris Iohn of mayne in the said County yeoman *examined* before vs, the *said* 30
tyme touching the wounding of the *said* Richard Hamer Thomas Calcott and Richard davies, sayeth and denyeth that he did hurt or wound them or any of them, neither was he at the Place where he [happ] heard that an affray happened And further sayeth that he is a poore day labo[^]u[^]rer & servant vnto Lewis Iones, And that his *mistres* sent him to the *said* Richard Owens house 35
[^][after night the *said* day] for some moneyes that the *said* Richard owed her, where this *examinat* stayed all night & early this morning before this *examinat* came thence, he was apprehended & brought to this, his *examinacion*,

1/ Collffrin: *Collfryn, Radnorshire*

4/ neighbours: *ghbo corrected over other letters*

4/ at: *written over erasure*

30/ mayne: *tref in the parish of Meifod, Montgomeryshire*

but who did hurt or wound the said Hamer, Calcott or davies this examinat
doth not knowe, And further is not required to be examined/
the marke of + Moris Iohn

ff [3v-3, 5-6]* (27 July)

5

Depositions given before Hugh Price and Lewis Price, jps

...

Thomas Evans of Trenaney in the said County Tanner aged 28 yeres [^]or
thereabouts¹ sworne & examined before vs touching the premisses, deposeth 10
[and] that he was present at Bulch y keebe in the parish of llanvechan in the
said County vpon the xxiiijth day of this instant lune when & where there
was a [merris] Maurice daunce, And that one Salomon Pugh of Collffrin in
the said County had a naked sword in his hand when this deponent & the 15
said Richard Hamer, Thomas Colcott, Richard davies & others came to the
said place at which tyme the said Richard Hamer did request or require him
to parte with the said sword, but the said Soloman refused soe to doe, but
strucke with the said sword at this deponent and otheres, And at length the l
happened to be downe with the said sword in his hand, & the said Richard
Hamer was endeavouring to disarm him, wherevpon david Pugh of Colffrin 20
aforesaid gentleman came out of An alehouse there, And closed with the said
Hamer and desired that the peace might be observed & soe [were] the said
Solomon Pugh and Richard Hamer were parted, And imediatly after they
were parted this deponent Did see one of the sonnes of Mr Lumley williams
of ystymcollow[^]in¹ in the said County Deceased whose name is as this 25
deponent is informed [is] Lumley williams Armed with a naked tucke or
rapier, Iohn Tomley, Iohn Davies, [&] Richard owen, & Ionn Pugh Armed
with naked swordes or rapieres and Griffith Pugh Armed with a bearing bill
[^]and Hugh Iohn ap Evan with a club or staffe¹ come to the said affray or 30
scuffle & they togeather with others were striking at severall other men that
were of the partie that the said Richard Hamer, Thomas Calcott william
davies and others were of. but which of them did wound the said Richard,
Thomas or william this deponent knoweth not, [but this deponent did see a
man strick [Thomas Euans] the said william davies behind his backe]

(signed) Thomas Evans l

35

Thomas Lewis of Trenaney aforesaid yeoman aged 45 yeres or thereabouts a

3/ +: John has signed with his personal mark, possibly
intended as initials

9, 37/ Trenaney: Trefnannau, Montgomeryshire

13/ Salomon: first o corrected over a

13/ Collffrin: Collfryn, Radnorshire

18/ the²: for the said Solomon Pugh (?)

25/ ystymcollow[^]in¹: Ystumcolwyn, Montgomeryshire

wittnes likewise sworne and *examined* before vs, the said tyme tuching the premisses, deposeth that he was at Bulch y keebe *aforesaid* the said xxiiijth day of Iune at the *said* Moris daunce And that he did see the *said* affray and a man stricking the *said* william davies [behind] vpon his head, behind his backe, with a stake or club, vpon *which* blow he fell downe to the ground, & layed languishing a long while in a traunce before he came to himselfe, but who wounded the *said* Hamer or Calcott [this deponent doth not knowe] or what the name of the *said* Man that stricke the *said* william davies is this deponent doth not knowe/

the marke of Thomas T Lewis |

Robert ap Robert of the parishe of Guilsfield in the said County yeoman aged 40 yeres or thereaboutes a wittnes likewise sworne and *examined* before vs touching the premisses the *said* daye deposeth that he did see the *said* Lumley williams at the place *aforesaid* in the *said* affray with a naked sword, Tucke or rapier wilfully & desperatly runing after this deponent with an intent [as] to hurt or wound this deponent as he conceaveth And that the *said* Richard owen, & one of the sonnes of Evan Pugh & otheres were Armed and stricking in the *said* affray, but did Hurt or wound the *said* Richard Hamer, Thomas Calcott or *William* davies this deponent doth not knowe/

the marke of + Robert ap Robert |

Richard *Meredydd* of Trenaney *aforesaid* yeoman aged 22 yeres or thereaboutes likewise sworne and *examined* before vs the said tyme touching the premisses, deposeth, that he was present at Bulch y keebe *aforesaid* vpon the *said* xxiiijth day of Iune at *which* tyme there was a Moris daunce there and that Iohn Tomley, Griffith Pugh, Ionn Pugh, Hugh Iohn ap Evan, Iohn davies & another were the dauncers, And further deposeth that he did see the *said* Iohn davies, Iohn Tomley, [Griffith Pugh, Ionn Pugh] Lumley williams, Richard owen and Solomon Pugh with naked swordes in their handes [^] and Griffith Pugh with a bearing bill¹ [were] stricking vpon and against Another parti¹ wherof the *said* Hamer Calcott & davies were of, & that they were wounded in the said place, the *said* tyme, but particularly by *william* this deponent doth not knowe

f [4]*

Iosiah Slader of the Towne of Oswestry in the Countie of Sallopp gentleman practisoner in phisicke and Chirurgery *examined* before vs, the xxvijth day of Iune 1653 sayeth that Richard Hamer of Guilsfield in the County of

10/ T: *Lewis has signed with his first initial*

21/ +: *Robert ap Robert has signed with his personal mark*

Mountgomery gentleman in now in danger of his life by reason of a wound
by him receaved in his back by a tucke or rapier/

(signed) Iosiah Slader

CAERSWS

5

1653

Presentment Concerning a Morris Dance

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/154/2/39

f 1v* (10 September)

10

...

like[^]wise[^] we doe present Iane david of Caerssooes who entertayned a
moris daunce at Caerssooes aforsaid [^]the 24th of Iune last[^] to be an [vnne]
vnnecessary Alsehouse who euer since may last for the most parte sell Ale/

15

CHURCHSTOKE/YR YSTOG

1589

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office HRO: HD4/1/155

ff [231–1v] (8 September)

20

*Proceedings for Pontesbury deanery held in Ludlow parish church before William
Langford, deputy of Francis Bevans, LLD*

...

suspensio

Ludimagister *ibidem* suspensus notatus anglice for makinge and setting
forthe [a ridiculus ryme] of enterludes on the sabothe daye quo die non
comparuit !

25

Citatus
Ludovicus ap
howell in
proximo

gardiani *ibidem* suspensi habent ad presentandum nomina eorum qui
interfuerunt huiusmodi ioco sive lusui &c/ quo die *comparuit* [et absoulu]
Edmundus ap howell unus gardianorum et petijt beneficium absolutionis et
absolutus &c et allegauit [se] quod idem lusus fuit antequam intravit in
offitio/ vnde dominus decrevit lodovicum powell vnum [^]lusorum[^] alterum
gardianorum ad comparendum in proximo ad presentandum huiusmodi
nomina &c/

30

35

...

1/ in!: for is

14/ Alsehouse: for Alehouse

14/ sell Ale: for Continues to sell Ale (?)

25/ *ibidem*: ie, Churchstoke

f [263v] (30 September)

Proceedings for Pontesbury deanery held in Ludlow parish church before Francis Bevans, LLD, vicar general

...

recessit

Ludimagister suspensus detectus est anglice for making and setting forth of [an] enterludes on the sabothe daye/

suspensio

Lodovicus powell vnus gardianorum/ [habent] et vnus lusorum/ habet ad presentandum nomina eorum interfuerunt huiusmodi lusui &c. quo die non comparuit

et habuit

nomina lusorum

vnde dimissus

...

HYSSINGTON

1605/6

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office HRO: HD4/1/213

ff 158v-9* (15 January)

Proceedings held in Ludlow parish church before James Bailey, LLD, vicar general, in the presence of James Lawrence, notary public and deputy registrar

...

dimissio

Thomas ap griffith alias Brooke detectus that he brawled in the Church vpon Ester daie last 1606 at divine service to the disturbance of the assemblie Quinto die Septembris 1606 in ecclesia ibidem coram magistro Henrico griffithes deputato &c. comparuit dictus Thomas ap Griffith alias Brooke; obiectoque ei articulo huiusmodi negavit articulum esse verum &c habet ad purgandum se in proximum cum sexta manu &c facta proclamacione &c. 24. Septembris 1606. preconizato &c non comparuit &c citetur dicere causas &c. postea comparuit et produxit quosdam Edwardum Gittins Ricardum ap Price ap Lewes, Iohannem ap Powell, Ricardum Midlton ^{et} Thomam Androes [et david Brooke] in compurgatores suos &c et purgavit se iuxta &c Vnde dimissus l

dimissio

Contra eundem. detectus that he did worke vpon whit sondaie last all the daie in making a hobie horse and a dragon./ Quo Quinto die Septembris predicti coram deputato antedicto comparuit obiectoque ei articulo huiusmodi negavit articulum esse verum. Ad purgandum se cum 3 manu &c facta proclamacione in proximum &c. 24 Septembris predicti, purgavit se &c Vnde dimissus est vt &c./

...

10/ eorum: for eorum qui

LLANFYLLIN

1582

Complaint in Lloyd v. Porter

NLW: Great Sessions Prothonotary Papers 13/10/15/[57]

5

ff [1-2]*

...

Oliverus lloyd armiger queritur de [Iohn] Howello Porter *pro eo videlicet*
 Quod cum predictus Oliverus, bonus, verus, fidelis, et honestus subditus et
 ligeus domine Regine nunc existit, ac vt bonus, verus, fidelis, et honestus 10
 subditus et ligeus eiusdem domine Regine nunc et diuersorum progenitorum
 suorum nuper Regum Anglie a tempore nativitatis sue huc vsque se gesserit,
 habuerit, et gubernaverit, Idem Oliverus per totum tempus predictum fuerit,
 de bonis nomine, fama, statu, opinione et Credencia. Apud omnes fideles
 subditos et honestos dicte domine Regine nunc, quibus idem oliverus notus 15
 existit, Ac pro vero, bono, et fideli subdito, per totum idem tempus, habitus
 acceptus, et reputatus fuit [^][et non solum] absque vllo Crimine burglariæ,
 vacabundiæ personarum vagrantium sive Sacrilegi seu Cuiusvis [alius] alij
 Criminis, nocivi; inter omnes vicinos suos, et alios fideles subditos, dicte domine
 Regine nunc infra dictum Comitatum mountgomery ac alibi Commorantes 20
[^][continuauerit verum etiam] vere, honeste, et fideliter semper vixerit, et ab
 omnibus huiusmodi Criminibus, et eorum [aliquibus] cuiuslibet, Liber et
 inspectus [remansit] huc vsque remansit, Quorum pretextu, necnon dexteritatis
 honestatis sincerique vivendi modi suorum ratione Idem oliverus tam amorem
 et favorem omnium vicinorum suorum aliorumque dicte domine Regine 25
 nunc fidelium subditorum sibi conciliauerit, Quam diuersa Commoda et
 emolumenta de eisdem vicinis suis alijsque dicte domi(.)e Regine nunc
 subditis, licite emendo, venendo et barganizando adeptus et Consecutus fuerit
 in sui ipsius Oliveri totiusque l familæ suæ manutencionem ac divitiarum
 suarum vberum incrementum. Predictus tamen [Olive] Hoellus premissorum 30
 non ignorans/ statui & Conditioni [et opinionem et famam] ipsius Oliveri
 maliciose invidens, machinansque et maliciose intendens [ipsum] eundem
 oliverum de huiusmodi bonis nomine, fama Credencia, et estimacione suis,
 deprivare et spoliare, ac in periculum amissionis vite sue, ac forisfacture
 omnium bonorum Catallorum, terrarum, et tenementorum suorum inducere 35
 decimo Die martij Anno Regni domine Elizabeth nunc Regine anglie &c/
 xxiiij^o Apud llanvilling in Comitatu predicto Quedam falsa scandalosa et

18/ personarum vagrantium: word such as detencione or recepcione missing here

18/ Sacrilegi: l corrected over g

31/ Conditioni: tioni corrected over other letters

36/ nunc: 5 minims in ms

oprobriosa Carmina sive versus de eodem querente et in eius scandalum et defamacionem scripsit, [asservit] propalavit, publicavit et declaravit [^]in presentia et auditu diuersorum dicte domine Regine nunc [^]subditorum¹ adtunc et ibidem presentium et existentium¹ tam in hijs Wallicis, quam in hijs Anglicis verbis sequentibus./ (viz.) ny dwy wr Torwr Tay, na Thryllywr, drylliwr, karcharday, nag ysplywr dwys, egglwysay, vel yr woyd olvir lloyd or llay. 5

with Robery and felony you feede/ bludd succer/
and sacriledge added

Oliver lloydes name defamed
hereof a whole Rowle will reede 10

with felony and beggery you beganne to thryve
nowe throwe in your pardon

Lowde I laughe, lloyd of leighton

in those dayes [thus] thou hast [don] '[thus]¹ this don/ 15

[eosdemque versos quam plurimis temporibus post eundem dictum decimum diem martij cecinit ac publicavit/] Quorum quidem falsorum, scandalosorum Anglicanorum et w<...> verborum (carminibus illis contentorum pretexto idem oliverus | non solum in bonis nomine fama, Credencia, et estimacione suis predictis multipliciter lesus et peioratus [es] existit sed etiam v<...>ni sui, alijque fideles subditi dicte domine Regine nunc/ cum quibus idem oliverus consortium habere solebat cum ipso olivero aliquoaliter intromittere diffidunt, et sese a Consortio ipsius oliveri subtraxerunt, indiesque magis magisque subtrahunt vnde dicit, Quod ipse deterrioratus est et damnum habet ad valenciam mille librarum & inde producit sectam/ 20 25

LLANGURIG

1629 30

Court in the Marches of Wales, List of Fines BL: Harley MS 4220
f 240v (25 June)

mountgomery

...
Iohn morgan of llangwrwk parishe at the suite of
dauid ap Evan moris and lane his wief for making
and publishing scandalous welshe Rymes against the
plaintiff to their disparagement fined 35

vj li. xiiij s. iiij d.

18/ w<...>: letters lost in tear; probably wallicorum

21/ v<...>ni: letters lost due to hole in sheet; probably vicini

LLANIDLOES

c 1365

Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd's Poem to a Maypole

NLW: Peniarth MS 98A

5

pp 24–7*

...

Cowydd y fedwen a gant gruffudd ap adda ap dafydd

y fedwen las anfadwallt .

10

hir yr wyd ar herw or allt

llath fvgr coed lle ith fagwyd

llen ir traetvres llwyn wyd

llety imi am llatai

oedd dy glos ymernos mai

15

aml iawn gynt gerynt gas

cathlav ar dy frig coethlas

pob caniad ffvrfeiddiad ffyrdd

a glowais ith dŵy glowyrdd l

pob llysav rwng cangav cyll

20

a dyfodd dan dy defyll

pan oedd wrth gyngor morwyn

dannedd yr llynedd ir llwyn

bellach serch nis ymbwyllly

byddar y trig dy frig fry

25

ith go^rffolaeth iddaethost

or park ir er peri cost

Collation with NLW: Peniarth MS 97 pp 213–16 (*B*); NLW: Llanstephan MS 53 pp 258–60 (*D*); NLW: Brogyntyn MS 2 ff 556–6v (*H*); NLW: Cwrtmawr MS 27 p 213 (*I*); NLW: NLW MS 3046D (previously Mostyn 143) p 21 (*J*); and BL: Additional MS 10,313 ff 25–6 (*K*) 8 Cowydd ... *dafydd*] *BDHJ omit*; Ir Fedwen u Osodesid yn yr Heol *K* 8 a gant ... *dafydd*] o lann idloes *D*; a osodesid yn yr heol./ *I* 10 anfadwallt] fanadwallt *D* 12 fvgr] fvgr *H*; vûgûr *J* 16 iawn] iawn fv *I*; iawn fu *K* 16 gerynt] o gerynt *D* 17 ar] yn *J* 18–21 pob caniad ... defyll] pob llûsay Rwnge kangay kyll/ a dûfodd dan dy devûll/ pob kaniad ffûrfeiddiad ffûrdd/ a glowad ith vûd gloywrydd *J* 18 ffvrfeiddiad] ffvrfeiad *D* 19 dŵy] dy *D*; dv *H*; dŷ *I*; Dŷ *K* 19 glowyrdd] glowrydd *B*; gloywrydd *D*; gloyw whridd *H*; gloywrydd *I*; glow wrydd *K* 20 rwng] mewn *I* 20 cangav] kogav *D* 22 pan] pen *I* 23 dannedd] da *B*; dy annedd *H* 23 yr llynedd] erllynedd *H* 23 yr] y *J* 23 ir] mewn *J* 24 bellach] ym bellach *D* 24 serch] serth *H*; ser3 *J*; ferch *K* 24 nis] *D omits*; nid *HJ* 26 ith] oth *I* 26 iddaethost] iraethost *D*; iraythost *J* 27 or] ir *I* 27 ir] kain *J*

or bryntir ar braint arwydd
 i dref y gyfnewid rwydd
 cyd bo da d'wyddfa dawn
 tref idlos tyrfa oedlawn
 nid da fy medwen genny 5
 nath lathlvd nath dvd nath dy
 nid da yna ytty enir
 dy le yn arwain dail ir
 pob dinas garddblas gwyrddblv
 pand anghymen fedwen fv 10
 peri draw dy wywaw di
 pawl oer garllaw'r pilori
 ynoes dail onis delech
 ynghanol croes heol sech l
 cyd bych cyfanedd meddant 15
 dyle bren gwell nen y nant
 ni chwsg yderyn ni chan
 meinlef ar dy frig mwynlan
 gen amled fydd chwaer gwydd gwyll
 trwst y bobl tros dy bebyll 20
 gwyllt glwyf ag ni thyf gwellt glas
 danad gan sathr y dinas
 mwy nag ar lwybr ewybr wynt
 adda ar wraig gynta gynt
 i borth moneth ith wnaeth bwyd 25
 mal ar svd maeleres wyd
 pawb or ffair evrair o roen
 a ddengys a bys dy boen
 ith vnbais lwyd ath henban
 y mysc marshandiaeth man 30
 ni chvdd wrth aros dy chwaer

Collation continued: 1 ar] er *HJ* 2 i] ir *J* 2 y] o *D*; ar *J* 3 cyd ... d'wyddfa]
 er bod yn dda doddfa *J* 3 cyd] kyd i *D* 4 idlos] idloes *D* 4 tyrfa oedlawn]
 trefwy fodlawn *J* 5 da] ta *HJK*; tâ *I* 6 lathlvd] lathrûd *J* 7 da] ta *HJK*; tâ *I*
 7 yna] yno *J* 7 ytty] vt *I*; uod *J*; it *K* 7 enir] enwir *IK*; henwir *J* 8 yn] i *J*
 9 pob] post *J* 9 garddblas gwyrddblv] garblas gwyrblv *D* 10 pand anghymen]
 plaid ynghangen *D* 11 peri] parwyd *IK* 12 oer] ir *J* 13 onis] ynys *DJ*
 13 delech] delych *IK* 14 sech] sÿch *IK* 15 cyd] Hyd *K* 15 bych] bo *DJ*
 18 ar] dan *J* 19 gen amled] kan aml *D*; mor amal *J* 21 ag] *J* omits 21 thyf]
 thv *H* 24 adda] addaf *IK* 24 ar] ai *J* 24 gynta] gyntaf *IK* 25 wnaeth bwyd]
 wnaethwyd *K* 26 ar svd] o Ser₃ *J* 27 pawb] pob vn *J* 27 evrair] air *J* 31 ni
 chvdd] nithûf *J* 31 dy chwaer] vuch waer *J*

redyn dy gorbedw rydaer
 ni chair rin na chyfrinach
 na chyscod is bargod bach
 ne chel y drem vchel draidd
 y briallv ebrillaidd
 ni ddaw cof yd ymofyn
 owdvr glwys am adar glyn l
 dvw gwae ni gvl oerni gwlad
 mwthl orn gael methl arnad
 dygiad tegfedd fonheddig
 ydwyd fry da yw dy frig
 dewis or ddav ceinciav caeth
 disiml yw dy fwrdeisiaeth
 ai cyrchv'r ffrith gadr adref
 ai crinaw draw yn y dref./

5

10

15

...

NEWTOWN/Y DRENEWYDD

1598

20

Examinations Concerning a Stolen Purse

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/139/2/58

f [1]* (16 December)

Taken before John Pryce, esq., JP

25

...

Iohn ap hugh of Chuerstocke being examend the Cause of his beinge at
 newtown the vth & vjth of the said moneth of december, what Money he
 [ther Spent] brought thether in his Purse & what he ther Spent
 Saithe that he the said examenat Lent one Rapier of his brother Iohn to one
 Edmond lloid to go to the fayre of Ludlow, being vpon St. katherns daye
 Last, Which Rapier the Said Edmond lloid Pavnde there & promeside that

30

Collation continued: 1 gorbedw] gorbedwyn D 2 rin na] hin a D 3 na
 chyscod ... bach] *after this line, J adds* gan leisiay gwydday yn gweiddi/ a hwyaid
 cof lle i ddwydti 3 na] dan D 4 ne chel ... draidd] y chedd drem ni chudd
 dy wraidd J 5 y] fry J 6-7 ni ddaw ... glyn] *J omits* 6 cof] *H omits* 7 am]
DI omit 7 glyn] y glynn DI 8 gwae] gai J 8 gvl oerni] gyliorni H; gyweini J
 8 gvl] glvd D 8 gwlad] gwad J 10 dygiad] digiodd D; tûddiad J 11 ydwyd]
 diwyd D 11 da yw] ado D; adaw J 11 da] ada H 12 ceinciav] cangav I;
 kangay J; Cangau K 13 disiml] disserch J 14 ffrith] *I omits*; ffrif J 15 y] *I omits*

the examenat Should Receve at Newtown the tyme forsaide, and that he brought in his Purse to the Saide town iij d. & payde vj d. for his dyner, And Saithe ffurthet that he Recevid [(<.>)] iij s. iij d. of gwen bemount in the said town./

ffurther being examened whether he was in the howse or bacsides of Iohn daffydd ap Res in newtown forsaide the Said vth of december wher the Camell was when Richard arnewey was ther/ 5

Saithe that he was twice in the said howse wher the Camell was once in the forenawn when ther was few or No People, And aboutes tow of the Clock(<.) in thafternewn withon Lucy Lewis & that he the said examenat went vpon the Camell & Contynewid vpon him the Most parte of his beinge in the Rome where the Camell was. and that he this examenat knowth not whether Richard Arnewey was then there/[not]or not 10

being Also examened whether the saide examenat [was] at his beinge in the Rome when the Camell was Did Lene vpon the backes of Richard arnewey & daffydd lloid ap Iohn wyne & handell ther briches, Saithe that he Did nether Lene vpon any of ther backes or touch there bryches 15

1640

Inquiry Concerning an Assault NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/152/6/7 20
single sheet—single sheet verso* (15 July)

Depositions taken before John Blayney, JP

...

Elizabeth Thomas of Newtowne in the said County spinster, beinge demanded 25
of her knowledge touchinge the woundinge of Thomas [^]Wilkes¹ sayeth,
that vppon sonday laste in the begininge of the night one Arthur Watkin
sate next to the said Thomas Wilkes abouts a table boord in a roome att
Edward Tues howse in Newtowne aforesaid (there beinge diuerse persons
hearinge of one playinge vppon the harpe) and heard the said Arthur 30
Watkin say, that he would make the said Thomas Wilkes leave the roome,
wherevnto he replied, that he would not, vnlesse the owner of the howse
would thruste hime out, And Immediatly shee this deponent sawe the said
Arthur Watkin strike the said Thomas Wilkes on the backe, Wherevppon
he cryed out, Arthur Watkin, hath killed me with a knife, and shewed his 35
bloode, and thrust, in his clothes vnto the companie there present. And
moreover this deponent sayeth, that the constables of the towne beinge sent
for, and vppon search made for the weapon wherewith the said Thomas

8/ twice: *written over erasure*

12/ not: *ot corrected over other letters*

17/ touch: *1 mimin in ms*

36/ bloode: *de corrected over other letters*

was wounded, they fownd a naked knife in the pockett of the said Arthur Watkin and further deposeth not/

Signum x Elizabeth Thomas l

Anne Tue of Newtowne aforesaid beinge likewise demanded of her knowledge touchinge the woundinge of the said Thomas Wilkes, sayeth that as she hearkened to the Musicke the tyme aforesaid in her fathers howse, Thomas Wilkes rose vppe from the table, and said Arthur Watkin hath killed mee with a knife, and wished the companie to be su[.]re of hime, Wherevppon Arthur Watkin would haue gonne out of the howse, But one Edward Watson Brother in lawe to this deponent, stayed hime on the doore vntill the constables came thither, whoe fownd a naked knife in his 'pockett' [pocked] And further deposeth not/

signum Anne A Tue

...

15

RHYSNANT

1593/4

Examination Concerning a Theft

20

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/136/3/29

ff [1-1v]* (7 January)

Taken at Rhysnant before Rhys Tanat, jr

...

25

The exeminacion and sainges of dauid ap Thomas of Pentreheylyn in the countie of mongomery laborer touchinge the Suspicious stealinge of one clocke, one kertchef, one syluer spoone, And certen other stuffe of the goodes of one Robert prydeaux esquier/ thervnto saith and vtterlie denieth the stealinge of the said Stuffe; or any parte thereof/ but this examinant remembereth that one night in the christmas holy daies last aboutes xij^e of the clocke at night he founde a cloke vpon a cubberd in his masters house, and deliuered the same to one of the houshold servauntes to be brought out, to devise some christmas game, And to bringe in the said clocke againe (in sorte aforesaid) not havinge eny intencion at all to steale the same/ Beinge further demaunded what became of the kertchef, the syluer spoone, and the rest of the said stuffe, this examinant saith that one a time (the daie certen he remembereth not) he founde a kertchef in the backe syd of his masters

3/ x: Thomas has signed with her personal mark

14/ A: Tue has signed with her first initial

26/ Pentreheylyn: Pentreheylin Hall, Montgomeryshire

house vnder a windowe theare, wheare the winde had blowen doune the same
 (as this *examinant* verely thinketh) and brought the said kertchef in his
 hande to his *masters* stable and threwe yt vnder some of the saddles theare
 myndinge to bringe the same in againe, at convenient leasure: but beinge
 somewhat forgeatefull, he dyd not remember to delyuer [them] yt to his
 mistres/ [vntill] | Before hit was founde by one of the houshold *servauntes*
 and as touchinge the rest of the said stuffe, this *examinant* ys altogether
 ignorante what became of them,
 X

SNEAD

1606

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office HRO: HD4/1/212

single sheet* (October)

The presentment of Walter Stephens, minister of
 Bishoppes castle agaynst Thomas Broughton gentleman
 of the same parishe

1. That of long tyme, hee hath not come to *our* church vsualie but once in the
 moneth./ And hath been noted to frequent with his daughter & *servantes*,
 assembles at the Parishe of the Sneade. in prophaning the sabbath daye by
 dancing, with such other vayne sportes & speaches, vsual in such assemblies.
 vnfit, specialie for a gentle man & a badd example to inferiour *persones*./

...

TREWYTHAN

1607/8

Hugh Jones' Will TNA: PRO PROB 10/255

f [2]*

...Item I give and bequeath vnto my said graundchild Wythen [^][Iones] all the
 furniture in the haule nowe remayninge vizt. staves glives pollaxes armoure
 of steele headpees bucklers lackes bowes and arrowes and suche like Item
 I give and bequeath vnto my said graundchilde wythen all my bookes and
 the virginalls nowe remayninge in the said hawle but my will is that my said
 wiewfe shall have the vse of the said virginalles and of the booke of martires
 duringe the tearme of [the] [^][her] said lease....

9/ X: David ap Thomas has signed with his
 personal mark

22/ Parishe: P corrected over f

34/ glives: for glaives (?)

35/ headpees: d apparently added later

YSTUMGYNON

1632

Inquiry into an Assault NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/149/2/27
single sheet* (23 July) (*Examination of Evan ap John of Manafon,*
Montgomeryshire)

5

Taken before David Moris, JP, at Llannerchemrys

...

Beinge examined what Trade he is of and howe he lyveth sayeth that by his 10
profession he is a ffidler and was hyred to play euery sonday in the afternoone
for this sommer at ystymgynan afforesaid which is the best meanes he hath
to live, beinge demanded whether ysterday last he did not assault meredith
ap Evan and with violence offer to putt him in the Stockes, sayeth that
^he^ amongst others in iestinge manner and not otherwise offered to put 15
meredith ap Evan in the Stockes but did not, beinge demaunded whether
the said meredith ap Evan in hawlinge of him towards the Stockes was [by]
not by him hurt and brused that he lyeth langwishinge in danger of life,
sayeth he was not hurt by this deponent neyther doth he lye langwishinge
to this examina^tes knowledge/ 20

Households

HERBERT OF CHIRBURY AND
MONTGOMERY

25

1638

Letter from Lord Herbert to Francis Lloyd

NLW: Powis Castle Correspondence 345

ff [1v–2]* (26 November)

30

Cosen Lloyd

Your Letter of 30th of October came to my Hand this day being 26th of
November. Whereby I vnderstand how the Money I returnd seemes to be 35
too little, whereof [thereof] therefore I shall advertise my Sonne, who is to
Contribute to the Charge, in ye meane time I hope yow will take Order,
that wee may suffer no detriment in Case the tryall for BallomacAdam
proceeds, though I had rather as I formerly writt, that it were deferrd
till Easter Terme; My Lady Balcinglas sicknes being but the Gout, may

12/ sommer: 5 minims in MS

13, 16, 17/ meredith, meredith, meredith: added later in space left blank, likely in the same hand

proue not so dangerous as yow thinke, Howsoever, I hope yow will provide that if otherwise than well happen to Her, such Legall entry may be made in my name as is requisite, But, as I said before, if it be nothing but ye Gout, there will be no occasion thereof, vnless something may be done about preventinge the Arreres to fall on mee; I have written to my Lord Deputy and Sir George Ratcliffe, of my Sonnes recovery, and intention to submitt Him selfe to mee Concerning [yo] ^{an} Accomodation. Your Irish Harper shalbe wellcome, yf Hee can play by ye Booke l after the English maner, and speake good English, I pray yow remember my Service to Master Sergeant Eustace, and tell Him that on all Occasions here I shalbe ready to serue [to M] Him, but excuse my not writing to Him at this tyme, by ye multitude of businesses; Forgett not my due respects to my Noble Lord Dillond whome I much Honer. Yf yow can procure an Answers from my Lord Deputy. I shalbe much oblidged to yow, and by Master Secretary's mediation, I hope yow may obtaine it. To whome also remember my Service; So hoping to here from yow shortly. I rest your assured Friend.

PEMBROKESHIRE/SIR BENFRO

County

1620

Presentments against Entertainers

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/781/4/28

f [1v] (September)

...

attachment

Item we present griffeth Emlin harper of the parish of newcastle emlin for a rouge & for wandring vp and downe the countie of Pembroke being contrarie to the statute in that case prouided °mittendo vti supra°

1633

Presentments against Entertainers

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/785/3/38

f [1v] (23 September)

...

proclamatur

Item wee doe present william Iohn Gwynn fidler beinge an Idle wanderer and a Common hunter of Alehouses, havinge noe place of habitacion

Boroughs, Parishes, and Other Locations

CEMAIS

1188

5

Gerald of Wales' De Rebus a se Gestis BL: Cotton Tiberius B.XIIIf 173v col 2–f 174 col 1* (*A preaching tour in Cemaïs and Cardiganshire*)

...

③³¹ rocedens autem archiepiscopus & inde meneuiam ueniens quoniam ad Resum principem Suth Wallie ipsum apud aberteiui expectantem iter accelerabat? 10
Girardo archidiacono super uerbo domini ibidem seminando uices suas iniunxit. Vbi multi quidem I ipsum audientes ad crucis signaculum cum magna deuotione aucurrerunt. multo uero plures ad uerbum ipsius ualde moti certumque propositum suscipiendi crucem habentes ad interpretis uocem que non adeo ordinate uel gracie processit. statim a uoto concepto 15
 resilierunt. Quoniam ut ait rethor appollonius lacrima nichil arescit cicius.

n crastino uero apud kemmeis non procul tamen a ponte de aberteiui conuocato populo parcium illarum coram principe Reso primum ad archiepiscopi deinde ad archidiaconi uerbum uirorum allecta est copia multa. Vnde & eodem die uir quidam iocosus qui simulata stulticia & lingua dicaci magnum curie 20
 solatium prestare solet. cui nomen Iohannes spang dixit Reso. Multum diligere debes O Rese cognatum hunc tuum archidiaconum. quia centum homines uestros & plures ad christi obsequium hodie misit. & si lingua Walensica locutus fuisset? non credo quod unus nobis de tota multitudine uestra remanisset.... 25

...

CILGERRAN

1620

30

Presentments against Entertainers

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/781/4/28

f [1v]

...

attachment [Item we present] Thomas llewis harper of the parish of kyllgarran for a rouge 35
 contrarie to the statute in that case prouided: & for going abroad at shere time and woll times °mittedo domum correctionis°

...

9/ rocedens: for Procedens; space left for decorated initial P but not filled in

16/ ut ait ... cicius: cp Cicero, De Inventione 1.109

17/ n: for In; space left for decorated initial I but not filled in

37/ mittedo: for mittendo

DEWISLAND

1620

Presentments against Entertainers

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/781/4/28

f [1] (*September*)

...

(...) Item we present *dauid* keler [°]of diewisland[°] Crowther: a wandrer & noe
certayne place of Abode to be a Roge which is contrary to the lawes
°to be sent to the howse°

5

10

HAVERFORDWEST/HWLFFORDD

1579-80

Mayors' Accounts PRO: Haverfordwest Records 2139f 36v (*Allowances*)

15

...

Item paid Howell the cutler for cleaning the Towne caliuers
& powder for the maylord

[iiij s.] [iiij s.]

...

20

1580-1

Mayors' Accounts PRO: Haverfordwest Records 3f 4* (*Payments*)

...

25

Item payd for xiiij yardes of frysse to make the mynstrells
& long williams coet

xiiij s.

Item payd for the makynge of longe Williams coet

j s.

...

30

1582-3

Mayors' Accounts PRO: Haverfordwest Records 5f 1 (*Payments*)

...

I payed more for viij yeardes off grey ffryse to serve for Two
coetes to bo3th vayetes off the towne, david whyt and (*blank*)
Whyt price xj d. the yeard

35

vij s. iiij d.

Item for haulff A yeard of levantaffita grene for theyr facyng
& A skeyne off grene sylk for sowyng off yt

xvj d.

...

40

9/ Abode: A corrected over other letters

35/ 1: Richard Bateman, mayor

9/ lawes: wes corrected over other letters

1586-7**Serjeants' Accounts** PRO: Haverfordwest Records 121f 5 (*Payments*)

...

Item payd for the wayts is cottes	x s. vj d.	5
mor for the makinge the cottes	iij s.	

...

mor payd to Iames done taylor in mony to by silke and thred		
for the wayts is cottes	xij d.	
mor a yard and a havfe of leven tafyta for fasinge for the waytes		10
his cottes	iij s. vj d.	

...

mor payd for bvtens for the wayts is cottes	ij s. vj d.	
---	-------------	--

...

15

1587-8**Mayors' Accounts** PRO: Haverfordwest Records 8f 2 (*Payments*)

...

payed for xvij yeardes & a hallf of yerd brode fryce to make		20
cotes for the mvsyssions & bydills	xvij s.	

...

1589**Chamber Reeves' Accounts** PRO: Haverfordwest Records 1984f 1* (*Payments*)

...

Paid at Christmas 1589 for xiiij yardes of grey frise at x d.		
the yarde to mak lyueries for the waytes men xj s. viij d. &		
for the facyng to theire coates iij s.	xiiij s. viij d.	30

...

1591-2**Mayors' Accounts** PRO: Haverfordwest Records 10f 1* (*Payments*)

...

Item to mr pukrine his gester by Consent	ix s. ij d.	
--	-------------	--

...

Item for xiiij yards hallf of gray fryse	xij s. (...)	
--	--------------	--

Item for Sixe dossen of Silk at 4 d. <i>per</i>	ij s.	
Item one yard of leven taffita at	ij s.	
Item in Browne thred 6 d. in silk 4 d.	x d.	
Item a <i>quarter</i> of mocadoe 6 d. in thred and bottens 4 d.	x d.	
...		5
Item the makinge of the fower Cottes	iiij s. iiij d.	
...		

Serjeants' Accounts PRO: Haverfordwest Records 122

f 1 (<i>Payments</i>)		10
...		
Item paid for one yard of leven taffita for facing the waytes cootes	ij s.	
Item for vjo dossen of greene silk Bottons at 3 d. <i>per</i>	j s. vj d.	
Item for one quarter of Greene mocado: 4 d. ob.	iiij d. ob.	15
in Silk iiij d. in thred 6 d.	x d.	
Item for frise to mak fower cootes the somm of all which was paid in mr davis yeare when he was mayor	xvij s. iiij d.	
Item paid for makinge the eight cottes	vj s. iiij d.	
...		20

1593-4**St Mary's Churchwardens' Accounts** PRO: Haverfordwest Records 442

f [2] (<i>Payments</i>)		25
The Names of those <i>which</i> haue not payed towards the priestes [wages] wages Anno 1594		
...		
Harry phellip harper for half a yeare	viiij d.	
...		30

1596-7**Mayors' Accounts** PRO: Haverfordwest Records 13

f 2* (<i>Payments</i>)		35
...		
Item for viij yardes of gray frise At 7 d. <i>per</i>	iiij s. viij d.	
Item iiij ^{or} dossen of bottens 4 d. in mocado 15 d.	j s. vij d.	
Item for thred. 6 d.	vj d.	

Item *paid* for making of there coottes 16 d.

j s. iiij d.

...

Item bestowed vpon the Earle of Essex musicions

v s.

...

5

1599-1600

Mayors' Accounts PRO: Haverfordwest Records 14

f 9 (*Payments*)

...

paide for carryinge the boughes and paringes of thelme
into the Church

10

x d.

...

1620

Presentments against Entertainers

15

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/781/4/28

f [1]

...

n(...) pars

Item we present Iohn welshe of the towne of hauerfordwest piper & fidler to
be a Roge contrary to the lawse in that case for goinge abrode the countrey
within the county of Pembroke at sheare tymes & seede tymes °to be had to
ye house of correction°

20

...

LEONARDSTON

25

1620

Articles Exhibited against Harry Batman

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files (Additional) 33/6/14/11

f [2v]*

30

david tynner
Richard Giffleye
Rees White
gentleman

Item he caused the Churchwardens of the *parishe* to make a Collection of
money and victuells for a Churchale at Whitsontide last for feere of him
meerelie, and appoynted his daughter to bee Queene of the Churchale and
drew the *parishioners* to spend theire money, And 40 s. or 50 s. being
therebie gathered vpon *pretence* of some publike vse of the *parishe* he gott
the money from the Churchwardens for feere of him, And said he would
spend that money at the Counsell of the Marches in the suite betwixte him
and Rees White, and out of his recoverie there would repaie it, *which* money
is still detayned ^by hym^ in his handes from the *parishe*

35

40

...

LLANRHIAN

1620

Presentments against Entertainers

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/781/4/28 5

f [1v]

...

Item we present Iohn david of the parish of llanriane taberer for a rouge, and
a wandre vp and downe the countie of Pembroke contrarie to the statute in
that case prouided 10

°[domo correctionis] to kepe his parish &°

...

MANORBIER

15

1625

Presentments against Entertainers

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/783/1/24

f [2] (August)

...

Item we present one Ion powell late of manorbier fidler for [a Ro] wanderinge
abrode the Contrye with his fidle as a Roge/ [accor] Contrary to the statute/

warrant

...

MILFORD HAVEN/ABERDAUGLEDDYF

25

1399

Jean Creton's Chronicle BL: Harley ms 1319

ff 2v-3*

...

Grant quantite de ses amis parfaiz
Auoient fait mourir si que lamaiz
Ne vouloit estre a Repoz ne a paix
Iusques atant l 30

Quil eust prins vengeance souffisant
De maquemore qui se dit excellant
Roy & seigneur dymbernie la grant
Et dillande 35

On gueres na deplaine ne delande

Collation with Paris, BN: fonds fr. 14645 ff 5-5v (D) 38 dillande] de yrlande D

9/ wandre: for wandrere (?)

36/ maquemore: Arthur MacMorogh, chief of Leinster

Pour ce le roy souuentes foiz *commande*
 De sauancier/ & que tantost on mande
 Qu'il vient Au port
 De milleforde ou il a bel apport/
 La feumes nous en Ioie et en depport 5
 Dix Iours entier/ atendant le vent nort
 Pour nous partir
 Mainte trompette y pouoit on oir
 De Iour de nuit/ Menestrelz retentir
 De toutes parts gendarmes suruenir 10
 Chargier vaisseaulx
 De pain/ de vin/ de vaches/ & de veaulx,
 De char salee/ & de aue mains toneaulx
 Cheuaulx vvuidier, qui furent bons & beaulx
 Chascun pour soy 15
 ...

NARBERTH

1615 20

Presentments against Entertainers

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/780/3/63

f [1v] (10 August)

...
 Item wee *present* Rowland David [*alias* Reynald Davie] of [Redsto] the parish 25
 of Nerbathe for that he dooeth wander vp & downe the Country playinge
 vpon a fiddell or Crowde & also keepeth twoo [preety] vther & trayneth
 ^ them^ vp in the same trade or scyence contrary to the statute in that case
 made & provided/ & the saide ^hath and^ dooeth [& haethe] vsed for this
 3 years last past/ 1615 30
 ...

1620

Presentments against Entertainers

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/781/4/28

f [1] (September)

... 35
 Item we *present* Reygnallt david of the parishe of Narberth fidler for goinge

Collation continued: 1 souuentes foiz] assez souuent D 4 il a bel apport] il ya bel
 port D 5 La feumes nous] La mer passa D 9 De Iour de nuit] Et iour et nuit D
 9 Menestrelz] menestriers D 10 suruenir] de uenir D 14 vvuidier] guuider D

fine v s.
**presente for*
a roague°

n(...) pars

abrode the [^]['Countrie'] [Conty] contrary to the statutes in that case *provided*
 °as a Rogue to be apprehend & sent to the of *correction*°

...

1625

5

Presentments against Entertainers

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/783/1/23

f [2v] (22 September)

...

[wa] *proclamatur*
 & *Instituitur*
capere &
committere Domi
Correctionis

wee doe present Rowland [^]['david'] of the parish of Narberth fidler for
 a Roage

10

ST DOGMAELS/LLANDUDOCH

1620

15

Presentments against Entertainers

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/781/4/28

f [1v]

...

attachment

Item we present martine Rice [^]['of St dogmels'] taberer & pyper of the *parishe*
 of St dogmells for a rouge and a wandre vp and down the countie of Pembroke
 contrarie to the statute in that case *provided*. °domo *correctionis*°

20

...

Households

25

PERROT OF CAREW

1590

Sir John Perrot's Accounts AN: Percy Letters and Papers, vol 5

30

f 58v* (23 April) (London)

...

Item to musicions that plaied at youre honnores chambre

ij s.

...

35

f 59v (7 May)

...

Item to fisher for boathier to bringe home the virgynalles

iiij d.

...

2/ the of *correction*: for the house of correction
 11-12m/ *capere* & *committere*: for *capi* & *comitti*

21/ *wandre*: for *wandrere* (?)

f 60 (16 May)

...

Item to fisher for bringynge home ye virgynolles vj d.

Item to bostock to bringe Connell Onele into Ireland x s.

Item for youre honnors boate when you wente to Courte to 5
ye gardin staiers, and the trompet^[er] backe againe vj d.

...

f 72* (20 September) (Ireland)

...

Geven at Dunluse vnto Musicions that plaide at your 10
Tent dore, the xxth of September ij s. vj d.

...

given vnto Musicions at the same Campe ij s. vj d.

...

15

f 72v (27 September)

...

Geven vnto Musicions at the Campe of Donomore the 20
xxvijth of September iij s. iiij d.

...

1592

Sir John Perrot's Estate Inventory TNA: PRO E 101/525/24

f [7]* (27 April) (Inventory of books and instruments at Carew Castle) 25

...

Item one payre of virginholles xx s.

in vetero libro
x s.

Item certaine other Instrumentes viz. ij shackbutes in ij cases

v Cornettes in one Case a vjt parte violen, viij hoboyes, a flute

& ij Recorders (blank) 30

In thold
Inventory
xvj s. viij d.
Summa (...) 5

The parcell vnderwrytten not in ye former Certificat

Bookes of Musick and others of sondry sortes xiiij s. iiij d.

Summa of the premisses vnder this Title with [x]iiij s. iiij d.

increased of the prices by the former Comissioners &

xiiij s. iiij d. for stufte newly found xxxiiij s. iiij d. 35

...

11/ Dunluse: *Dunluce, County Antrim*

14/ the same Campe: *the Campe of Balingigg*

19/ Donomore: *Dunnamore, County Tyrone*

28m/ vetero: *for veteri*

f [7v]

...

[Instrumentes to be praysed at London

(blank)]

...

1594

5

Sir Thomas Perrot's Estate Inventory

AN: Syon Ms. Y III 1, box 2, envelope 4

f [2]* (26 March) (Goods at Carew Castle: in the great chamber)

...

one olde paire of virgynalls j

10

one Chest of instrumentes wherein are ij rebickes & ij treble vyolls

...

f [2v] (Goods in the chamber within the little dining room)

15

...

one Case of Cornettes

two Cases of sagbutes

v hoboyes

iiij Recorders

20

one flute

f [4v] (Goods in a spruce chest in the chapel)

...

singing books °viii ix°

25

f [8]* (Goods at Haroldston: in the dining room)

...

A paire of virginalls at Picton

A bandora with mr Canon

30

...

SIR RHYS AP THOMAS OF CAREW

1507

35

A *The Life of Sir Rhys ap Thomas* NLW: NLW MS 2038D
pp 129-39*

...

°Sir Rice Held Solemn Iusts & Turnaments at his Castle of Carew the
Anniversary of St. George & lasted for 5 Days in a very Sumptuos Manner
feasting &c The fame therof being gone Abroad Drew a great Nos of

40

® anno vicesimo
Secundo Henrici 7

® Anno 1508°

® ut non [^] nimio
Sumptu ita
summa
Comitate

*sic Ms. sed
lege Martial°

*Sic Ms.°

Cavaliers together *which* Soe to the End [in] to the End of page fol. 139.° †
The next year following, being return'd againe to his Charge, Sir Rice held
solemne Iusts and Turnaments at his Castle of Carew in Comme[^]mo[^]ration
of that Anniversary great feast of St. George's at Court where at that time he
could not give his attendance by reason of other more weighty employments. 5
The preparations he made were both Sumptuouse and magnificent, well
fitted to the Occasion; plenty, I mean, he had of all Sortes of provision, no
Superfluitie. that he could not away with at any hand, neither Scanty nor
deare, Such was his fare, that might be found in all places: Nihil l habens
accersiti pretiosieue, ubilibet non defuturus. A Souldiers diet wellordred; and 10
therein he shewed as much Skill, as in arraying his Armie. neither indeed (if
we beleive Paulus Æmilius, whom in that Sir Rice did truly imitate) is there
less art to be Shewne Convivium exhibendo, quam aciem benè instruendo;
for as in the one we would become formidable to our enemies, So in the other
we should Strive to please, and hold a Complacencie with our friends. Now 15
for the manner and Setting forth of his Shews with other civil respects of
entertainment, it is thus traditionally given out, which I pray be pleased to
accept by piece meales, as I have gathered the Same from Several discourses,
and thereupon make your Iudgement both of worth and greatness of this
man: Sir Rice, as I told you, being at his Castle of Carew in Pembroke shire, 20
made publication of a Solemne Iust and Turnament with other Marshall
Exercises He meant to Hold for the Honour of St. George, a patrone of
that noble order. The fame hereof being blowne abroad, many worthy. and
valourouse Gentlemen of his Blood, Some to do him honour, others to make
triall of their abilities in feats of Armes Came unto him from all partes of 25
Wales, The first that presented his Service was his own Son, Sir Griffith Rice,
one of the knights of the Bath to prince Arthir; the[^]n[^] Came Sir Thomas
Perrott and Sir William Wogan, men of eminent note and his near neighbours;
like wise Arnold Butler, Richard Griffith, and Iohn Morgan, old beaten
Souldiers, and very expert Commanders; after them follow'd Griffith Dunn, a 30
brave man at Armes, and one of Diana's Champions against the Schollers of
Pallas at the Coronation of Henrie the Eight; he was afterward's by Sir Edward

1/ to the End [in] to the End: *dittography*

6–9m/ ut non ... Comitate: 'as with the greatest affability, not with excessive costs'

9–10/ Nihil ... defuturus: 'having nothing recherche or expensive, (yet) not lacking in any way'; Seneca, De Tranquillitate Animi 1.6

13/ Convivium ... instruendo: 'in holding a banquet, than in ordering a line of battle well'

16/ Shews: s corrected over e, likely by the first annotator

18/ piece: ie corrected from ei, likely by the first annotator

24/ valorouse: first o corrected over e, likely by the first annotator

25/ abilities: third i added, likely by the first annotator

29/ Arnold: A corrected over a

Howard high Admirall knighted in Britaine for his good Service against the
 Tretwr French. from Brecknock-Shire there Came Vaughan of Tre-towre. grand childe
 (as I take it) to Roger Vaughan the Marshall, beheaded by Iasper Earle of
 Pembroke at his Castle of Chepstow. from Glamorgan Shire and Monmouth
 Shire, Ienkin Mansell Surnamed the Valiant, the Same who procured the repeale
 of his father Phillipp's attainer, slaine in the quarrell between the Houses of
 Yorke and Lancaster, and Sir William Herbert of Cole brooke, Son to that
 thrice noble warriar Sir Richard Herbert, beheaded at Banburie: all these were
 of South Wales, out of North Wales, there repaired thither yong Griffith, Son to
 Sir Iohn Wynn Sir Iohn Griffith Lord of Llansadorn, and yong Winn of Gwydir his Kinsman, 10
 two hopefull, Gentlemen and of good towardliness, and with them the Lustie,
 Robert Salisburie a man much noted for his great Strength of Bodie, a fast
 friend and l Com[m]panion to Sir Rice in many of his warlike adventures; He
 was afterward kni^{gh}ted by Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke in the Chiefe
 Church of Roy for his prowess and loftie Courage Shewne in that Expedition. 15
 these men ^{of} prime Marke were all lodged within the Castle. besides these,
 many more to the number of five or Six Hundred were assembled and drawne
 together at that meeting, men most of them of good rank and quality (for those
 of the meaner Sort, who were the greater number, were passed over as not
 regarded) to be Spectators of those rare solemnities, never before known in those 20
 partes; nor, for ought I remmember, practized by any of the Order in their
 private heretofore: for them Tentes and pavilions were pitched in the Parke near
^{to} the Castle, where they quarter'd all the time, every man according to his
 quality, the place being furnished aforehand with all Sortes of provision for that
 purpose. This festivall and time of Iollitie continued the Space of five days. on 25
 St. George's yeves yeve, which was the first day of their meeting. Sir Rice tooke
 a view of all the Company, Chosing out five Hundred of the tallest and ablest
 among them; those he divided into five Troopes, a Hundred to each Troope:
 over whom he appointed Captains, David the younger and Iohn, two of his
 Brothers, Arnold Butler, Richard Griffith, and Iohn Morgan, all tried men and 30
 ready in their profession. The next day, being the yeve, these five Captains drew
 forth their forces into the field, exercising them in all points, as if they had

*sic Ms. lege
 evæ eva*

eve

- 1/ Britaine: t corrected over tt, likely by the first
 annotator
 2/ French: F corrected over ff, likely by the first
 annotator
 6/ attainer: et corrected over our, likely by the first
 annotator
 8/ Banburie: n corrected over m, likely by the first
 annotator
 10/ Llansadorn: Llansadwrn, Carmarthenshire
 10/ yong Winn: John Wyn ap Maredudd of
 Gwydir, Caernarvonshire

- 10/ Gwydir: y corrected over i, likely by the first
 annotator
 15/ Roy: Roye, France, southeast of Amiens
 26/ St. George's yeves yeve: Wednesday, 21 April
 1507
 27/ tallest: second l added, likely by the first annotator
 28/ divided: first i corrected over e, likely by the first
 annotator
 31/ the yeve: Thursday, 22 April 1507

been Suddenly to go upon Some notable piece of Service: in which delightfull
 Shew that whole day's allowance was Spent with the full Contentation of all
 those noble Gentlemen there present. The third day, St. George's day, early in
 the morning the Drumm's beat up, and trumpetts Sounded, every man with
 the Summons betakeing him to his Charge, first the Captains led forth their
 Companies in a Military array, well armed at all points: then followed Sir Rice
 himself upon a goodly Courser, haveing two pages and a Herauld on Horseback
 before him richly cladd, after whom the rest of the Gentlemen followed, being
 all bravely mounted in a most decent and Seemly manner, and So in a silent and
 grave march they passed on to the Bishop's Pallace at Lamphey a mile or there
 abouts distant from Carew Castle. At their Comming thither, they bidd good
 morrow to the Bishop in the language of Souldiers with Arquebusses, Muskettts,
 and Calivers; and then dividing themselves, they made a lane for Sir Rice to pass
 on ward to the gates, which as yett were not Suffered to be open'd. upon his
 approach the Bishop's Subsidarie or Suffragane or Some other of note | deputed
 for that purpose (the business being So ordered among them beforehand) came
 out at the Wickett demanding what he was, why in Armes, and the Cause of
 his Comming thither, to which Sir Rice made answe[a]r, that he was one of St.
 George his Knights, who ever Shewed himself a true patrone and protector of
 Martialists: and thefore he he held it most Suitable to his profession, especia^{lly}
 on the very day (as that was) dedicated to the Honour of that renowned Saint,
 to appeare in Harness and Militarie equipage. notwithstanding, he will'd the
 Messenger to assure the bishop that (as then) he was a man of peace for he Came
 thither to pray for the Peace and rest of St. George's Soule and for the welfare
 and prosperity of his Gracious Master Sole Sovereigne of that Honorable order,
 who, of himself was an unworthy Companion: in which h^earty and devout
 exercise he earnestly desired the Bishop would be pleased to ioiⁿe with him;
 no doubt reply'd the Messenger, but my Lord besides the duty of his Calling
 will easilie assent to Such Pious and religiouse Motions: Yett before I give you
 admittance, Said He, it is necessarie you Change your habit; it being a thing
 ill beseeing our Scholasticall Solitarie course of life, and the Sanctimonie
 of this place, to Consorte and joine in devotion with the rough and all
 disturbing disciples of Mars: in the mean while I shall imparte unto my Lord
 the Summe of your desire. Sir Rice hereupon pass'd by with all his Company,
 and ridd up into the Bishop's parke; where he had a faire Tent of purpose

2/ day's: *apostrophe apparently added, possibly by the first or second annotator*

3/ St. George's day: *Friday, 23 April 1507*

6/ array: *second r added, likely by the first annotator*

13/ dividing: *first i corrected over e, likely by the first annotator*

18/ answe[a]r: *cancellation apparently by the first annotator*

20/ thefore: *for therefore*

20/ he he: *dittography*

26/ h^ee'arty: *e apparently added by the first annotator*

sic Ms.

Talylychau

provided for him, over which was written, Cedant arma Togæ. there he alighted
 and forth with enrob'd himself in St. George his liver[e]y. after Some small
 repose, he walked on foote downe to the Palace, having a Trumpeter before
 him, and a Herauld of Armes, two pages Carrying his Traine, and the Choicest
 of the Gentlemen to be his Associats: the rest during the time of Ceremonie, he
 left behind him to Cheer up and make merrie for there was foison and plenty
 both of wine and all other necessarie provision laid out in readiness for their
 Solace and refreshment at the Bishop's Charge. Sir Rice drawing near to the
 Palace, he caused his trumpett to Sound, thereby to give notice of his approach,
 and then the Gates were op^heⁿed, the Bishop, having with him the Abbott of
 Talley and the Prior of Carmarthen with the whole Quier of St. Davids all in
 rich Copes, Stood there to give him entrance and So Some few Compliments
 first passed between them, they walked forward in a Solemne procession,
 Canentes et Supplicantes, twice or thrice about the Court and then to | the
 Chappell, there Sir Rice was desired to Stay for a while at the doore, 'till first the
 Quier were placed and the Bishop had taken his Seat. within a while the Herauld
 Comes unto him and ushers him in. when they were allmost in the middle of
 the Chappel they turned about, and made each of them two humble Conges to
 the Kings Seat, and So in like manner againe, when Sir Rice went into his Stall,
 presently upon this this Bishop ascendes to the High altar, and reads divine
 service: after which much good Musick followed: many new hymnes and
 Anthem's they had made of purpose for that Solemnity, and there Sung; Some
 for the long life Peace, and prosperity of the King; others for the rest of St.
 George his Soule, and his Safe deliverance out of Purgatorie. divers and Sundry
 Superstitious Cerimonies they had besides, which are now growne obsolete and
 out of use. to be shorte. Sir Rice having donn his off^ering, and all religious
 formes observed and Ended, he tooke the Bishop. Abbott and Prior, along with
 him to din^hn^er, and So backe againe he goes to Carew in the Same decent and
 Comely march, that he Sett forth, drawing near, the Captains Saluted the Castle
 with a brave volley of Shott, and the like was returned from the walles; that donn.
 they and their Troopes passed into the Parke, where each had his particular
 Tent to entertaine his Soldiers and friendes: a thing Sir Rice had a principall
 care of from the beginning. when these were gon and provided for, Sir Rice

1/ Cedant arma Togæ: 'let arms yield to the toga';
 Cicero, De Officiis 1.22

3, 9/ Palace: l corrected over ll, likely by the first
 annotator

11/ Talley: al corrected over other letter, likely by the
 first annotator

11/ Prior: P corrected over p, likely by the first annotator

12/ Compliments: i corrected over e, likely by the
 first annotator

14/ Canentes et Supplicantes: 'chanting and beseeching'

20/ altar: second a corrected over e, likely by the first
 annotator

21/ hymnes: n corrected over m, likely by the first
 annotator

26/ off^ering: e apparently added by the first
 annotator

28/ din^hn^er: second n apparently added by the first
 annotator

30/ walles: lles corrected over other letters, likely by
 the first annotator

®<sup>sic Ms. sed
quære</sup>

[°]Guests, I
suppose.[°]

[°][I suppose
Penryn in
Carnarvonshire,
where the
descendants of
Ednyfed Fychan
lived. This estate
is at present in
possession of
Mr. Pugh of
Coetmor a
descendant
from the said
Ednyfed.][°]

having reserved a great Company of the Better Sort for his Guess, he leads them into the Castle, with drumms, Trumpetts, and fifes and other warlike Musicke: over the gate at the entrance, was hung up a goodly faire Table, wherein was represented the Species and portraiture of St. George, and St. Davids mutually embracing one an other, with this word; Non Gordius ipse; or nodo plusquam Gordiano. in the first Court which was the platea, or Common place wherein people did use to walk; two hundred talle men were arranged all in Blue coates, who made them a lane into another less Court called the pinacotheca, in which the Images, Scutcheons, and Coat Armours of certain of Sir Rice's auncestors Stood, and So they passed into the Great Hall. this Hall was a goodly Spacious roome richly hanged with Cloth of arras and Tapistr[e]y, at the upper end, under a plain Cloth of State of Crimson velvet, was provided a Cross Table for the King: on each Side down the length of the Hall two other tables the one for Sir Rice alone, the other for the rest of the Gentlemen: here every man Stood bare, as in the | King's presence. within a while after the Trumpetts Sounded, and then the Herauld Called for the Kings Service; whereupon all the Gentlemen went presently downe to wait upon the Sewer. The Sewer for the time Sir Rice appointed his Sonn, Sir Griffith Rice, who had been bredd up at Court; and therefore had Some advantage of the rest in point of Curialitie and Court lines: Sir William Herbert of Colebrooke, the Carver: and young Griffith of the Penrin, the pocillator, or Cupp bearer. when the Kings meat was brought to the Table, the Bishop Stood on the right Side of the Chaire, and Sir Rice on the left; and all the while the meat was a laying downe; the Cornetts, Haultbois and other winde Instruments were not Silent. after the Table was Served, and all meett, the Bishop made his humble obeysence to the Kings Chaire; and then dexcended to say Grace; which don, he return'd again to his former Station. much pleasant discourse pass'd between them for a time, which ever and anon was Seasoned with diversity of musicke. when they Saw their time, the Table was voyded, and the meate removed to the Sideboard for the waiters. then the Kings Chaire was turned, and So every man at liberty to put on his hatt. the King's Service being finished, Sir Rice went to his own Table, taking only the Bishop along with him, whome he placed at the upper end, at a mess all alone; and himself at Some distance, Sate him downe at an other. All the Gentlemen there present were Pleased for Sir Rice's more Honour, to Stand by, and give him the looking on, untill his first Course was Served: then Sir Griffith Rice the King's Sewer, his two fellow officers, and the rest by the name of waiters went

5/ Non Gordius ipse: 'not Gordius himself'

5/ nodo plusquam Gordiano: 'a more than Gordian knot'

7/ Blue: *ue corrected over ew, likely by the first annotator*

19/ bredd: *first d corrected over a, likely by the first annotator*

21–34m/ [I suppose ... Ednyfed.]: *the entire marginale has been crossed out by a second annotator*

*Prydyddion
i. e. Poets*

to the Kings reversion. the fare they had you will easily believe was good,
being provided as for the King; yet, if my information be right, 'twas neither
Costlie nor Curieuse: Mensa parabilis facilisque So let us take it to be, non
varietate macularum conspicua, sed in usum posita, quæ nullius convivæ
oculo – aut voluptate moretur, aut accen[sa]⁵_^det et¹ invidia: Such Cheer as
th¹_^e¹y had was attended with much ple¹_^a¹sant discourse, diverse passages of
mirth, free of all offence, passed from the one to the other, the King, Queen,
and prince's health's were often drunke among them; and the Bardes and
pryduides Sung many a Song in commeration of the vertues and famous
Achieuments of those Gentlemen's Ancestors there present: a custome used 10
long before, even by | Achilles himself, °so Homer relateth° qui in Convivijs
ingentium virorum facta Canebat ad citharam; So that we may Say this was
Convivium omnibus numeris absolutum: for here we find moderatum cibi
ac potus apparatus: Suave colloquium: veram convivarum benevolentiam:
et bonum vinum, All the right ornaments and Complements of a feast: Happy 15
meeting. by that time these Convivall merriments were ended, the day was
well night Spent; So that they could fall to no disports for the rest of the
afternoone, but only walke abroad, and take the fresh aire of the Parke; Sir
Rice in the meane while betaking him to his privacie. Soon after he mar¹_^c¹hes
into the field, where he entertained those brave Gentlemen with Some 20
polemicall discourse which was his proper Element, a thing Pleasing to the
Hearers, who were all professors of armes. Here upon taking a fitt opportunity,
Sir William Herbert Stepps forth and makes challenge to all Commers, four
to four, at lusts and Turnaments the next morning for the Honour of Ladies.
this Challenge was presently accepted by Sir Griffith Rice. the Appellant 25
names for his assistants Robert Salisburie, Ienkin Mansel, and Vaughan of
Tretower: the Defendant, Sir Thomas Perott, Sir William Wogan and Griffith
Dunn. the ordring of the whole business was referr'd to Sir Rice himself,
whom they all Iointly desired to Sitt as Iudge, Sir Rice gave way to the Motion,
and provided for them accordingly; all parties agreed, and growing late 30

3/ Mensa parabilis facilisque: 'a table accessible and pleasant'

3–5/ non ... invidia: 'not conspicuous for a variety of stains but set for use, that neither delays in pleasure nor kindles jealousy in the eye of any guest'

5/ accen[sa]¹_^det et¹: det et apparently added by the first annotator

6/ ple¹_^a¹sant: first a apparently added by the first annotator

9/ commeration: for commemoration; see above, p 257, l.3

11/ °so Homer relateth°: added in the margin by the first annotator and marked for insertion here by matching rosette symbols

11–12/ qui ... citharam: 'who used to sing the deeds of mighty men to the lyre at banquets'

13/ Convivium ... absolutum: 'a banquet complete in every particular'

13–15/ moderatum ... vinum: 'moderate in food and well supplied with drink, pleasant conversation, true benevolence among the guests, and good wine'

28/ of: o corrected over another letter, likely by the first annotator

besides, Sir Rice Saw it high time to go home, So in they went; first to the Chapp[le]²¹, where they heard Solemne Service: then to Supper, observing the Same decorum, and order at night, that they had don at dinner for the King's Table in all points, as likewise for the observation of those his civil Lawes and Complimentall Shews of Hospitality; thus this day's pleasing labour, or laboursome pleasure was ended; the first day of this pompe and ceremonie, the third day of their meeting. The next morning by Sound of Trumpett Sir Rice was Summoned to play the Iudge's part, which accordingly He did, he had on that day a faire gilt Armour, of cloath of Gould, two pages well provided on Horse Back before him a Herauld and two Trumpeters; himself mounted upon a goodly Steed richly barbed and trapped or Generouse Horse with four foot men, two each Side, attending him two hundred talle men in blew Coats Some beefore and Some behind him, in this manner he went into the parke, where a Tillt was made ready for the purpose, riding about the Same twice or thrice for the well accommodation of the enterprize then in hand, at one end of the Tillt there was a Tent provided for the Appellants to rest them, at the other for the Defendants. Sir Rice perceving all things well ordered, He presently tooke him to the Iudgement Seate, about the middle of the Tillt, over against the breaking place, his servants Standing round about him every one having a halbert in his hand and a good basket-hilt Sword at his Side. when time Served, the Trumpetts Sounded, and then the appellants Came in Sight, the first that appeared was Sir William Herbert, the Challenger; having a Trumpeter before him, and a page Carring his Shield without any devise: the word et quæ non fecimus ipsi – the next was Robert Salisburie, who had for an impress in his Shield, a Gyant turning at a pigmee, with this motto putas congredi cum Homine vinci parato. then came Ienkin Mansel the valiant (*blank*) Sentence was, (*blank*) sine Adversario virtus, after followed (*blank*) Vaughan of Tretower, he tooke this for his Dicton – atque in (*blank*) gloria calcar Habet. After these, the Inceptors or Enterprisers followed the no less brave Defendants or propugnators. their manner was the Same. Sir Griffith Rice had written in his Scutcheon; Et vinci et vincere pulchrum. Sir Thomas Perett in amore – loftie Language, made Choice of this for a word;

*sic Ms.
*quaere an
ingens*

21/ Chapp[le]²¹: el apparently added by the first annotator

51/ Complimentall: i corrected over c, likely by the first annotator

11/ richly ... trapped: added in right margin for insertion

13/ beefore: for before

23/ Carring: for Carrying

24/ et ... ipsi: 'and what we ourselves did not do'

26/ putas ... parato: 'you would think to contend with a man ready to be overcome'

26/ putas: tas corrected over other letters, apparently by the first annotator

27/ sine Adversario virtus: 'virtue without an adversary'

28–9/ atque ... Habet: 'and great glory has a spur'

31/ Et ... pulchrum: 'both to be conquered and to conquer (is) lovely'

*sic Ms. *quaere*
an *industrio**

Si non invenio Singulos pares, pluribus Simul obijcior. Sir William Wogan, meaning to do honour to his noble Adversarie, tooke yett a more humble Motto. which was this: profuit Hoc vincente Capi. – And Sir Griffith Dunn, a man of an active Spiritt (as it Seemes) used for a word to express his inclination, Industriosio otium pæna; These Gallant Gentlemen in good order 5
ridd twice or thrice about the Tillt, and as they pass'd along, they by their pages presented their shields to the Iudge, which don, both parties Severed, and tooke their stand the one at the one end, the other at the other of the Tillt, then the trumpetts Sounded, where upon the two first, Combat^{ants} putt Launces into their restes, and So ran each their Six Courses, in the like 10
Sort followed the rest, who charged the one the Other with equall ardour; ever and anon dividing, many a shrewd Counterbuffe among them performing their devoires with much Iudgement, and agilitie. no Sooner they made an end with their Spears, but fell to Turney with Swordes, all at once, which was a most delightfull Spectacle to the Standers by: this exercise was performed by 15
them in the plaine field, and Sound knocks (we may be Sure) were received and return'd on both Sides, but no harme at all don: for Sir Rice had taken order with the Sticklers to part them, and prevent all cause of Iarr. | if any the lest occasion in that kind were offered. All which needed no[tt] more theⁿ to Shew Sir Rice's care for the preservation of love and amitie between 20
those So near him in blood, and who were mett at that time for no other end, butt to do him honour, that Care being taken afore hand among them selves not to esteem of Knocks valorously received and manfully bestow'd in the number of Iniuries; Sed quicquid accideret, boni consulere, in bonum vertere nec de fato queri. Having performed their devoirs both with Sword and 25
Speare, they mutually embraced each other, and So hand in hand they went to the Iudge to receive a definitive Sentence of their activities. Sir Rice whose office 'twas to arbitrate the Cause, after long deliberation with himself grew doubtfull in oppinion for Some of them were excellent at the Spear, and Some at the Sword: Some who play'd well with the Sword, fail'd with the 30
Speare, and they that Surmounted with the Speare, were Short with the Sword, this bredd much difficultie in the Iudgement, So that Sir Rice, cutt the thread even, when he had first Commended them for their Heroicall deeds, and given a large testimonie of their vertuouse Acts, Concluded thus

1/ Si ... obijcior: 'if I do not find single (foes) equal, I am beset by many at once'

3/ profuit ... Capi: 'it was a benefit to be captured by this conqueror'

5/ inclination: first i corrected over e, likely by the first annotator

7/ Severed: third e corrected over r', likely by the first annotator

9/ Combat^{ants}: ants apparently added by the first annotator

12/ dividing: first i corrected over e, likely by the first annotator

24–5/ Sed ... queri: 'but whatever happens, be mindful of what is good, turn it to good, and do not complain about fate'

® °see what
Virgil's lines
are, the copy
is here much
worn out

with Virgill's Sheape^Λ[a]rd, non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites:
°& vitula° tu dignus et hic: et quisquis amores °aut metuet° dulces. aut
experietur amarus; willing them merilie (as you see) by way of Caution
warilie to take heed of those fair Dames whose honours that day they
had So faithfully maintained. thus the employments and exercises of this 5
morning ended; and So in they went, first to hear divine Service, as formerly
they were wont to do, and then to dinner; where they wanted for nothing,
that mought give them all assurance of H^Λ[e]^{rty} welcome; Robert Salisburie,
Ienkin Mansel, and (*blank*) Vaughan of Tretower, were appointed for this
day the Honorarie, officers of Cupbearer, Carver, and Sewer, Sir Rice 10
having a Care in matter of form to grace them all equally, So to Stave off
all Cause of every and other Sinister interpretation, when they had dined,
they went to visit each Captain in his quarter, where they found every man
in action: Some wrestling, Some throuwing of the Barr, Some tossing of
the pike, Some running at the quinteine, every one Striving in a friendly 15
emulation to performe Some act or other worthy the name of a Souldier;
with these or the like delights the afternoone vanished, at Supper Sir Griffith
Rice in the presence of his father made Challenge to Sir William Herbert, four
to four, at the ring next morning for a Supper, which the losers Should
pay at Carmarthen for their farewell at parting. Sir William forth-with 20
undertooke him, only, he wished the young Heires of Penrin l and Gwydir
mought be added to their number, whom he Saw to be Gentlemen of
a faire expectation, and Clearly Spirited, and who had borne no part in
all those Activites, which (indeed) was not their fault: for willingly they
would have both given Some demonstration of their youthfull Courage at 25
the Iusts and Turnaments, had not Sir Rice in respect of their Greenesse
(the oldest being not above Sixteen years of age) earnestly perswaded the
Contrarie, the motion being reasonable, and those two galliarding Spiritts
besides forward of them selves, Sir Rice easilie gave his assent; the rather,
because that exercise they were not So much to employ their Strength, as 30
to Shew the^Λy^r were ^ΛGentle^r men of at Armes, Gracefull in behaviour,
dexterous and Skillfull both in running and takeing of the ring. the next
morning Sir Rice having taken his Seat, The trumpetts commanded to Sound,

® °Penrhyn°

1-3/ non ... amarus: 'it is not for us to resolve such
great disagreements among you: you indeed are
worthy of the heifer (but) he (is) also who either fears
sweet loves or tests bitter (loves)'; Vergil, Eclogue
3.108-10

2/ °& vitula°: added in original blank by an annotator

2/ °aut metuet°: added in original blank by an annotator

8/ H^Λ[e]^{rty}: e apparently added by the first annotator

14/ throuwing: w corrected over enased gh, likely by the
first annotator

21/ Gwydir: corrected from Gwider, likely by the first
annotator

23/ Spirited: t corrected over tt, likely by the first
annotator

28/ galliarding: split over the line; an annotator has
attempted to correct to daring by adding dar in the
left margin before ing

31/ of at: for of (?)

I suppose the author means that they performed their parts so well that it was heard to determined who had conquered

to which these four Knights obeyed, running each of them. their Courses with Such indifferencie that it bred Some difficulty in the Iudgement. butt in the End, Sir Rice gave Sentence against his Son, a thing agreed upon beforehand between him and his father, however the Cause went; that So he mought Shew his friends the Towne of Carmarthen before they went away, and what entertainment that place was able to afford, which at that time was thought to be verey good. Sir Griffith Said no more, but told his fater the Decree should be obeyed: and So to dinner they go, observing [^]the same order[^] they had don before, Save only the Changing of Sewer, Cupbearer, and Carver, which offices, that day Sir Thomas Perrott, Sir William Wogan, and Sir Griffith Dunn did execute. After dinner Sir Rice leads his noble Guesse into the parke a Hunting, where they kill'd divers Bucks, all which he Bestowed among them towards the furnishing out of their feativall meeting at Carmarthen. to Supper then Come, after which they had a Comœdie, acted by Some of Sir Rice's own Servants, with which these Tragi[ti]call Sights and Triump^hs were Concluded, This meeting was, as my Author Saith, for a while after called by the name of St. George his pilgrimage to St. Davids: wherein everything is note worthy, that for the Space of five days among a thousand people, (for So many at the lest were thought to be assembled together at that time) there was not one quarrell, Cross word, or wrie Looke, that happned between them, the care Sir Rice had taken for the well ordning of what he intended meerly in Commemoration of the famous Patrone, and Glorious Sovereigne of the Garter, whereof himself was an unworthie Companion. Early in the morning, before they parted, the Bishop bestowed a Sermon upon them | tending all to lay all admonitions, obedience to Superiors, love and amitie on towards an other. his text was out of Ecclesiastes Chap: 10: ver: 20. In cogitatione tua regi ne detrahas, et in Secreto cubilis tui ne maledixeris magistratui, quia et aves coeli porta^obunt^o vocem tuam, et qui habet pennas nuntiabit Sententiam. after the Sermon was ended, when the Gentlemen came to take leave, Sir Rice bestowed upon divers of the Choisest of them a riband of (*blank*) which he desired them to weare for the more Honour. at each Riband there were a Medaile: the Impressa in that Medaile was that true Symbol of

2/ indifferencie: ie corrected over e, likely by the first annotator

7m/ determined: for determine

14/ meeting: i corrected over e, likely by the first annotator

28–30/ In ... Sententiam: 'disparage not the king in your thoughts, nor curse the magistrate in the privacy of your room, for the birds of the heavens also will carry your voice and the winged thing announce your opinion'; var of Eccl 10.20

29/ cubilis: corrected from cubili, likely by the first annotator

30/ porta^obunt^o: insertion made in original blank, likely by the first annotator

faith, Dex^{ter}æ° manus mutuo implicatæ, with this (*blank*) nec poterat
 ferrum, which they kindly accepted, and for many yeares after wore for his
 Sake, and So giving them many thanks, He recommended them to the Care
 of his Son, Sir Griffith Rice, who engag'd to be their Symposiastes the night
 following Thus in wales did we honour St. George; which made the English
 ever after earnestly to affect, and higly to regard the Societie, love, and
 frindship of the welch, and their patrone St. David: a thing well pleasing to
 the King, and for which he gave Sir Rice many thanks the year following,
 when he Came to give his attendance at Court...

10

RADNORSHIRE/SIR FAESYFED

County

1590

15

Presentments for Entertainers

NLW: Great Sessions Prothonotary Papers 13/23/9/[2]

f [1] (*Presentments*)

...

Item we doe present hugh go3 & Iohn Iamys of the [Cyt] Cytie of hereford
 mynstrells for that they went wanderinge within the said County of Radnor
 with theire instrumentes the tyme afforesaid./

20

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

25

CLYRO/CLEIRWY

1590

Presentments for Slander

NLW: Great Sessions Prothonotary Papers 13/23/9/[3]

30

f [3v] (*1 October*)

...

Item we do present on Rosser ap Rosser of the parishe of clirowe for a
 vacabound & a loytttringe persson & for sclaunderinge of his of Istaunce
 Whittney childerne & on margarete verch Iohn in makeinge of sonnges &
 Rymes in sclaunderinge & [Dip] Dispisinge of Them & dyuers otheres in
 Iune & Iulye last past

35

1/ Dex^{ter}æ° ... implicatæ: 'right hands clasped together'1/ Dex^{ter}æ°: insertion made in original blank, likely
 by the first annotator

1-2/ nec ... ferrum: 'nor can iron'

2/ they: t corrected over k

6/ affect: a corrected over E, likely by the first annotator

6/ higly: for highly

34/ of his of: for of (?)

NORTON

1599

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office HRO: HD4/1/157

f [183v] (6 November)

5

Proceedings for Leominster deanery, held in the consistory of Hereford Cathedral before Richard Madokes, LLB, deputy judge, and in the presence of James Lawrence, notary public

...

10

excommunicatio

[vic] Osmundus goode vicarius ibidem for dauncing in an alehowse and for purifieing a wooman unlawfully begotten with Child sine auctoritate ecclesie. Citatus in xix diem ffebruarii predicti &c

...

15

PRESTEIGNE/LLANANDRAS

1589-90

John Owen's Will and Inventory HRO: Probate Records 1590 32/2/58

ff [1-1v]* (2 November; probated 8 April 1590)

20

...

Item I doe geave to my said Sister one paire of virginalls whiche I had of [Isace] Isacke owen And yf the said Isacke or his assignes shall or will pay withoute froude coveine or deliccion to my said sister Ales the some of ij s. vj d. in l paune or lue of the said virginalls to geather with the some of v s. whiche I paid for cariage of the same from london to Presteinge, that then vpon suche paimente so paid that the said Isacke or his assignes shall have againe the said virginalls

...

30

f 2 (8 April 1590) (Inventory for probate)

...

Item in paune vpon a paire of virginalls

vij s. vj d.

...

Item a Dexte & his singinge bookes

v s. 35

...

APPENDIXES, TRANSLATIONS, ENDNOTES,
GLOSSARIES, AND INDEX

APPENDIX 1

Undated Document

The contents of this manuscript are far too miscellaneous for the surrounding documents to be of use in either dating or localizing the letter from Robert Lloyd, schoolmaster. Unfortunately the name Robert Lloyd is very common. At least eleven persons of that name matriculated at Oxford University between 1580 and 1650. Oxford was the preferred university for Welsh students and the same period at Cambridge saw only two Robert Lloyds; the name of one of these, who took a prior degree at Oriel College, Oxford, appears on both matriculation lists (see Joseph Foster (ed), *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*, vol 3 (Oxford and London, 1891–2); and John Venn and J.A. Venn (comps), *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900; Pt 1. from the Earliest Times to 1751*, vol 3 (Cambridge, 1924)).

Letter from Robert Lloyd, Schoolmaster

Cardiff, Cardiff Libraries and Information Service, MS 4.30 (previously Phillips 14416); mid-17th c.; English; paper; single sheet; 255mm x 190mm; unnumbered; minor tear top left, larger tears bottom left and right, some text lost. Now bound as f [176] in a miscellaneous collection of approximately 265 unnumbered sheets (many stubs, torn papers, and loose pages).

Mid-17th century

Letter from Robert Lloyd, Schoolmaster CLIS: MS 4.30

single sheet

Honoure(...)

I am m(...) (...)ubled that I am forc't to acquaint you, that *your* charges & my paines with *your* son are in hazard to suffer some losse, when [^]he¹ is allmost ready for the harvest to yeeld the expected & desired fruit. He has withdraw'n himselfe from my schoole this weeke agoe & gone to another [to] to learne to write; He says it is by *your* orderes, but I suspect he do's it without 10 *your* privity, haveing done some ill things in the last vacation, which he was afraid to be question'd for when he got himselfe from under *your* inspection, & mine; He misimploy'd his time in composeing something, which they call

an interlude, & afterward publicly acted a part in it. I had strictly forbidden
 him to trifle away his usefull houres in welch rimeing: yet to gratify his phancy,
 I wish't [^]him[^] to use his faculty to expresse [^]some[^] of the fine conceipts in
 Martiall's epigramms in his native language, but I could not prevaile with
 him to do it. Now my great feare is lest *your* pa(...)on should be too much 5
 provok't, so as not to be forward in *your* fat(...)ly kindnesse towards [^]him[^]
 to perfect his education. Were I wor(...) to advise you, you should give
 your anger no further scope (...)n to spend it selfe in prudent rebuke's &
 admonitions, to bind him to his good behaviour, & then send him to some
 well-disciplin'd schoole, where he may be thoroughly well fitted for the 10
 university (both for Latine and Greeke) by the next spring. If you should
[^]thinke[^] fit to remand him to me (which I cannot *perswade* you to, because
 of the scandalousnesse of [these] [^]those[^] folly's he fell into) I will try to the
 best of my skill, what may be done for h(...) reformation. His [^]first[^] worke 15
 shall be (...)by way of penance) to recant his (...) in elabrate pieces of exercise[s]
 which shall be dispers't among (...)n understand them in this neighbourhood
 to remove the (...)t I must not take upon me to instruct you (...) (...)ourse
 is best to take with him, to which (...) & that you may have all desireable
[^](...) [^](...) [^](...)he hearty prayer of
 (...)4th
 (...)5

your faithfull friend & servant 20
 (signed) Robert Lloyd

APPENDIX 2

Ancillary Texts to the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan

These records have been placed in an appendix because they do not represent the unique repertoire of a particular performer or household at a particular time or place. Rather, they list the materials that should have been mastered by a performer according to the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan, the syllabus on which a performer's grading depended. As with the texts of the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan (see pp 159–70, 172–83) I have only dealt here with the pre-1600 texts. Many of these texts are transcribed from one manuscript, NLW: NLW MS 17,116 (previously Gwysaney 28), not only because in virtually all cases it is the earliest manuscript, but also because it contains most of these supplementary texts in one volume. In some cases, however, it does not provide the best text and for those the better text has been selected. Although variants of several of these texts exist in other manuscripts these are generally not of substantive importance and, as with the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan, have not been collated.

I have, with a few exceptions such as 'mesur'/measure, refrained from translating the technical terms of Welsh music because the English equivalents are unhelpful at best. Some of these terms refer to compositional forms and, as the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan makes clear, are applicable to both poetry and music. Their precise meaning is not always clear. The term 'cwlwm cytgerdd,' for example, which occurs in several documents, is a puzzle; the prefix 'cyt-' implies association or mutuality. The examples that survive, especially in the Robert ap Huw manuscript (BL: Additional MS 14,905), seem to be exercises in basic technique. They may have been accompaniments around which a teacher or more proficient player could improvise.

'Cywair' (*pl* 'cyweiriau,' literally 'adjustment') refers to the tunings of harp and crwth; the five standard tunings, which I have translated, were 'isgywair,' the low tuning, a heptatonic scale on C; 'cras gywair,' the harsh tuning, a pentatonic scale with no semitones, in which the B and F strings were retuned to A and E; 'lleddf gywair,' the retunable or changeable tuning (often called 'lleddf gywair y Gwyddyl' – the Irishman's retuning), a pentatonic scale with semitones, in which the F and A strings were retuned to G and B; 'gogywair,' the sharp tuning, which had a minor third in the first tetrachord and a major third in the second tetrachord; and 'bragod gywair,' the mixed tuning, in which the B and E were flattened to B-flat and E-flat. 'Cyweirdant' (*pl* 'cyweirdannau') refers to the set strings that were not retuned, that is, G, C, and D. Also, and more importantly, it refers to one of the two harmonic units of Welsh music, conveying stability and resolution; the other, 'tyniad' (*pl* 'tyniadau'), conveys tension and instability. The traditional notation treats the 'cyweirdant' (or 'cowndant') and 'tyniad' differently

in music for crwth and harp: the 'cyweirdant' is indicated by a circle (zero, or 'seiffr') in crwth notation and the 'tyniad' by a vertical stroke, while in harp notation the reverse is the case, with the 'cyweirdant' indicated by a stroke and the 'tyniad' by a circle.

These terms and others are discussed in further detail in Sally Harper, 'Glossary,' *Astudiaethian Robert ap Huw Studies*, Sally Harper (ed), *Welsh Music History/Hanes Cerddoriaeth Cymru* 3 (1999), 299–307.

Preservation of Welsh Music

Other manuscripts containing this text that provide significant variant readings are NLW: NLW MS 872D (formerly Wrexham 1), NLW MS 17,116B, Peniarth MS 62, and Peniarth MS 147, as well as BL: Additional MS 15,046. In NLW: Llanstephan MS 55 the text is split into three parts. Lines 1–9 appear on pp 383–4, preceded by ll. 9–23. Lines 23–55 appear later on pp 387–9, where the text is entitled 'Dosbarth llyfr kerdd Dant' though it is quite different from the text of that title in NLW: Peniarth MS 62 (printed below, see under Classification of Welsh Music). The possibility that the meeting described was an historical event is discussed by Sally Harper, 'So How Many Irishmen Went to Glyn Achlach? Early Accounts of the Formation of *Cerdd Dant*,' *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 42 (2001), 1–25.

See p cxix, under Bardic Schedule of Fees and Regulations, for a description of NLW: Peniarth MS 155B.

Mid-16th century

Preservation of Welsh Music NLW: Peniarth MS 155B
pp 79–83

llyma lyfr a elwir kadwedigaeth kerdd dannav/

5

Nid amgen Telynnav a chrythav o wevn tair talaith gymry y Rhain a dynnwyd
allan or myssic drwy ddeall a dychymic doctor or gelvyddyd ac wrth ddamvniad
pedwar penkerdd o delyn a chrwth a meddwl ac athrawlithr pob vn att i
gilydd I wnevtivr kerddi ac iw kadw ynghof ai kanv yn i lle ac iw dosbarth/ 10
A phwy oedd henwav I y iiij penkerdd hynny/ Allon ap kynav/ Rrydderch
voel/ mytholwch wyddyl/ ac oloff gerddor/ Ac yn gwrndaw ar hynny Henrri
gefnrdd/ A charssi delynnior a llawer eraill ai kyngor ai kyfrwyddyd gida
hwynt/ A thrwy vndeb gyd gyngor yr athrawon doethion hynny achelvyddyd
y doctor or missic gida chelvyddyd yr athrawon I gwnaethbwyd y iiij messvr 15
ar xx ac y swkrio y pedwar l messvr ar xx i gwnaed y iiij difr ar xx Ac o dri
achos i gwnaethpwyd y kyntaf/ i wneuthur kerddi yr ail i adnabod y kerddi y
trydydd i gadw kerdd ynghof val i mae I henwav or blaen yn laith werddonic

A mwrthan wyddel oedd arglwydd pennaf y pryd hynny ai konffyrmiodd
 hwynt yn y man a elwir Glynn Achlach/ drwy i holl allv ai swyddav a
 gorchymyn i bawb I swkyrio ac yn wir dosbarth y iiij messvr ar xx o bydd ai
 gwypo yn ddilys ddidramgwydd a dosbarth y gamwth pob vn at i gilydd nid
 dieithrach iddaw glywed kam mewn kerdd noc i ddarlledd da adnabod pann 5
 adawer llythyren allan or sillaf nev air or rreswm ac velly I mae yn dangos vod
 mewn kwlm a chaniad/ gywairdannav/ a thynniadav o honynt Rrai sydd
 gedyrn/ Rhai sydd weiniaid/ iiij kyweirdant gwan a wna vn kadarn ar vn modd
 am y tynniadav kedyrn ac or Rhai hynny I gwnair y l pinkiav ac or pynkiav
 I gwnair y messvrav/ ac or messvrav I gwnair y proffidiav goste[(<.)]gion/ 10
 keinkiav klymav a chaniadav/ dyweter bellach am grychiadav/ plethiadav/
 kyssylltiadav ac ystopiadav/ tagiadav a tholkadav/
 llyma r achos y mae kyssylltiad yn kael i henw/ o herwydd i vod yn kyssylltv
 kywairdannav a thynniadav/ llyma r achos I mae tagiad yn kael i henw/
 Am I vod yn stopio Rhwng kyweirdant a thynniad rryw amser mewn kerdd 15
 krychiadav sydd yn kyflenwi rrwng kywairdannav a thynniadav ac weithiav
 lle savo y bys y kyfrivir Y Tolkadav sydd yn lle bwadav Plethiadav sydd
 ddechrav kywirdannav a thynniadav/ ac yn tekav rrwng tynniad a chywirdant
 ac yn ymrafaelv bob vn ar i gilydd ac yn dosbarth dyweter bellach am y
 kywiriav ai perthynassav y Rhai l Sydd yn dangos lleissiaiv gwahanedic pob 20
 vn o ddiwrth i gilydd/ Pvmp kywair gwarantedic savedic y sydd/ or Rhai
 hynny I gellir gwneithvr a vynnir o gyweiriav/ vn bys i grythor sydd yn
 kadw iij chywair/ Iskywair/ kras gyw[(<.)]air/ ar lleddf gywair/ y mynagvys
 sydd yn kadw y gogywair y bragod gywair pob pys sydd yn kadw arno/
 llymar achos y gelwir ef y bragod gywair/ am vod peth o bob kywair 25
 ynddaw/ iiij Rhyw dannav lleddfon y sydd/ Tannav lleddfon y bragod
 gywair/ Tannav lleddfon Isgywair/ Tannav lleddfon y gogywair A thannav
 lledfon y lleddf gywair/ yr hwnn y mae yn kael I henw oi plegid/ Ar neb a
 wypo yr ysbysrwydd hwnn heb ddysc kelvyddydd, ni bydd ef athro namyn
 tybiwr kerdd 30
 Pa Sawl gwaith y dyly gwlm kydgerdd vod mewn kwlm nev ganiad/ dwy
 waith o bydd byrr y messvr/ pedair gwaith os bydd hir y messvr/ eb na mwy
 na llai/ Ac o bydd na mwy na llai kam l vessvr yw/ viij o dyniadav a chywir
 dannav a savant bob vn yn lle i gilydd eb na mwy na llai/ A phwy bynnac
 a wypo hynn yn ddigon myvyr ni phalla oi gelvyddydd vn amser nac o atdeb 35
 drosti yn gyfrethlon ac velly I tervyna y dosbarth a elwir/ llaw/ a throed/
 A chlvt/ kyvarwyddydd kerdd dant
 Explicit/

...

Classification of Welsh Music

This is a shorter version of the preceding text, occurring only in a small number of manuscripts.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth ms 62; late 16th c.; Welsh; paper; with 1 parchment page (remains of a previous binding) at the end; ii + 72 + iv; 155mm x 100mm; paginated 1–144; leather binding, title on spine: 'WELSH | GRAMMAR | &C. | PEN. | MS. 62 | LLYFRGELL CYMRU.' The ms is in the hand of Sir Thomas Wiliems.

Mid-16th century

Classification of Welsh Music NLW: Peniarth ms 62

pp 17–20

llyma ddosparth cerdd dant, nid amgen/ Cywairdannaû a thynniadaû. Rhai 5
o honvn sydd weinïon, eraill y sydd gedyrn.

pedwar cyweirdant gwann a wna vn cryf. pedwar tynniad gwann a wna vn
cryf. Ac o rhai hyny y gwnair pynciav. ac or pynciaû y gwnair mesûraû. ac or
mesûrae y gwnair Ceinciaû. Ac or keinciav y gwnair klymau a chaniadaû.
pedwar mesûr ar hugain ysydd brincipal ne arbennic. Ac ar y rhai hynny y 10
gwnaeth athrawon bedwar difyr ar hugain. Ac o dri achos y maent. y cyntaf
yw i wneûthûr cerdd. yr ail i adnabod Cerdd. y trydydd i ddal Cerdd mewn
cof. Oloch Voel a Henrhi Gefynrhudd a Marchan wyddel ai disciplion yn
amser kwysen vab karsi o lynn Achlach yn Iwerddon athrawon a dychymig
wyr y gelfyddydd honn/ ar mesurae ar caniadaû 15

Gwyl anghvmec wrth dhiwedh y lliuer. |

Am gerddwriaeth Cerdd dant.

yw hynu, o gyweirdant cryf a pha vaint sydd o honvnt yn gryfion. Saith ysydd y
gyd, Ac or saith pedwar a newidian mewn modd. Ar llail nis gwnant velly. mae
modd nas gwna Am vod y tri yn brincipal neu'n arbennic, ar pedwar heb vod. 20
Achos ysydd vddunt. Am nad oes vn rhif rhyngthvnt, ac nid vn gerdded ynt/
y peth a ddechreuier ar gyweirdant rhaid vydd i ganv trwyddo oni ddarffo y
pech a ddechrauier ar gyweirdant gwann, ef a vernir hwnnw val y mynner,
ac or hyny in ellir bood heb yr vn pedwar gwann mewn Cerdd. Ac ni saif
yr vn or pedwar gweinieid heb nerth y tri eraill Ar pedwar gweiniaid a elwir 25
Cynwysdannau.

Hwynt yn lawer lle a vyddant. Tynniadiau. Ac am hyny y gelwir yn Gynwys
dannau. |

Ar tri chyweirdant cryf a saf(...) wrthyn ihvn o dri llanw y sydd ynddv(..)
pesawl gwaith y dyly fod Cwlw(.) Sydcerdd mewn Cwlwm ne Ganiad 30
deuwaith os byrr/ os hir pedai(.) gwaith.

23/ pech: for peth

29/ saf(..): damaged letters ant supplied by a later hand

29/ ynddv(..): damaged letters nt supplied by a later hand

30/ Cwlw(.): entire word Cwlwm supplied by a later hand

31/ pedai(.): damaged letter r supplied by a later hand

Paham i kafas Tagiadi enw. Am i vod yn stopio rhwng Tynniad a
 chyweirdant
 Paham i kafas krychiad i henw Am i vod yn kyflowni kyweirdant a
 Thynniad.
 paham i kafas plethiad i enw Am i vod yr tekhav rhwng cyweir(...) a 5
 Thyniad.
 dyweter bellach am y Cyweiriad ai perthynasae y rhai sydd yn dango(.)
 lleisiau gwahanedic o ddiwrth y gily(.) bob vn o honvnt.
 pvmp Cyweir safedic y warantedic y sydd, hid amgen, y Bragod Gy(...) ar
 Cras gywair. ar Gogywair (...) lleddf gywair, ar isgywair o(.) rheini y gellir 10
 gwneuthur a vynn(.) o Gyweiriav. l
 pedwar rhyw dannau lheddfon sydd lheddf y bragod Gywair, a lleddf y
 Gogywair a lleddf isgywair, ar lleddf [is]gywair yr hwnn yr ydis yn cael yr
 henw oi blegyd.
 Cymysc yw pob kywair ai gilydd, a thrwy ddysc y mae dosparthu'r llanw 15
 rhwng y Cyweiriav.
 ...

The Musical Measures

The sequence of symbols ('/' and 'o') that follows the name of each of the measures represents the measure's harmonic sequence, in which 'o' indicates 'tyniad' and '/' indicates 'cyweirdant,' that is, respectively, tension and resolution. There continues to be considerable scholarly discussion concerning the relationship of these two terms to the 'tonic' and 'dominant' of traditional harmony.

For the listing of harp measures other copies may be found in NLW MS 872D (formerly Wrexham 1), Peniarth MS 60, Peniarth MS 62 (two copies), and NLW: Peniarth MS 77. Other manuscripts containing the listing of crwth measures are NLW: NLW MS 463, Peniarth MS 60, and Peniarth MS 155. Other copies of the listing of additional measures are in NLW MS 872D (formerly Wrexham 1), NLW: Peniarth MS 60 (two copies), Peniarth MS 62, and Peniarth MS 77. There are no significant variants among these copies. The meanings of the names of the twenty-four measures are discussed by Sally Harper, 'So How Many Irishmen Went to Glyn Achlach? Early Accounts of the Formation of *Cerdd Dant*,' *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 42 (2001), 7–8.

See p lxxxvi, List of Notable Crwth Players, Harpers, and Poets, for a description of NLW: NLW MS 17,116B.

5/ cyweir(...): damaged letters dant supplied by a later hand

9/ Gy(...): damaged letters air supplied by a later hand

10/ (...): damaged word ar supplied by a later hand

11/ vynn(...): damaged letters or or er supplied by a later hand

c 1560

The Musical Measures NLW: NLW MS 17,116Bf 62v (*Measures for harp*)

y tre mwch godidog a raddwyd gynt y gyviwch a deg a devgain o glyme/ pwy 5
 bynag a ganv deg ar hvgain o glyme oi flaen ef a gaiff gyffri y tre mwch yn
 ddeg a devgain a ffwy bynag o dylunior a ddysko ariandlws Raid iddo wybod
 y tre mwch oi enllyn gidai golofne ai gadeirie/ ai bris yw pvmpvnt hevyd y
 mae i tre mwch newydd yn gymynt [^]i radd¹ ac yt te ond na raddwyd ef ond
 °yn gyviwch ar pedair kadair° 10

ff 69–9v (*Measures for crwth*)

llyma pedwar mesvr ar hvgain kerdd dant ai henwe ai mesvre ar ol rol krythor 15

1	Alfarch	////////00000000	
2	makmwnhir	0000///o/o/0000///o/oo	
3	korteitalach	o//oo///o//ooo	
4	koraldan	ooo/o//o//o	
5	korfinfaen	o/oo/oo	20
6	karsi	o///o/oo	
7	gwrkok	o//o/oo/oo	
8	wnsach	0000///o	
9	toddyf	/oo///oo	
10	kalchan	oo//0000/o	25
11	makadelgi	/000/oo/000/oo	
12	rriniart	/o//000//oo	
13	makamwn byr	oo//0000	
14	fflamgwr gwrgon	o/000/oo//oo//oo	
15	brath yn ysgol	o/oo/o//o/oo/o//o/oo	30
16	makamyn maen	//oo//oo//0000	
(.)7	tityr bach	//oo//oo	
(.)8	hatyr bach	//o/oo	
19	brvt odidog	//o///o/oo/000/o	
20	korffiniwr	oo//o/0000//o/oo	35
21	Alban rydderch	o/oo/o//o//o/oo	
22	trwsgwl mawr	///0000///o/oo	
23	korsgoloff	oo/oo//o/oo	
24	tresiheli	o///000///o/o	40

Ac velly y tervyna y mesvrav oll a ffwy bynag A vyno gwybod
 rol tylunior i mae fe yn y gwyrthwyneb sef yw hyny tyniad y

krythor sydd gowndan ir Clymor ar kowndant yn dyniad eithyr y
 seiffyr yw kowndant y krythor a hono sydd dyniad yr telynior
 Athro A ffenkerdd A disckybl penkerddiedd yr vn rrodd sy i ddiscgybl
 penkerddiedd ac i benkerdd ond bod ir [S] penkerdd discet yn vchaf A
 gosod ir llall bob peth ar A ganon hw ac rrodd yn gyntan iw llaw 5
 Bellach y bedwared radd discgybl discgyblaidd (*blank*)

f 68v (*Additional measures*)

llyma henwav serten o glymav a chynhiadav ai mysvrav iddi either o kelfyddy(.)	10
(.) ffowram hen	oo//oo//o
2 dewis hoell	oo//oo//oo//o//oo
3 henri gefnrrvdd	o//o//o//oo
4 trwsgwl trwynki	/o//o//oo
5 ysgwirin	o//ooo//oo
6 chwerwyn gorgan	o//o//oo//o//o
7 barf Allon	oo//o//oo//oo//o//oo//o//oo
8 kell ifan ap y gof	o//o//oooo
9 odid amgwypo	/o//o//o//o//o//oo
10 korgan odidoc	oo//o//o//oo//o//oo
11 korkryd	o//oo//o//o//ooo//o
(..) gochel geibio	oo//ooo//ooo//oo//o
(..) kwlwm gruffudd grythor	oo//o//oo//o//o//oo
(.)4 Aen newyd	o//o//o//oo//o//oo
15 hic Adelsi	o//ooo//oo//o//o//o//oo
16 pwy bynag yw	ooo//o//oo//o//oo
17 kynhedlon	/ooo//o//o
(.)8 korwdwn	/o//o//o//o//oo//o//o
(..) dim a dim	/o//o
s ffron	30

Tune Lists

See p lxxxvi, List of Notable Crwth Players, Harpers, and Poets, for a description of NLW: NLW MS 17,116B and p 276, above, under Classification of Welsh Music for NLW: Peniarth MS 62.

Ceinciau

Other manuscripts containing this tune list are NLW: NLW MS 463B, NLW MS 872D (formerly

Wrexham 1), Peniarth MS 62, and Peniarth MS 168 (two copies). There are no significant variants among these copies.

c 1560

Tune Lists: Ceinciau NLW: NLW MS 17,116B

ff 70–70v

	llyma henwaw llawer o geinkiaf ar neb ai gwnaeth	5
1	evrlais goeden ar wyddeles sydd ar llef gowa<..>	
2	eos werfyl ynnyl y fawd y sydd ar y gogowair	
3	ysmwythra kyhelyn sydd ar y kras gowair	
4	kasgan grythor sydd ar isgowair	
5	evrai gowydd o waith kydwgon	10
6	kasgan dimcker o waith kyhelyn	
7	kasgan grythor o waith kydwgan	
8	dillin eva o waith kyhelyn	
9	krechwen feinir o waith kydwgon	
10	organ levkv o waith kyhelyn	15
11	llon yn hafarn o waith kydwgon	
12	y goweithas kyhelyn	
13	Awen wirli kydwgan	
14	Avel y fawd o waith kydwgan l	
<..>	Awen o levddydd o waith kydwgon	20
16	bragod gowair ar y gogowair	
17	eos werfyl o waith kydwgan	
18	yr wyddeles kydwgon	
19	irlais goeden o waith kyhelyn	
20	kainck nest vechan o waith kyhelyn	25
21	kog wenllian o waith kydwgan	
22	ysmwythra kyhelyn	
23	y gainck hir i gyhelyn	
24	y gainck ver i gyhelyn	
25	kainck y krythor dv	30
26	nest berwyn	
27	y gainck ddv o werddon o waith kydwgon	

Gostegion

Ieuan ab y Gof has been identified by Peter Crossley-Holland as the senior member of a

remarkable family of poets and musicians from Pencarreg, Carmarthenshire. He appears to have flourished from about 1375 to 1420. Crossley-Holland also suggests that Dafydd Ddu Athro may have been of the same family because a reference to his elegy appears in NLW: Peniarth MS 75 (c 1475) under the title 'Barnad (marwnad) ddafydd ab y Gof' (p 27). The music for 'Gosteg Dafydd Athro' appears in the Robert ap Huw manuscript, BL: Additional MS 14,905, pp 15–17 (Peter Crossley-Holland, *The Composers in the Robert ap Huw Manuscript: The Evidence for Identity, Dating and Locality* (Bangor, 1998), 18–40).

Another copy of this list is contained in NLW: Peniarth MS 168.

Mid-16th century

Tune Lists: Gostegion NLW: Peniarth MS 62

p 144

...

henweu y pedeir Gostec Cerdh dannaû.

Gostec yr halen a genit wrth wasneuthu cinio a swper yn lhys Arthur. 15

Gostec Ieuan ap y Gof o Bencarrec.

Gostec *dafydd* Athro.

Gostec y lhwytec.

Caniadau

Other copies of this list are contained in BL: Additional MS 15,046, as well as NLW: Llanstephan MS 55 and Peniarth MS 77. There are no significant variants among these copies.

c 1560

25

Tune Lists: Caniadau NLW: NLW MS 17,116B

f 62

...

pedair principal kaniade telyn

- | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---|----|
| 1 | kaniad krych ar gainck o vydd | } | 30 |
| 2 | pibe morvydd o waith Arthvr | | |
| 3 | yr hen vragod gowair | | |
| 4 | hvn wenllian | | |

ff 67v–8

35

llyma henwav y pedwar prynsipa kaniad kerdd grwth

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|---|----|
| 1 | y kaniad mawr i lef gwr grythor | } | 40 |
| 2 | y kaniad mawr i ankws grythor | | |
| 3 | y kaniad marw i wrnerth | | |
| 4 | ai kaniad mawr ir pasant | | |

bellach ir ysbyswn ai henwaw llawer o anryfaelion ganiadav [eraill] a
gostegion eraill

- | | | |
|------|---|----|
| 1 | kaniad adda ap hildir/ mesvr hwn fflamgwr gwrgon | |
| 2 | kaniad barnad llwelyn ap [y] ifan ap y go a mesvr hwn yw tityr bach | |
| 3 | kaniad bach ir pasant mesvr hwnw korffiniwr | 5 |
| 4 | kaniad bevno mesvr hwnw fflamgwr gwrgon | |
| 5 | kaniad adar llwchgwin mesvr hwnw korffiniwr | |
| 6 | kaniad kvric mesvr hwnw tityr bach | |
| 7 | kaniad brothen mesvr hwnw korffiniwr | |
| 8 | kaniad yr gwyddor mesvr hwnw korffiniwr | 10 |
| 9 | kaniad wiliam browys mesvr hwnw yscgwirin | |
| (.)0 | kaniad bach ar y bragod gowair/ mesvr hwnw yw fflamgwr A
chorffinnwr l | |
| 11 | kaniad y ddelw fyw mesvr hwnw yw fflamgwr a chorffiniwr | |
| 12 | kaniad bach ar y gogowair mesvr hwn korffiniwr | 15 |
| 13 | barnad rrvffvdd grythor mesvr hwn mack mwn byr | |
| 14 | kaniad enion ap Ithel | |
| 15 | gostec ifan ap y go ben karec mesvr hon yw mack mwn byr | |
| 16 | gostec davydd athro mesvr hon korffiniwr | |
| 17 | kaniad gwenfrewy mesvr hwn korffiniwr | 20 |
| 18 | kaniad gronw bach o gefn y rhos mesvr hwn yw fflamgwr | |
| 19 | kaniad twrch trwyth mesvr hwn fflamgwr g(..) | |
| 20 | kaniad krych ar gainck o vydd o/ooo/oo/o///o//o/o/oo | |
| 21 | hydr ankwns mack y mwn hir yw i fesvr | |
| 22 | anwylyd y pasant ar y bragod gowair ai fesvr yw alban rydderch
ar hain y sydd gylmav | 25 |

ff 71-2v

- | | | |
|----|---|----|
| | hevyd llyma dangos am lawer o(.) kyniadav ag ar bargweiriadav i mae | 30 |
| yn | gynta y kaniadav y sydd ar y bragod gowair yr hen fragod gower | |
| 1 | kanniad pibav morfvdd/ | |
| 2 | kanniad y gorderchwr./ | |
| 3 | kanniad yr atebwr/ | |
| 4 | kanniad hvn wenllian/ | 35 |
| 5 | kanniad marwnad llwelyn ap Ieuan ap y gof o wa(...) llwelyn | |
| 6 | kanniad marwnad lyfan ap y gof o waith dauydd ath(..) | |
| 7 | kanniad barnad rrvffvdd/ | |
| 8 | kanniad krych ar [w] gainck o fvdd | |
| 9 | kanniad dav hanner/ | 40 |
| 10 | kanniad ar gainck kachwlyn | |
| 11 | kanniad marwnad wenllian/ | |

12	kanniad wiliam y sgotlond	
13	kanniad gronw bach o gefyn y rros	
14	kanniad y gwyn bibydd// l	
15	kanniad eiddigyn//	
16	kanniad marwnad ssvssana//	5
17	kanniad adda ap [...] hildir/	
18	kanniad mawr i ankws//	
19	kanniad llwelyn delynior/.	
20	kanniad bach i rronw Ap seissillt/	
21	kanniad mawr i rronw ap seissillt//	10
22	y trydydd kanniad i rronw ap seissillt//	
(.)3	kanniad gronw feddig//	
24	y kanniad bach i iyfan ap y gof//	
25	kanniad anreg ddewi//	
26	kanniad moliant iago/	15
27	kanniad ar gainck dauydd ap gwilim	
28	kanniad ar gainck y passant./	
29	kanniad ar gainck nest verch dauidd fongam	
(.)0	kanniad ar gainck fredvdd ddv//	
(..)3	kanniad ar gainck rres ap kowrda/	20
(..)3	.)kanniad ar gainck syr grvffvdd/	
(..)3	...)niad ar gainck hawddfvd l	

llyma bellach hesbysvam ganniadav ar y sydd ar y kras gowair sydd
yn kalvn

		25
1	kanniad y twrch trwyth/	
2	kanniad kadwgon//	
3	y kanniad mawr i gadwgon/	
4	kanniad gwyn ap y gof/	
5	y kanniad mawr i wyn ap y gof	30
6	kanniad y pibydd moel/	
7	kanniad gorawen/	
8	kanniad ynghywair y wrach/	
9	kanniad y korr ar gores/	
10	kanniad rriniart /o//oo/o//oo	35
11	kanniad tres i heli/	
12	kanniad yr Iarll//	
13	kanniad chwibaniad/	
14	kanniad kormack wyddel/	
15	kanniad keredd y brenin llowgoch	40
16	kanniad krych Ar gainck ofvdd	
17	kanniad krych ar garssi/	

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------------|
| 18 | kanniad was maelgwn l | |
| 19 | kanniad [bras] krych ar y bras gowair | |
| 20 | kanniad afessvr brath yn ysgol/ | |
| 21 | kanniad krych i hildir/ | o/o//oo//o/ooo |
| 22 | kanniad newydd o waith dauidd athro | 5 |
| 23 | kanniad newydd o waith i iefan ap y gof/ | |
| 24 | kanniad y gwyddel/ | |
| 25 | kanniad grvffvdd fardd/ | |
| 26 | kanniad dauydd gam delynior/ | |
| 27 | kanniad llef ton/ | 10 |
| 28 | kanniad gruffudd ap hoell o garon/ | |
| 29 | kanniad Ednyved ap Gorawen/ | |
| ... | | |

Clymau

Other copies of this list are contained in NLW: Llanstephan MS 55, NLW MS 872D (formerly Wrexham 1) (two copies), Peniarth MS 62 (two copies), Peniarth MS 77, and Peniarth MS 155. There are no significant variants among these copies.

c 1560

Tune Lists: Clymau NLW: NLW MS 17,116B
ff 66v-7

- | | | |
|------|--|----|
| | llyma bellach henwav llawer o glymav | 25 |
| 1 | kwlwm y bardd dv[(.)]/ sy fwy i rradd no chlyme eraill/ a mesvr hwn
yw machmwn hir | |
| 2 | kwlwm mawr ar y bragod gowair fflamgwr gwrgon yw i fesvr | |
| 3 | kwlwm mawr i gors goloff | |
| 4 | kwlwm y kledde rrai ai geilw }
kwlwm bach ar y kras gower }
fflamgwr gwrgon yw i fesvr } | 30 |
| 5 | kwlwm bach ar y gogowair/ mesvr hwn ydiw korffiniwr | |
| 6 | kwlwm bach ar y bragod gowair fflamgwr[g] gwrgon ydiw i fesvr | |
| 7 | kwlwm bach arall ar y bragod gowair vn fesvr ar llall | 35 |
| 8 | kwlwm mawr ar y gogowair | |
| 9 | barnad athro nant korffiniwr yw i fesvr | |
| 10 | anrec y pasant korffiniwr yw i fesvr | |
| (..) | kwlwm y sant l | |
| 12 | alban drychgant korffiniwr i fesvr | 40 |

26/ bardd: dd added later, possibly by a second hand

13	kor adran korffiniwr yw i fesvr	
14	kor kamilas tityr bach i fesvr	
15	korniwlach fflamgwr/ a chorffiniwr yw i fesv(.)	
16	kor kadw fflamgwr gwrgon yw i fesvr	
17	korlyn	5
18	korelin	
19	disyr gwrkoc	
20	disyr makmwnhir	
21	disyr flamgwr gwrgon	
22	disyr hatyr	10
23	disyr kors goloff	
24	disyr mak mynmaen	

*Cadeiriau**c* 1560*Tune Lists: Cadeiriau* NLW: NLW MS 17,116B

f 62

...		
	kederie telyn pedair	20
1	kledde kerdd	
2	kwlwm gwilim	
3	kadarn ynghadair	
4	kwlwm y frechdan	yn haleth denevwr
	nev gwlwm y [weyl] [wefyl]	yn haleth yberffro
...		25

f 66

...		
	llyma bellach henwav y pedair kadair krwth	30
1	baryf y kawr	
2	kwlwm mawr ynghower [se] ssesyllt a[i] fesvr hwn yw tityr bach	
3	kwlwm mawr ar y gogower gwynedd mesvr hwn ywr trwsgwl mawr	
4	kwlwm mawr ar y lleddf gowair gwyddyl mesvr hwn yw korffiniwr	
	barf y kawr ar y bragod gowair ai fesvr yw wnsach	35
	kwlwm mawr ar y bragod gowair i fesvr yw y trwsgwl bychan	

Colofnau

Other copies of this list are contained in NLW MS 872D (formerly Wrexham 1) and NLW: Peniarth ms 62.

c 1560**Tune Lists: Colofnau** NLW: NLW MS 17,116Bf 62 (*Colofnau for harp*)

	llyma henwaw y pedair kolofn kerdd delyn ymhowys A gwynedd	5
1	kerdd gat y gwdyn	}
2	krycholofn	
3	lledf gywair y gwyddil	
4	sathamelach	
...		10

f 66 (*Colofnau for crwth*)

	llyma henwaw y pedair kolofn kerdd <...>	
1	y golon bach a wnaeth ankws mesvr hon yw tityr bach	15
2	y golon fawr a wnaeth lledyf gwr grythor ai mesvr hon yw tityr bach	
3	y kwlwm mawr i wrneth	
4	kolon was dewi	
...		

15, 16/ golon: *for* golofn18/ kolon: *for* kolofn

APPENDIX 3

Royal Accounts

The vast collection of royal accounts has not been searched extensively for this volume. Aside from Edward I no reigning monarch spent any significant period of time in Wales, nor was Wales on the itinerary for any royal progress. Such royal accounts as have appeared fortuitously and through references in secondary literature are presented here.

The first document relates to Eleanor of Castile, Edward I's queen, who held between seven and ten acres in the manor of Overton, Flintshire, near Wrexham, also the site of a royal castle built in 1138. Nothing of the castle remains after its destruction by the flooding of the River Dee. Edward I was in Overton very briefly on 8 September 1284 and then for a longer period from 22 September to 3 October the same year. In the early 1290s Overton became the site of one of Edward's new towns in Wales.

The second document is from a set of accounts kept by Richard de Bures for the years 1281–2, at the conclusion of Edward I's invasion of Wales. The ford over the River Clwyd at Rhuddlan proved one of the most important strategic sites in this campaign. Edward's castle, built a short distance from an earlier motte-and-bailey site, was begun in September 1277 and completed in March 1282/3. It was Edward's headquarters during the final phase of his Welsh wars. Both Edward and Queen Eleanor contributed substantially to the building of the borough. Edward I was in residence at Rhuddlan for much of the second half of 1282: from 8 July to 27 August, 24 to 28 September, 4 to 20 October, 7 November to 12 January 1282/3, and 1 February to 12 March 1282/3 (*Itinerary of Edward I, Part 1: 1272–1290*, List and Index Society, vol 103 (London, 1974)).

The first payment in the Rhuddlan account is made on 'Die purificationis regine,' likely a reference to the churching of Queen Eleanor following the birth of her daughter Elizabeth in August 1282. If, as is likely, the accounts were kept from Michaelmas to Michaelmas this would place the entry after 29 September 1282. The second payment follows an entry made on the Friday after the feast of St Benedict (21 March); this would place the date of the payment as 26 March 1283.

The third document is from a set of accounts kept by John de Claxton, keeper of the wardrobe of the younger half-brothers of Edward II, Thomas of Brotherton (1300–38), and Edmund of Woodstock (1301–30). The lordship of Strigoil or Striguil comprised much of the area around Chepstow, Monmouthshire; the castle was located about two-and-a-half miles south of Usk. The Welsh seat of the marcher lordship of Strigoil, it was in the hands of the Bigod

family, earls of Norfolk, for most of the thirteenth century until Roger Bigod died childless in 1306 and the estate reverted to the Crown. Edward II presented the lordship in 1310 to his two half-brothers jointly. The location, 'apud Chepstow,' is indicated by the previous entry for 20 October; there is no intervening change of location. References to 'Iohanni de Weston' appear in the account book on ff 9, 9v, and 10v.

Gifts and Other Expenses for the Welsh Wars

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, C 47/3/21/10; September–November 1284; Latin; parchment; single membrane; 200mm x 300mm. Now a fragment bound with twenty-six other late 13th-c. items of varied size in a 19th-c. volume, title on front cover: 'Chancery I Miscellanea I Bundle 3 I No - 21.'

Wages and Other Expenses for the Welsh Wars

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, C 47/3/18; 1281–2; Latin; parchment; 4 membranes sewn serially; 260mm x 180mm, 515mm, 740mm, and 670mm; no text on dorse.

Royal Wardrobe Account

London, The National Archives: Public Record Office, E 101/374/19; 29 September 1311–29 September 1312; Latin; parchment; 16 leaves; 305mm x 205mm; modern foliation; bound in rough calf, modern soft-board binding added in 1924.

OVERTON

1284

Gifts and Other Expenses for the Welsh Wars TNA: PRO C 47/3/21/10
single sheet

5

...

¶ Barbator' domini Thome de clare de dono regis xx s.

¶ Memorandum Menestrall' Wallens' venient' ad regem apud
ouerton de dono regis x s.

¶ Thome le fol domini Thome de clare de dono regis xiii s. iiii d. 10

...

RHUDDLAN

1282

Wages and Other Expenses for the Welsh Wars TNA: PRO C 47/3/18
mb 4

15

...

Dona Die purificacionis regine apud Rothelan liberate diuersis menestrallis ibidem
existentibus de dono regine .x li.... Cuidam Istrioni de dono .xii denarij... 20

CHEPSTOW/CAS-GWENT (STRIGOIL)

1311

Royal Wardrobe Account TNA: PRO E 101/374/19

f 8 (31 December) (Gifts)

5

...

Menestralli

¶ Regi Druetto violari & Iohanni Perle Trumpari Menestrallis
 domini Comitis Gloucestrie faciencibus Menestralciam suam in
 presencia *dominorum* de dono *eorundem* nunciante domino
 Iohanne de Weston apud Storgoil vltimo die Decembris
 Willelmo de Hereford Citheratori quondam domini Iohannis
 ap Adam facienti Menestralciam suam in presencia *dominorum*
 de dono *eorundem* ibidem eodem die

xiiij s. iiij d. 10

v s.

...

APPENDIX 4

Records Relating to Robert ap Huw

Although no record of official payments to Robert ap Huw survives in the royal accounts, he is described in a poem by Huw Machno (c 1560–1637) as ‘gwas y Brenin’ (‘servant to the king’) (‘Appendix II,’ *Astudiaethan Robert ap Huw Studies*, Sally Harper (ed), *Welsh Music History/Hanes Cerddoriaeth Cymru* 3 (1999)). The presence on his ‘best Harpe’ of the royal arms, as described in his will, certainly suggests that the traditional assumption that he spent some time in the service of James I may be correct. The documentation of this Great Sessions case of 1599/1600 contains no explicit reference to performance and so is presented here.

Robert was brought up at Bodwigan in the parish of Llanddeusant, Anglesey, in 1580. His father, Huw, was the son of Siôn Brwynog (1510–62), a well-known Anglesey poet. His mother, Catrin verch Wiliam ap Lewis of Penhesgyn, was the granddaughter of Richard Owain Tudor (d. 1527) of Penmynydd. It is very likely from Robert’s Anglesey provenance that the brash youth whose close brush with the law was chronicled in this Great Sessions case is, in fact, the harper, and this identification is supported by his occasional residence with the fiddler Morus Tudor, who may perhaps be identified with the performer Morus Grythor. The latter was present at the Christmas celebrations at Plas Moeliwrch, Llansilin, Denbighshire, around 1562 (p 157) and is also cited as having attained the rank of ‘diskybl diskybla(…)’ (‘instructable apprentice’) around 1560 (see p 170). No provenance for Morus is given in the list of Christmas payments but in the list of licensed musicians he is said to come from Oswestry, a few miles southeast of the commote of Yale where Robert stayed with his friend Morus Tudor. It is, of course, also possible that these two musicians named ‘Morus’ were two different men.

The documents in the Great Sessions case provide an extraordinary glimpse of the life of a young musician/poet at the end of the sixteenth century, travelling about North Wales and depending on the hospitality of friends for accommodation. A wide range of friends and minor gentry acted as Robert’s hosts, including Edward ap John Wynn of Llanellidan, Denbighshire, William ab Edward of Derwen Deg in the parish of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, Denbighshire, Thomas ap Roger Lloyd of Plas Einion in the same parish, Edward ap John of Coed-y-talwrn, also in the parish of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, Ieuan ab Ithel, likely of Plas Llelo, Gwyddelwern, Merioneth, and Morus Tudor of the commote of Yale, Denbighshire. The charges that were brought against Robert resolve themselves into three incidents. First Robert was brought before the bishop of Bangor’s court in November 1599, charged with abducting the daughter of one of his hosts, Ieuan ab Ithel. Ieuan brought further charges against Robert in April 1600

at the Denbighshire quarter sessions at Ruthin, claiming that he had stolen linens from his house as well as some 'writtinges,' that is, manuscripts. In a further and unrelated case Margaret verch David of Trewyn, Merioneth, charged that on 9 April 1600 Robert took from her house three brass pots, a coverlet, a blanket, and a petticoat. Robert was arrested at Plas Einion, Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, the home of Thomas ap Roger Lloyd, and imprisoned in 'the tower,' Clwyd Street, Ruthin, from which he escaped on the night of 10 May 1600.

Several of Robert's hosts had close connections with the culture and preservation of Welsh poetry and music: Edward ap John's house, Coed-y-talwrn, had previously been occupied by Roger Morris, one of the most prolific copyists of Welsh manuscripts. Educated at Hart Hall, Oxford, Morris was also acquainted with the poet Simwnt Fychan, whose residence Tŷ Brith was a short walk from Derwen Deg, home of William ab Edward, another of Robert's hosts, and close also to Coed-y-talwrn. Another of his hosts, Edward ap John Wynn, was also a well-known collector of manuscripts, and the copyist Llywelyn ap Maredudd, known as Llelo Gwta, seems to have had a connection with Plas Llelo, home of Ieuan ab Ithel. These connections, and the suggestive fact that Robert is charged with the theft of 'writtinges,' have been investigated in detail by Nia Powell, 'Robert ap Huw: a Wanton Minstrel of Anglesey,' *Astudiaethan Robert ap Huw Studies*, Sally Harper (ed), *Welsh Music History/Hanes Cerddoriaeth Cymru* 3 (1999), 5–29. There appears to be a recusant connection in Robert's denial that any of the 'writtinges' he is said to have taken emanated from the 'Popes Courte,' though there is no evidence that Robert himself had recusant sympathies. Following his escape from gaol no further reference to him or to the case appears in the records of the court.

Robert is best known for the manuscript of 'cerdd dant,' Welsh music for harp and crwth, which he copied in 1613 (now BL: Additional MS 14,905). Some of the contents of this manuscript were copied from the repertoire of Wiliam Penllyn, who graduated as 'pencerdd' (the highest level of bardic attainment) at the 1567 eisteddfod in Caerwys, Flintshire; the manuscript is now virtually our only source for the traditional Welsh music of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. There is a facsimile edition of the Robert ap Huw manuscript in *Musica: Llawysgrif Robert ap Huw/Musica: the Robert ap Huw Manuscript*, preface by Wyn Thomas (Godstone, 1982). Further information on his life and family are found in Dafydd Wyn Wiliam, *Robert ap Huw (1580–1665): Astudiaeth o'i Gefndir, ei Fywyd a'i Waith* (Denbigh, 1975). Robert died in 1665 at the ripe old age of eighty-five, and thus his will lies outside the formal period of this volume and excerpts are printed here. It is uncertain whether the books that Robert left to his 'deare & loveinge Sonne Henry' included books of music, possibly even Robert's manuscript collection of harp music (now BL: Additional MS 14,905). Henry is likely to have been the 'right heire' to whom Robert's harp would revert if the king's arms were removed from it.

Examinations Concerning Goods Stolen by Robert ap Huw

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/11/4/14–15; 1600; English and Latin; paper; 3 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 350mm x 205mm; unnumbered. Now items 14, 14a, and 15 in the first part of Gaol Files 4/11/4–5, a composite volume of two parts, made up of 126 and seventy-five such items, respectively, and bound in modern rust boards, title on spine: 'Wales | 4 | 11 | 4–5.'

Examinations Concerning a Break-in and Theft by Robert ap Huw

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/11/4/19–20; 1600; English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 350mm x 205mm; unnumbered. Now items 19 and 20 in the first part of the same composite volume described above.

Examinations Concerning Robert ap Huw's Escape from Gaol

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/11/4/13; 1600; English and Latin; paper; 2 leaves (mounted on modern paper); 350mm x 205mm; unnumbered. Now item 13 in the first part of the same composite volume described above, under Examinations Concerning Goods Stolen by Robert ap Huw.

Robert ap Huw's Will

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Bangor Probate Records 1665/8W; 18 May 1665; English; paper; bifolium; 300mm x 195mm. The inventory at 1665/8I contains no reference to Robert's harp, although it is endorsed 'The Inventory of Robert ap Pugh harper.'

1600

Examinations Concerning Goods Stolen by Robert ap Huw

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/11/4/14–15

sheets [1–3v] (22 April)

Taken at Ruthin before Edward Thelwall and Edward Lloyd

...

Edward ap Iohn wynn of Llanlidan in the county of denbigh beinge examined
 howe longe agoe hath Robert ap Hugh resorted vnto his house & whether he
 hard that Robert ap Hugh hath beene at anie tyme suspected for felonies. 10
 Sayth that he hard that the said Robert was sought to be indicted at the last
 quarter Sessions houlden at Ruthin for this said county of denbigh & at the
 Bushoppes Courte at Llanlidan for *certain* thinges founde in twoe coffers of the
 said Robert & *certain* lynyen & writeinges there founde by officers. And saieth
 that the fyrste tyme that the said Robert came to this *examines* house was 15
 aboutes a senight after the last quarter Sessions beinge within this fortnight
 And saieth that before that tyme the said Robert did vse to resorte & lye in the
 house of Hugh ap Gruffudd ap william for vj or vijⁿ daies & hadd [^]once¹
 meate [at *divers* tymes] in the house of Hugh ap Rees ap Iohn, & did lye
 in the house of william ap Edward of derwen deg & in the house of [Iohn] 20
¹Thomas¹ ap Roger Lloyd [^]where he was apprehended yesterday.¹ [gent] And
 saieth that the last weeke Robert ap Hugh came to this *examines* house &
 brought with hym a panne *which* he said to have bought | at Ruthin fayre
 [kept] at whitsontide laste for xj. s. & brought there the same tyme An [^]olde¹
 coverlett & a blankett *which* he deliuered to this *examines* wief to be kept 25
 sayeing that his meaninge was to pawne the [the] same panne. And saieth
 that another daie the said Robert brought to his house a lyttle panne for the

which he hadd geven x d. sayeing that he would bestowe the same panne to Gabriell this *examinates* sonne. And denieth that any thinge ells was brought vnto this *examinates* house by the said Robert ap Hugh And beinge further examined whye would he not open the dore [to the] of his house vpon saterdaie night last when the constables came to search for & apprehende Robert ap Hugh & whie did he succour the said Robert ap Hugh being then in his house to escape awaie from the constables saieth that he did not knowe whether they hadd a warrant or noe though they said they hadd & when one that ayded the constables did demaunde of this *examine* that night if there was anie straunger in his house he saieth that he answered that whatsoeuer was in his house should be seene in the morninge And | saieth that he never hadd anie bargain for anie maner of thinge with the said Robert ap Hugh.

signum Ed- + wardi ap Iohn vyn

In the heering of me

(signed) Thomas Gruffyth

(signed) gryffthe lloyd

Robert ap Hugh borne in pen Mynyth in the county of Anglesey [beinge examined] latelie dwellinge in the house of Ieuan ap Ithell in the *parishe* of Gwethelwerne in the county of Merioneth beinge examined Sayth that aboutes a senight after all hallowtide laste he was called in question for the takeinge awaie of [Ieuan] the said Ieuan ap [^]Ithells¹ [Iethells] doughter & *certain* writeinges & other thinges oute of the house of the said [^]Ieuan¹ [duringe] Sithence *which* tyme he made his abode from one place to another within the *parishes* of Llanvair llanlidan & derwen in the county of denbigh & sometymes in Yale in the house of Morys Tudder the fiddler & confesseth that he hath diuerse tymes since resorted vnto the house of Thomas ap Roger Lloyd to whome he hath deliuered *lettres* & other notes to be deliuered vnto the Steward of the Bishopp of Bangors Courte in Llanlidan the *lettre* beinge as he saieth written by mr dauid Owen of | of penmynyths man & the inventorie & notes [writt] were written by hym self as he alledged he confesseth allsoe to have synce that tyme beene for twoe or three nightes in the house of Hugh lewis ap william & one night in the house of Hugh ap Rees ap Iohn And saieth that he did lie saterdaie night last in the house of Edward ap Iohn wynn, & that he hath not beene there at anie tyme before And saieth That when the said Ieuan ap Ithell came for to take awaye his doughter from this *examine* he charged this *examine* [with sundrie felonies] for the felonious steallinge of *certain* writtinges & other thinges oute of his house And saieth that amonge those his thinges founde in Llanlidan there was one [grene] black felt [which] lyned with velvett [^]& a double bande¹ *which*

1/ x d.: corrected from xj d.

30/ of | of: dittography; first of acts as catchword (?)

13/ +: Wynn has signed with his personal mark

Margaret Hughes did pawne vnto this examine for v. s. And another newe blackfellt with a bande which this examine tooke awaie from the house of the said Ieuan ap Ithell beinge the same hatt which the said Ieuan ap Ithell hadd before that tyme taken awaye from [one] [^]three laddes¹ that [was] [^]were¹ pursued [^]in August laste¹ with hue & crie from derwen in the county of denbigh into Gwethellwerne in the county of Merioneth [for the stealing of the same hatt from the house] [^]ffor breakeinge of [the ho] a house in derwen beinge the hatt¹ of Harry dauid of Eveneghtid in the county of denbigh | And saieth that vpon saterdaie night laste he was in the house of the said Edward ap Iohn Wynne when the constables came to apprehende hym & confesseth to have made an escape oute of the said house & [h<.)de] [^]hidd¹ hymself in the wooddes in Nantloyd tyll [yt] aboutes service tyme & then went to Eveneghtid Church to service & [^]had¹ meate in a house there & that night laye at the house of William Lloyd [ap howell Grufudd] in clockaynog & yesterdaie he wente to the house of Thomas ap Roger Lloyd where he was apprehended & saieth that the said Thomas ap Roger Lloyd was abroad yesterdaie, while he was there He confesseth that vpon wednesdaie night beinge the ixth of this present Aprill he wente into the Chamber of Margarett verch dauid in the house of dauid ap Hugh in Trewyn in the county of Merioneth & that he tooke awaye from thence in the night tyme a brasse pott which afterwarde he deliuered vnto Margarett Hughes of derwen & ijo pannes one lesser then the other & one [^]oulde¹ coverlett & a blankett, which he brought to the house of the said Edward ap Iohn wynn where he lefte those thinges with the wief of the said Edward ap Iohn wynn He denieth that he had broken the wall of the said Chamber saieinge | that the same wall beinge built of soddes was caste downe before by some cattle [or other thing] or otherwise He doth confesse that the paper of Armes or escucheon which was founde amonge his thinges in Llanlidan hath beene geuen hym by [dauid lloyd ap] Edward ap Iohn of Coyd y talwrne And saieth that he doth not knowe of anie [booke] [^]papire¹ of the Popes Courte to be amonge his thinges that were seised vpon in Llanlidan nor any cause why yt should be there And if there were any such that then he hadd yt of the said Edward ap Iohn amonge other papers & welshe bookes

H R

In the heering of me

(signed) Thomas Gruffyth

(signed) gryffthe lloyd

5/ hue: 3 minims in ms

8/ Eveneghtid: Efeneghdyd, Denbighshire

9/ And: also writen as catchword at foot of sheet [2v]

14/ clockaynog: Clocaenog, Denbighshire

34/ H R: Robert ap Huw has signed with his initials, inverted

Examinations Concerning a Break-in and Theft by Robert ap Huw

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/11/4/19–20

sheets [1–1v]

...

Margarett *verch* Dauid of Trewyn in the county of Merioneth Spinster beinge 5
 sworne & examined sayth That on wednesdaie the nineth daie of this *present*
 Aprill in the night tyme the wall of her Chamber in [tw] Trewynn afforesaid
 was caste downe ¹° & broken¹ She beinge then in the house of Robert ap
 dauid [& after her comeinge home] whither one dauid ap Hugh came vnto
 her vpon thursdaie morninge ¹° after¹ & toulde her that the wall of her 10
 Chamber was broken ¹° the night before¹ Willinge her to come home to see
 what thinges were amisse or stoullen & vpon that she went with hym & when
 she came to her Chamber She did misse ij^o [⟨.⟩] brasen pannes & one brasen
 pott A coverlett A blankett & a peticoate. And she sayth that when she hard
 that one Robert ap Hugh beinge a suspected person was wonte to resorte vnto 15
 the house of Edward ap Iohn wynn & other houses in the [⟨.⟩ of Rut]
 parishes of Llanlidan & derwen in the county of denbigh [&] She repayred
 to the constables there for to have search made in the said parishes for her said
 thinges stoullen [whoe accom] And one Ieuan ap Thomas beinge constable
¹° of Llanlidan¹ made search & founde the said Brasen pott in the house 20
 of Margarett Hughes in the | parishe of derwen in the county of denbigh
 afforesaid & her said ij^o pannes her coverlett & her Blankett were founde in
 the [sai] house of the said Edward ap Iohn in the said parish of Llanlidan
¹° in the sayd County of denbigh¹ And sayth that she could not fynde her
 sai⟨.⟩ [her] peticoate. °She saithe that the wief of Edward ap Iohn wyn told her 25
 this *examine* when her said two pannes couerlett and blankett were found,
 that the sayd Robert ap hughe had broughte them to the said Edward ap Iohn
¹° wyn¹ his house, aboutes a senighte agoe, at seuerall tymes. She sayeth that
 She payde for her sayd potte v. s. vj. d./ aboutes vj. yeres agoe, And that
 aboutes iij. yeres agoe She paide viij. s. for one of her sayd pannes, & xx. d. 30
 for thother panne aboutes vj. yeres agoe, She esteemeth her sayd couerelett
 to beinge aboutes xij. d., & the sayd blankette, aboutes ij. s. vj. d./ .°
 signum X Margaretae *verch* dauid

sheet [2]

35

...

Ieuan ap Thomas constable of the parishe of Llanlidan in the county of
 Denbigh beinge sworne & examined saieth That vpon the complainte of
 Margarett *verch* dauid and haveinge a warrant from Iustices of the peace of

8/ caste: corrected by second hand over other letters

9/ whither: corrected by second hand, possibly over where

33/ X: Margaret verch David has signed with her personal mark

the said county he made [yesterdaie] yesternight searche in diuerse houses in the parishes of Llanlidan & derwen & in the house of Margaret Hughes he founde a brassen pott which the said Margaret [^]verch dauid¹ said to be the pott that she hadd loste & in the house of Edward ap Iohn wynn he founde the ij^o pannes A coverlett & the blankett which the said Margaret [said] ⁵ *verch dauid* said to be those that were stoullen oute of her Chamber in the house of dauid ap Hugh in Trewyn in the county of Merioneth. He saith that the wief of the said Edward ap Iohn wynn tould hym that one Robert ap Hugh hadd brought those thinges [^]found there^o vnto her house & hadd lefte them there. And saith That Margaret Hughes would not tell by whome ¹⁰ she hadd the pott found in her house. ^obut saide that She had boughte it of one^l° (*blank*)
(*signed*) evan thomas

Examinations Concerning Robert ap Huw's Escape from Gaol 15

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/11/4/13

sheets [1–2v] (12 May)

Taken before Edward Thelwall and Edward Lloyd

...

Robert ap William of Llanvair dyffrynclwyd in the county of denbigh, beinge examined toucheinge the willfull & felonious escape of Robert ap Hugh Sayeth that the said Robert [^]ap Hughe¹ did vse to resorte vnto this *examinates* house in lente laste aboutes which tyme he came furst acquainted with this *examinat* & sayth that he hadd hard that the said Robert [^]ap hughe¹ was of late ²⁵ comitted [^]for felonie¹ vnto the gaole of the county of denbigh And he doth confesse that the said Robert ap Hugh came vpon sondaie the xjth of this moneth at the breake of the daie [& there stayd] in to this *examinates* house & there stayd aboutes half an houre this *examine* beinge in bedd & the said Robert ap hugh tould this *examine* that he was discharged oute of the gaole ³⁰ by his coosin beinge [f(.)] one of Merionethshire/ beinge suertie for hym to aunswere & sayd to this *examine* that he was goeing then to send his coosin to Merionethshire & from thence he would goe to Anglesey And beinge demaunded if he hath beene at any tyme speakeng with the said Robert ap Hugh synce he was comitted & he saith that he was not And that noe bodie ³⁵ came vnto this *examine* from the said Robert ap hugh synce he was comitted But | one Ellin *verch* Rees came vnto hym vpon frydaie or saterdaie laste in the morninge bringeing with her a dagger which dagger she said to be the dagger of [^]the said¹ Robert ap Hugh that was lefte with Thomas ap Roger Lloyd & she did demaunde of this *examine* that he woulde geve soe much ⁴⁰ money as he would thinke good in pawne vpon the said dagger for the said Robert ap hugh & this *examine* said to her that he would geve her non

wherevpon she lefte the dagger vpon this *examinates* bedd & said that the
 said Robert ap [did] hugh [will] did will her to deliuer the same dagger [with]
 vnto this examine [She w] & afterwardes [^]she¹ went awaye oute of this
examinates house And this examine saieth That vpon saterdaie laste in the
 eveninge this examine mett with the said Ellin *verch* Rees nere the house of
 Tudder Weaver in Ruthin & there deliuered vnto her vj d. in money *which*
[^]he¹ the said [Robert] [^]examine¹ hadd borrowed of her [to] vpon [^]may
 daye¹ [phillip & Iacob thappostles laste feast] laste. He denieth that [hath] he
 hath beene at any tyme [eith <..>] of the daie either vpon fridaie or saterdaie
 in Cloyd streete nor [th] nere the towre or Prison house in the said streete |
 Or that he hath beene in the company of the said Ellin [<.>] vpon fridaie or
 saterdaie laste but in the said place where he deliuered the said vj d. vnto her
 And further this examine saieth that the said Robert ap Hugh hadd lefte in
 this *examinates* house some fewe daies before he was committed A Ierkin &
 breeches of Medlaye coolered cloth The *which* Ierkin & breeches [he] & the
 said dagger he tooke awaie with hym vpon the said sondaie morninge And he
 saieth that the said Robert ap hugh [tou] stoale awaie oute of this *examinates*
 house the same sondaie morninge [<..>] iij yardes & [^]a¹ quarter of fustian
which did cost vij s., iij yardes & half of lynyen [^]clothe¹ viij: d. the yard, A
 yard of lynyen [^]clothe¹ that did cost xij. d. iij dozen of silk buttons 3 skeines
 of silke & one shyrt And saieth that the said Robert ap Hugh [^][wente]¹ vpon
[^][<...>]¹ the said sondaie Morninge did open the dore of this *examinates* house
 by puttinge the barr of from the doore with his hand noe bodie being then
 rysen in the said house he sayeth [<..>] That aboutes ijo houres after that the
 sayd Robert ap hugh was gone from his house he hearde an outcrye after the
 said Robert ap hugh And the constable bad him coome with him to folowe
 the outcrye | & he did so & did not declare to the Constable [^]that Robert ap
 hughe¹ had beene at his house. & the reason was as he sayeth because he was
 so amazed & astonied that the said Robert ap hugh had beine in his house &
 so gone awaye.

signum predicti + Roberti

Iohn ap william brother to the former examine & dwellinge with hys said
 brother He saith that Robert ap hugh came vpon the breake of the daie [of
 the daie] vpon sondaie morninge last & tooke awaie the barr of the doore of
 the house of his said brother & came into the house vnto this *examinates* &
 his brother beinge in bedd & did aske for his clothes & then this examine
 was comaunded by his said brother to goe for the breeches vnto Iohn Iohnes

2/ ap [did] hugh [will]: ap and hugh inserted as corrections in spaces left around deleted words

27-8/ [^]that ... hughe¹: insertion made partly in left margin and partly interlinearly

31/ +: Robert ap William has signed with his personal mark

36/ this *examinates*: for this *examinates* chamber (?)

clerck that hadd borrowed the same & after this *examine* brought the same breeches he deliuered yt vnto the said Robert ap hugh nere the said house & the said Robert ap Hugh did departe then & [said] asked this *examine* if he might passe above Llanlidan before yt [was daie] were farr in the daie He saieth that he hard an outcrie made after the said Robert ap hugh within 5
 twoe houres after the said Robert hadd departed from this *examine* But this *examine* made [(...)e] pursuite [^] vnto the next constable¹ [(...)] & did [he] [^] not¹ tell any man that he hadd seene the said Robert ap hugh [was in] that daie nor *which* waye he was gone & saieth that his reason therein was leste his sayd brother shulde be charged to bringe in the sayd Robert ap hugh. 10
signum + predicti Iohannis

1665

Robert ap Huw's Will NLW: Bangor Probate Records 1665/8W
 ff [1–1v] (18 May; proved 23 November)

15

In the name of God Amen; Memorandum, that vpon or aboute the Eighteenth of May in the yeare of our Lord god, one Thousand sixe hundred Sixtie and five; Robert ap Hugh of the parish of Llandegfan in the County of Anglesey & Dioces of Bangor, being then sicke & weake in body, but of perfect sense 20
 & memory; Did make & declare his last Will & Testament nuncupatively in manner & forme followeing ... Item he left & bequeathed to his deare & loveinge Sonne Henry Hughes all his bookes Item he left & bequeathed to his Godsonne Robert Edward ¹ dureing his life¹ his best Harpe, vppon this Condicion that the said Robert Edward shall not take from of the said harpe | 25
 The Kings Armes, which is in Silver fixed therevpon, but in case he the said Robert Edward will take it away, or will suffer any body els soe to doe, then his will & meaninge was, that the said Harpe should be taken from the said Robert Edward, & should be to the vse of the said Testator's right heire...

11/ +: John ap William has signed with his personal mark

APPENDIX 5

Forged Records

Fictitious accounts of bardic, dramatic, or minstrel performance are uncommon in England but Wales has a relative abundance of them, thanks to Edward Williams, better known by his bardic name Iolo Morganwg (1747–1826). Williams was a Glamorgan antiquary, poet, and scholar whose extensive work in the copying of earlier Welsh manuscript and documentary materials was marred by a tendency to invention. Among these inventions was the so-called ‘Aberpergwm’ version of the chronicle *Brut y Tywysogion*, as well as the ‘records’ of several early eisteddfodau. The text of the ‘Aberpergwm’ *Brut* acquired a certain authority because Iolo printed it in the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, the edition of early Welsh texts that he published with Owen Jones and William Owen Pughe between 1801 and 1807. That entry has been cited frequently as evidence of the earliest eisteddfod at the court of Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr (c 1090–1137), as well as of early dramatic activity. For more on the ‘Aberpergwm’ *Brut*, see G.J. Williams, ‘Brut Aberpergwm,’ *Stewart Williams’ Glamorgan Historian* 4 (1967), 205–20.

Iolo’s other forgeries included documents relating to later fictitious eisteddfodau as well, including descriptions of a wide variety of meetings. I have included here only those that have appeared in print and thus have influenced scholarship on the history of dramatic, musical, and poetic performance in Wales. Iolo’s son Taliesin published extracts from his father’s extensive notebooks, including a description of three fourteenth-century eisteddfodau at Gwernyclepa, Monmouthshire, at Dôl Goch, Cardiganshire, and at Maelor, Flintshire, all three involving the greatest Welsh poet of the fourteenth century, Dafydd ap Gwilym. The document is attributed to Anthony Powel (c 1560–1618/19) of Llwydarth, in the parish of Llangynwyd, Glamorgan, who was primarily known as a genealogist. Although only one manuscript (NLW: NLW MS 13,165B) is known to survive in Powel’s hand Iolo Morganwg attributed a vast array of his own ‘compositions’ to him, including a history of the bards of Glamorgan and this description of an eisteddfod at the home of Ifor Hael, the patron of Dafydd ap Gwilym, and two successive meetings. Other descriptions of bardic meetings are also attributed to Powel, as in NLW: NLW MS 13,131A, p 418. Although an exhaustive search of Iolo’s eighty-odd notebooks has not been done the precise text as printed by Taliesin has not surfaced, and it may be a conflation of several notebook entries. The Gwernyclepa eisteddfod is described in NLW: NLW MS 13,120B, pp 396–400, and NLW: NLW MS 13,131A, p 466; the Dôl Goch meeting is also described in NLW: NLW MS 13,131A, p 466. The three brothers of Marchwiall appear in

NLW: NLW MS 13,120B, p 396, and NLW: NLW MS 13,128A, p 138, and a further Marchwiall eisteddfod is described in NLW: NLW MS 13,096B, p 85, NLW: NLW MS 13,120B, pp 396–400, and NLW: NLW MS 13,131A, p 311. Because Marchwiall is in the commote of Maelor Gymraeg (Flintshire) this may well be the third occasion of this record.

Although all the poets named in this record are well-known historical figures the event itself is wholly fictitious; it could not in fact have taken place because Dafydd ap Gwilym was long dead when Siôn Cent was born. The translation is by Taliesin Williams. Fictional reports of other eisteddfodau by Iolo appear in NLW: NLW MS 13,096B (pp 85–6); NLW MS 13,100B (pp 23–4, 346–59); NLW MS 13,120B (pp 396–8); NLW MS 13,128A (pp 138–9, 189); NLW MS 13,131A (pp 310–16, 418–22, 466, 479–81); NLW MS 13,144A (pp 82–6); and NLW MS 13,146A (pp 75–7).

Among Iolo Morganwg's other forgeries is a list that purports to give the attendance at an eisteddfod held in Llandaff, Glamorgan, in 1564. Just as the Gwernyclepa record is based on a list of historical poets, all the names in the Llandaff list are of known poets and bards who could, in theory, have attended such a meeting. The inspiration for the list was clearly the meeting described in the Sils ap Siôn anecdote (p 205). The dates given are those of the putative events and are, of course, fictitious.

The 'Aberpergwm' Brut

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 13,113B; last quarter 18th c.; English and Welsh; paper; iii + 133; 205mm x 165mm; paginated 1–38, 43–61, 60–222, 213–54 (p 1 is preceded by 14 unnumbered leaves, p 35 is preceded by 2 unnumbered leaves, and p 43 is preceded by 1 unnumbered leaf); 7 booklets bound together in 19th-c. cloth.

An Eisteddfod at Gwernyclepa (ΛC)

Iolo Manuscripts: A selection of Ancient Welsh Manuscripts, in prose and verse, from the collection made by the late Edward Williams, Iolo Morganwg, for the purpose of forming a continuation of the Myfyrian Archaeology; and subsequently proposed as materials for a new history of Wales. Taliesin Williams (ab Iolo) (ed and trans) (Llandovery, 1848).

The 'Llandaff' Eisteddfod

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 13,089E; early 19th c.; Welsh, Latin, and English; paper; i + 240; 330mm x 200mm; paginated 1–480 (pagination begins on verso of title page and ends on recto of pastedown on original back cover; thus all rectos are evenly numbered); modern red cloth binding over paper boards, title on spine: 'NLW MS 13089E MISCELLANEA.' The manuscript contains historical anecdotes, poems, and miscellaneous transcriptions by Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg).

'1135'

The 'Aberpergwm' Brut NLW: NLW MS 13,113B

pp 59–60

...

Oed Crist 1135. Y Brenin Ystyffan a ddanfonas at Ruffydd ab R^hys i orchymmyn iddaw ddyfod atto yn ddiodor i ateb Cwynion a roesid arnaw

gan y Ffrancod. a Gruffydd heb wybod achaws cwyn a gynnullawdd ei wyr
ac ymluyddu, ac yn gyfnerth iddaw Daeth Cadwaladr ac Owain meibion
Gruffydd ab Cynan a myned yn ddisyfyd yn erbyn ei elynion yng Ngheredigion
a lladd aneirif o'r Ffrancod a'r Saeson a thorri cestyll iddynt a dwyn yspail fawr
hyd nas gellid bwyd ac ymborth iddynt ymgynnal yn ei erbyn ef. ac attynt y
daeth Hywel ab Meredydd a Rhys ab Madawc ab Idnerth, a llu mawr, yna
ydd aeth Gruffydd i Aberystwyth ac a dorres y Castell yn garnedd. a gwedi
hynny lladdasant y Ffrancod a'r Saeson a gadwent Geredigion a Dyfed, a'u
gyrru ar ffo dros for i Loegr, a dodi'r Cymry a ddoded allan o'u Tiroedd gan
y Dieithraid yn ol yn eu Trefydd a'u Tiroedd, a'r Ffrancod a'r Saeson ar eu ffo
rhag Gruffydd ab Rhys gerllaw Glynn Nedd y daeth meibion Caradawc ab
Iestin yn eu herbyn, ac a'u lladdawdd dros dair mil onaddynt, a gyrru ffo ar
eraill, ac ychydig o'r Saeson o ddianghasant i wlad Gwyr lle y cawsant nawdd
y Cestyll a wnaethai Harri Bwmwnt yno. |

Gwedi adynnill ei diroedd fe wnaeth Gruffydd ab Rhys wledd anrhydeddus
yn Ystrad Tywi lle y gwahoddes efe attaw bawb a ddeuant yn heddwch o
Wynedd a Phowys, a Deheubarth a Morganwg a'r Mers, a pharottoi pob
moethus o fwydydd a diodydd, a phob ymryson doethineb, a phob diddanwch
Cerdd arwest a cherdd [Dant] [dannau] a Chroesawi Prydyddion a cherddorion,
a chynnal pob chwareuon hud a Lledrith [^] a phob arddangos[^], a phob campau
gwrolion, ac i'r wledd honno a daeth Gruffydd ab Cynan a'i feibion a llawer
o'r Pendefigion o bob ardal yng Nghymru a chynnal y wledd dros ddeugain
niwarn[o][^]aw[^]d. ac yna gollwng pawb tua'u Cartrefi a dodi rhoddion
anrhydeddus i au dirperynt o Feirdd, a Cherddorion, a doethion, a champusion
o bob rhyw.

Gwedi'r wledd honno fe ymroddes Gruffudd ab Rhys i alw attaw y Gwyr
doethion a'r Ysgolheigion a myned yn eu cyngor a dodi Trefn a Chyfraith ar
bawb o fewn ei gyfoeth, a Threfnu Llys ym mhob [Cwmwd] [^] Cantref[^]
a Rhaglys ym mhob [cantref] [cwmwd], a'r un [^] peth[^] a wnaeth Gruffydd
ab Cynan yng Ngwynedd. a drwg y bu gan y Ffrancod a'r Saeson weled a
pethau hynny, a dodi cwyn yn erbyn a ddau Dywysawg at y Brenin Ystyffan
a wnaethant, ac am nas gwyddai Ystyffan afai oreu ni ddodes ef ateb i'r
cwynau.

...

pp 168–9

...

In the year of Christ 1135, King Stephen sent to Gruffudd ap Rhys ordering
him to come immediately to him to answer the complaints brought against
him by the Franks. Gruffydd not being conscious of having given them
any cause of complaint assembled his men and formed an army, and to his
assistance came Cadwalader and Owain sons of Gruffydd ap Cynan, with

these he fell abruptly [unexpectedly] upon his enemies [unexpectedly attacked his enemies.] in Ceredigion, and slew prodigious numbers of the Franks and Saxons, demolishing their Castles, bearing away great spoils and plunder, so that his enemies for want of Sustenance [provisions] could not hold out 5 against him; in aid of him also came Hywel son of Meredydd, and Rhys son of Madoc son of Iorwerth with a numerous Army, whereupon Gruffydd went to Aberystwyth, and demolished the Castle, reducing it to a heap of rubbish, after this he slew [^]all[^] the Franks and Saxons who had usurped Ceredigion and Dyved or drove them over the Seas to England, putting the Welsh in possession of the lands [^]and Townes[^] which had been taken from them by 10 the foreigners [^]aliens[^], The Franks and Saxons being on their flight from Gruffydd ap Rhys near the Vale of Neath, they were met with by the sons of Caradoc son of Iestin coming against them, who slew about three thousand of them, putting the remainder of them to flight; a few of the Saxons escaped to the Land of Gower; where they were received into the 15 protection of the Castles which had been built by Henry Beaumont in those parts.

After Gruffydd had recovered his Territories, he ^lordered a great [^]and splendid[^] feast [Banquet] to be prepared in Ystrad Tywi, and, by proclamation, invited to it all that would come in peace from North Wales, Powys, South 20 Wales, Glamorgan, and Mercia ✕ for this grand feast he ordered to be procured and prepared the best and most delicious foods and liquors; trials of skill in Wisdom and Science, all the amusements of vocal song and of Instrumental Music; entertaining Poets and Minstrels, with dramatic representations ✕ every kind of exhibitions, and manly games. To this feast 25 came Gruffydd ap Cynan and his sons and many of the nobles from all parts of Wales. This feast was continued for forty days; after which he dismissed his guests every one to his home, bestowing honourable presents on every one of the Bards, Wisemen, and musicians [^]and other men of skill every description[^] that were found deserving of them. [interpolation – and other 30 men of skill of every description.]

After this grand feast Gruffydd ap Rhys resolved to call together to him the Wise men, and men of Learning submitting himself to their Counsels, and instituted regulations and Laws adapted to all conditions within his Dominions, establishing Courts of Iustice in every Cantrev, and subordinate 35 Courts in every Commoti and Gruffydd ap Cynan did the same in North Wales. The Saxons [^]and Franks[^] were highly displeased and vexed to see such things going on in Wales, and (according to their usual policy) brought

1, 1–2, 4, 19, 30–1/ [unexpectedly], [unexpectedly^a ... enemies.], [provisions], [Banquet], [interpolation ... description.]: [] used as punctuation by Morganwg

18/ ordered: repeated as catchword at foot of p 168

complaints to King Stephen against the two Princes, and Stephen not being able to discern what was best to be done returned no answers to such complaints.

...

'Late 14th century'

An Eisteddfod at Gwernyclepa T. Williams: *Iolo Manuscripts*
pp 96–7

...

EISTEDDFOD GWERN.Y CLEPPA A BRODYR MARCHWIAIL.

COFFADWRIAETH am Feirdd a Phrydyddion. o Lyfr Edward Dafydd Antoni Powel, &c.

Yn amser y Brenin Edwart y III y bu Eisteddfod yng Ngwern y Cleppa dan nawdd a Dawn Ifor Hael; ag i honno daeth Tri l Brodyr Marchwial ym Maelor yng Ngwlad Bowys. a Llewelyn ap Gwilym o'r Ddol Goch yng Ngheredigion – a Thri Brodyr Marchwial a Dafydd ap Gwilym gyda nhwy a fuant yn ysgolheigion Barddoniaidd Llywelyn ap Gwilym yng Ngwern y Cleppa ys ef Llys Ifor hael. Ag yn yr Eisteddfod honno y doded braint Cadair ar fesur Cywydd lle nad oedd felly o'r Blaen a phan canwyd am gadair Dafydd ap Gwilym a ennillws o nerth Awen a chanu a Chymraeg cynhwynol. Ac o hynny maes braint Cadair i fesur Cywydd deuair a gwisgo Dafydd ap Gwilym ag addurn Cadair Morganwg a rhod enw Dafydd Morganwg, ag yng Ngwynedd ei alw Bardd Ifor Hael. ac o hynny hyd yn awr serchoccaf a goreu o'r holl fesurau y bernir Cywydd, Gwedi hynny bu Eisteddfod dan nawdd Llywelyn ap Gwilym yn y Ddol goch yn Emlyn ag i honno y daeth Sion y Cent a Rhys Goch o Eryri yng Ngwynedd a thyfu ymryson rhwng Sion y Cent a Rhys goch, goreu ar wengerdd Sion Cent, a goreu ar foliangerdd Rhys goch, a rhodd y blaen a'r Gadair i'r wengerdd ond ni fynnai Sion y Cent ei wisgo ag addurn Cadair Ceredigion a Dyfed eithr i Dduw y rhoddai ef y blaen, am hynny y gwedai rhai mai Duw ei hunan a ennillw y gadair honn – wedi hynny dodes Llywelyn ap Gwilym ganu er Cadair Ceredigion y goreu am Rieingerdd a Barnu Dafydd ap Gwilym yn oreu, ai wisgo a'r Cae Bedw ys ef addurn Rhieingerdd, yna Llywelyn ap Gruffudd un o dri Brodyr marchwial a ganodd Englynion marchwial Bedw briglas ar hen ganiad gwedi hynny y Tri Brodyr a ddodasant Dan Osteg a Rhybudd undydd a blwyddyn Eisteddfod ym Maelor. ym Mhowys yn nawdd Iarll Mortimer dan Goron y Brenin Edwart y trydydd ac yno y canwyd am gadeiriau Ac Enyfed ap Gruffydd a gafas am Gywydd Gwr ac am Englynion byrraf Eiry Mynydd, A Madoc y trydydd brawd a gafas gadair a Chae Bedw am Rieingerdd. A Dafydd ap gwilym a ganodd yn garedig i Fadoc am ei gerdd. Ac yn yr Eisteddfod honno ydd addurnwyd Iolo goch ag addurn cadair am eu wybodau a ddysgws Ednyfed ap Gruffydd parth

Gwybodau Cerdd Dafod ai pherthynasau. Ac o'r Tair Eisteddfod hyn y cafad gwellhâd ar gerdd Dafod a Chynghanedd.

...

pp 491–2

5

...

THE EISTEDDVOD OF GWERN-Y-CLEPPA, AND
THE BROTHERS OF MARCHWIAIL.
MEMOIRS OF BARDS AND POETS.

IN the time of King Edward III. the Eisteddvod of Gwern-y-Cleppa took 10
place, under the patronage and gifts of Ivor Hael, and to it came the three
brothers of Marchwial in Maelor, in Powys, and Llywelyn ab Gwilym, of Dôl
Goch, in Ceredigion. The three brothers of Marchwial, and, with them,
Dafydd ab Gwilym, had been scholars in bardism to Llywelyn, the son of
Gwilym, at Gwern-y-Cleppa – that is, the Court of Ivor Hael. It was at this 15
Eisteddvod that the Cywydd metre was admitted to chair-privileges, to which
it had not previously been entitled; and when competition for the chair ensued,
Davydd ab Gwilym won it, through force of genius and original purity of
Welsh diction. From thenceforth the Cywydd became included among the 20
chair metres; and Davydd ab Gwilym was invested with the chair decoration,
with the designation of Davydd of Glamorgan; but in Gwynedd he was called
the Bard of Ivor Hael. From that period to the present time, the Cywydd has
been deemed the most interesting and best of all the metres. |

After that, an Eisteddfod was held at Dôl Goch, in Emlyn, under the 25
patronage of Llywelyn, the son of Gwilym; which was attended by John of
Kent, and Rhys Goch, of Snowdon, in Gwynedd; between whom contention
arose. John of Kent was pronounced superior, here, in sacred, and Rhys Goch
in encomiastic poetry; however, superiority, and the chair were adjudged to
sacred poetry; but John of Kent would not consent to be invested with the 30
decoration of the chair of Ceredigion and Dyved; choosing to attribute to God
the victory; whence some said, that God, himself, won that chair. Llywelyn
ab Gwilym, again, announced, that competition in amatory song would take
place, for the chair of Ceredigion, in which Davydd ab Gwilym was declared
successful, and invested with the birchen wreath, the ornamental meed given

7/ GWERN-Y-CLEPPA: *Taliesin Williams adds in footnote*, 'Some vestiges of this mansion still remain at a short distance from Basaleg, Monmouthshire.'

9/ POETS: *Taliesin Williams adds in footnote*, 'From notices of Bards and Poets, extracted from the MSS. of Edward Davydd, of Margam, – Anthony Powel, &c.'

26/ Kent: *Taliesin Williams adds in footnote*, 'Kentchurch, in Herefordshire.'

34/ birchen wreath: *Taliesin Williams adds in footnote*, 'Davydd ab Gwilym has an Ode to the "Cae Bedwo," the birchen wreath, which Morvydd the daughter of Ivor Hael platted for him. The birch grove, and birch arbour, are amongst his most favourite imagery.'

for lays to ladies. Upon this occasion, Llywelyn, the son of Gruffydd, one of the three brothers of Marchwiall, sang the englynion of – “Marchwiall bedw briglas,” in the ancient style of poetry; after which, the three brothers announced, under a year and a day’s notice, that an Eisteddvod would be held at Maelor, in Powys, under the patronage of Earl Mortimer, and the crown of King Edward III. At this Eisteddvod poetical composition for chairs took place; in which, Ednyved, the son of Gruffydd, won the chair for his Cywydd Gwr, and shorter stanzas of “Eiry Mynydd;” and Madoc, the third brother, won the chair and a birchen wreath, for his poem to a lady; whereupon Davydd ab Gwilym sang kindly of him for that poem. At this Eisteddvod, Iolo Goch was adorned with a chair ornament, for the sciences he learned of Ednyved, the son of Gruffydd, with regard to the art of vocal song, and its relative knowledge. Vocal song and alliteration were much improved at these three bardic congresses.

...

15

‘1564’

The ‘Llandaff’ Eisteddfod NLW: NLW MS 13,089E

p 320 col 1

...

20

Eisteddfod Llandaf yn 1564

1. Syr Thomas Iones.
2. Giles ap Iohn.
3. William Dyfi.
4. Thomas Brwynllys. 25
5. Thomas Llywelyn.
6. Meyryg Dafydd.
7. Sion Mowddwy.
8. Thomas Lewys.
9. Meredydd ap Rhoser. 30
10. Hopcin Twm Philip.
11. Twm Sion Catti.
12. Syr Sion Gruffudd o Langrollo.
13. Evan Gruffydd ei Frawd.
14. Mr. William Evans ysanghellor 35
yn Farnwr.
15. Dafydd Benwyn.

APPENDIX 6

Saints' Days and Festivals

This list contains the dates for holy days and festivals referred to in the Records. All days are entered under their official names but unofficial names occurring in the Records are also given in parentheses. Only feast days themselves are listed; if the night or eve of a feast or its tide or season (likely the feast day itself with its octave) is referred to, its date may be inferred. Exact dates for moveable feasts are included in textual notes. See also C.R. Cheney (ed) and Michael Jones (rev), *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History* (Cambridge, 2000), 63–93.

Advent	season preceding Christmas, starting on the Sunday nearest to 30 November
All Saints	1 November
Annunciation	25 March
Ascension Day	Thursday following the fifth Sunday after Easter, ie, forty days after Easter
Candlemas	2 February
Christmas Day	25 December
Corpus Christi	Thursday following Trinity Sunday, the eighth Sunday after Easter
Easter	Sunday after the full moon on or next following 21 March
Ember Days	Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after the first Sunday in Lent, Pentecost, Holy Cross Day (14 September), and St Lucy's Day (13 December)
Epiphany	6 January
Lent	forty weekdays preceding Easter
May Day	1 May
Michaelmas	see St Michael the Archangel
Midsummer	24 June
New Year's Day	1 January
Pentecost (Whit Sunday)	seventh Sunday after Easter, ie, fifty days after Easter

Relic Sunday	first Sunday after 7 July
St Catherine of Alexandria	25 November
St Dwyn	25 January
St Elined	1 August
St George	23 April
St James	25 July
St John the Baptist, Nativity of	24 June
St Matthew	21 September
St Michael the Archangel (Michaelmas)	29 September
St Moling (Mylling)	17 June
Sts Philip and James (Jacob)	1 May
Septuagesima	third Sunday before Ash Wednesday, ie, seventy days before Easter
Shrove Tuesday	Tuesday before Ash Wednesday (the start of Lent)
Trinity Sunday	eighth Sunday after Easter
Whit Sunday	<i>see</i> Pentecost

Translations

DAVID N. KLAUSNER AND
ABIGAIL ANN YOUNG

Documents have been translated as literally as possible. The order of records in the translations parallels that of records in the original. Place-names and given names have been modernized. Family names and patronymics have been normalized according to the principles laid out in the Index headnote. Capitalization and punctuation are in accordance with modern practice.

As in the Records text, diamond brackets indicate obliterations and square brackets cancellations. Round brackets enclose words supplied editorially, most often because they are needed for grammatical sense in English or to offer an alternative translation of a difficult or ambiguous phrase.

The Anglo-Norman documents (pp 327 and 389) were translated with the help of Frank Collins and William Edwards. The Latin documents were translated by Abigail Ann Young and the Welsh documents by David N. Klausner. The Latin recensions of the Welsh Laws offered unique difficulties in translation and their translations are dependent in part on the parallel texts in the Welsh recensions.

Not all the Latin in the Records has been translated here. Latin tags or other short sections in largely English documents are either translated in footnotes or not at all. The word '(English)' indicates a section in English that does not appear in the translations. All Latin vocabulary not found in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* is found in the Latin Glossary. Some Welsh vocabulary could not readily be translated into English and for that reason some Welsh words, especially musical or poetic terms, have been preserved in the translations and appear in quotation marks below. These terms are discussed in the Welsh Glossary, where all Welsh vocabulary not found in *Y Geiriadur Mawr* is also found.

PRINCIPALITY OF WALES

1187/8

Gerald of Wales' Itinerarium Cambriae BL: Cotton Domitian A.1
ff 64–4v* (*Notable places in Hay on Wye and Brecknockshire*)

...

In no dissimilar way one should also be astounded by St Patrick's horn – made not of gold, in fact, but of brass – which recently came into this region from Ireland. Its power first shone out as a terrible example to this district

from the foolish and inept horn-blowing of the priest Bernard, just as is made known also in our *Topography of Ireland* in these words:

*Here (is) the
form of the
brass horn of
St Patrick*

We saw also even in Wales – for which reason we were indeed wondering greatly – a certain porter bearing around his neck a certain brass horn, which he said had been St Patrick's, in a manner worthy of relics. Moreover he said that no one dared to sound this (horn) on account of (their) reverence for that saint. Therefore when he offered the horn to the people standing around (him) to be kissed in the Irish manner, a certain priest by the name of Bernard snatched it | from his hands and, putting it in a corner of his mouth and blowing hard, began to sound (it). Even in the same hour, while many were standing by, after (his) mouth had twisted back as though paralysed as far as (his) ear, that (priest) was stricken by two-fold suffering. For although before he had been possessed of a torrent of eloquence and had, as a belittler, had the tongue of an informer, he immediately lost the use of any speech. Wherefore he was in this regard also so wounded that thereafter he was always hampered in his speech. Moreover, suffering in this way from lethargy, he had immediately given over everything to oblivion to the extent that he scarcely even remembered his name. For he was so grievously wounded in (his) memory that we saw him for many days afterward recalling psalms as if for the first time that he had previously known completely by heart and also wondered at him as an old man begging anew for the letters of which he had had very abundant knowledge as if (he were) an elementary student. After he had at last made a pilgrimage into Ireland to St Patrick on account of this misconduct, his strength returned more fully but not completely.

For indeed the people and clergy of Ireland and Scotland, and also of Wales, are accustomed to hold in great reverence bells, stoups, also staves curved in the upper part and covered with gold and silver or brass, and other relics of the saints of this kind, to the extent that they fear both to take and to break oaths on these far more than on the gospels. Indeed by a certain hidden power also infused in them, as it were divinely, as well by a retribution of which those saints seem especially to be desirous, contemptors (of oaths) are generally punished and serious proceedings are held against wrong-doers.

I also judge that this is indeed a notable thing about St Patrick's horn, that when the larger end of the opening is put to your ear, you will hear a sweet-sounding sonority given out by it, such as the melody usually brought forth from an exposed harp lightly stirred by the breeze.

...

c 1190–5

Welsh Laws: *The Book of Cyfnerth* BL: Cotton Cleopatra A.XIV
f 38

...

The lodging of the captain of the household is the largest house in the centre of the town, since around him should be the lodgings of the retinue so that they may be ready for every need. In the lodging of the captain of the household are the household poet and the physician....

f 39v

...

The steward receives the clothing of the captain of the household at the three special feasts, and the household poet receives the clothing of the steward, and the door-keeper receives the clothing of the poet....

Welsh Laws: *The Book of Cyfnerth* Bodorgan Hall: Bodorgan MS
p 12

...When the bard obtains a chair the judge of the court will receive a horn or a gold ring and the cushion that will be placed under him on the chair....

Welsh Laws: *The Book of Cyfnerth* BL: Harley MS 4353
ff 9v–10*

...

The household poet receives a bullock from each booty, if he is present at its capture, and one man's share like each of the other members of the household. On a day when there is fighting he should sing 'The Sovereignty of Britain' before them. When the poet solicits the lord let him sing one song; when he solicits a nobleman let him sing three songs; when he solicits a villein let him sing until he is tired. He receives his land free and his horse in attendance from the king. And he sings the second song in the hall since the chief poet begins. He sits next but one to the captain of the household. His harp he receives from the king, and a gold ring from the queen, when his office is given to him. And he is never to part with the harp. The household poet, the silentiary, the queen's steward, the door-keeper of the hall, the door-keeper of the chamber, the groom of the reins, the candle-bearer, the butler, the cook, the footholder, the mead brewer, the court sewer, the physician, the chambermaid, the queen's groom of the reins: these fifteen have the same privilege, and their daughters have the same privilege. As injury price (*ie*, 'sarhaed') each one of them is paid six cattle and 120(d) of silver. As homicide price (*ie*, 'galanas') each one of them is paid six cattle and six score cattle with three augmentations. The inheritance tax (*ie*, 'ebediw') of each one of

them is 120(d). And 120(d) is the maidenhead price (*ie*, 'gobr') of the daughter of each of them; a pound and a half is her morning gift (*ie*, 'cowyll'), £3 her matrimonial share (*ie*, 'agweddi'). If the daughter of one of these fifteen goes secretly without being given by her kindred, her matrimonial share (*ie*, 'agweddi') is six bullocks with horns as long as their ears; the daughter of every freeman who goes secretly has the same privilege.

...

ff 15–15v

...

The chief poet is entitled to sit on the left of the heir. He receives his land free. He is entitled to sing first in the hall. He receives a wedding gift, that is, 24(d) from each maiden when she marries; he does not receive anything, though, at the marriage of a woman from whom he has previously received money at the wedding when she was a maiden. The chief poet is a bard who has won a chair. A bard may not solicit anything without his permission within his jurisdiction, unless he is a bard from a foreign country. When the king prohibits giving money within the kingdom for a period of time, the chief poet is not bound by the law. | When the king wishes to hear a song let the chief poet sing two songs about God and a third of kingship. When the queen wishes to hear a song in her chamber let the household poet sing three songs, not loudly lest the hall be disturbed.

...

1215

Gerald of Wales' Descriptio Kambriae BL: Cotton Domitian A.1
ff 120v–1* (*Of Welsh hospitality and generosity*)

...

Moreover those who come during the morning hours are entertained until evening by girls' conversations and the harps' measures, for every home here has girls and harps designated for this purpose. Whence you will find also two notable things here, that just as no people suffers more from the vice of jealousy than the Irish, so no people suffers from it less than the Welsh. Also all the men of a court or household possess skill | in harping alone to the exclusion of all (other) learning. But in the evening, when the crowds of visitors are already stopping, a showing (of their skill) is provided, in accordance with the number and rank of the men and the resources of the household....

...

ff 121v–3* (*Of Welsh acuity and subtlety*)

...

As for (their) musical instruments they beguile and soothe the ears with such a great sweetness of sound, are played with such swiftness, and equally such

subtlety, of measures, and offer such a great concord of dissonant sounds by the operation of such quick rapidity of the fingers that I will briefly relate as much as our *Topography of Ireland* sets out in the chapter about musical instruments among the three nations, in these words:

It is wonderful how the musical balance is preserved in such a great, as it were, quick rapidity of the fingers and (how) by skill safe in every way the melody is rendered consonant and completed among the vibratory measures (*or* subtle measures) and the multiply interwoven harmonies with such sweet swiftness, such uneven evenness, such discordant concord. The strings sound either intervals of a fourth or of a fifth; I nevertheless they always begin from B-flat and return to the same (note), so that all is completed under the influence of a sweetness of pleasant sound. They enter and leave the (musical) measures so subtly, and play the ringing of high-pitched (notes) under the influence of (*or* to the accompaniment of) the dull (*or* deep) sound of a thicker string more freely, delight more inobtrusively, and soothe more unrestrainedly, so that the greatest part of (their) skill seems to conceal skill, as though skill, if hidden, is beneficial (but), once detected, brings shame. Hence it happens that the things that provide inner and ineffable delights of the mind to those who see with greater subtlety, and acutely discern the hidden results of skill, burden rather than delight the ears of those who even though they see, see not and even though they hear, hear not; and, being tedious to unwilling hearers, with as it were a confused and disordered clamour, they give rise to reactions of distaste.

® "Note how especially in London Welsh music (is played (?))"

® "This is certainly very true"

Moreover (the Welsh) employ three instruments – the harp, pipes, and crwth.

In causes, actions, and the civil tribunal they omit none of the parts of natural rhetoric in captivating, seeking favour, inventing, setting out, refuting, and bolstering (arguments).

In rhythmic songs and literary composition they are found to be so subtle that they display embellishments, both of words and of sentiments, of wonderful and choice invention in their own tongue. Wherefore also you will find many poets, whom they call bards, designated for this purpose in this nation, in accordance with this: 'The thoroughly tested bards pour forth many songs.' Yet beyond all other rhetorical embellishment they especially employ wordplay, and particularly that sort that joins the first letters or syllables of words by matching (them).

® "Juvenal, I think"

Therefore two nations, namely, the English and the Welsh, employ this arrangement of words in every choice speech to such an extent that nothing is judged as elegantly said by them, nothing as outstanding, nothing as anything but a rude and rustic manner of speaking, if it has not been polished with the file of this rhetorical device. So (it is done) in Welsh in this manner:

'Dychaun dyu da dy vnic,' that is, 'God can do well for one who is on his own' – as if one said, 'God can help a person even if he is alone.' (Another example is) 'Erbyn dibuilh puilh paraut,' that is, 'You should prepare understanding against foolish judgment.' But in English (it is done) thus: 'Godis to gedere gamen and wisdom,' that is, 'Wisdom is good together with pleasure.' (Another example is) 'Ne halt nocht alsor isaid/ ne al sorghe atwite,' that is, 'It is proper not to disclose all one's misfortune to another nor to reproach another with every disadvantage' (or) 'Betere is l red þene rap and liste þene liþer streingthe,' that is, 'Careful consideration is worth more than precipitate speed and moderation more than force.'

It is common to find the same embellishment (carried out) in no dissimilar fashion in Latin discourse as well. Vergil (uses it) in this manner: 'Tales casus Cassandra canebat,' (that is, 'Cassandra sang such circumstances.') And there is this (couplet) by the same (writer) to Augustus, 'Dum dubitat natura marem faceret ue puellam. Natus es o pulcher pene puella puer' (that is, 'While Nature was hesitating whether to make a man or a girl, you, nearly a girl, were born, O lovely youth').

Yet in no languages that we know is this embellishment used to the extent that it is in the two preceding ones.

Moreover it is wonderful that the French language, otherwise so ornamented, altogether ignores this arrangement of words used by the others. Nor could I, in spite of this, believe that the two preceding peoples, so diverse one from another and opposed in feeling, would agree in this arrangement of words by art but rather out of long usage: just because it was pleasing and entranced the ears by its easy movement of like (sounds) to like, it has developed through the passing time. Tullius (*ie*, Cicero) in his book *On Expression* speaks of such as have a custom but not art, saying, 'When the rest read good orations or poems they approve the orators or poets and they do not understand why they have been moved to approve (them), because they are unable to know that which especially delights them there: where it may be, what it may be, or how it may be done.'

About their harmonious songs and polyphonic sung refrains

In the act of singing musically they produce sung refrains not uniformly as in other places but in many parts and with many rhythmic patterns (*or* tunes) and measures, so much so that in a group of singers – as the custom is for this people – you may hear as many sung refrains as you may see heads, and (they also produce) various differences in the pitch of voices that finally come together into one consonance and polyphonic melody under the influence of (*or* to the accompaniment of) the charming sweetness of B-flat.

Also in the northern regions of Greater Britain, across the Humber, namely, in the district of York, the English people who live in those regions use tuneful

harmony in a similar way in singing, but by singing with only two different tones and varieties of voices, with one (voice) providing a soft continuous tone below (*ie*, in a low pitch) but another entrancing and delighting equally above (*ie*, in a higher pitch). Nor has this people or that one acquired this special quality out of art but out of long-standing custom and one now turned by a prolonged interval almost into nature. | It has grown so strong among both (people) and put down such deep roots now that nothing is usually expressed musically here in a simple way: nothing except in many parts, as among the former (*ie*, the Welsh), or at least in two parts, as among the latter (*ie*, the people of northern England). That also is the more to be wondered at in children, and mainly in infants, who observe the same modulation as soon as they break through from cries into song.

But since all the English in general do not employ these modulations of voices but only the northerners, I believe that, just as they acquired a similarity of speech from the Danes and Norwegians that were accustomed to hold those regions of the island over a long period and to occupy (them) repeatedly, so also they acquired this special characteristic of singing (from them).

...

c 1220

Welsh Laws: Latin Redaction A NLW: Peniarth MS 28B

p 1 col 2* (*Officers of the court*)

...

The king began with his court, organizing in it twenty-four serving officials. The first of these is the captain of the household; the second, the priest of the household; the third, the steward; the fourth, the judge of the court; the fifth, the falconer; the sixth, the chief groom; the seventh, the chief huntsman; the eighth, the page of the chamber; the ninth, the queen's steward; the tenth, the queen's priest; the eleventh, the bard of the household; the twelfth, the silentiary; the thirteenth, the door-keeper of the hall; the fourteenth, the door-keeper of the chamber; the fifteenth, the chambermaid; the sixteenth, the groom of the reins; the seventeenth, the candle-bearer; the eighteenth, the butler; the nineteenth, the mead brewer; the twentieth, the sewer; the twenty-first, the cook; the twenty-second, the footholder; the twenty-third, the physician; (and) the twenty-fourth, the queen's groom. These twenty-four should have their garments from the king and queen three times in every year, that is, woollen (garments) from the king and linen (garments) from the queen. And this (gift of clothing should be) in Christmas, and Easter, and Pentecost....

p 2 col 2

...

About what is permitted to the king

It is permitted for the king to have thirty-six persons riding in his retinue, that is, his twenty-four officials and twelve guests, besides (his) household, and nobles, and boys, and jugglers, and the poor.

p 3 col 1 (*Rights and dignity of the king's heir*)

...

The heir who succeeds to the kingdom after the king should be more respected than all (others) in the court except the king and queen. For he should be the king's son or his brother. His place in the hall on the other side of the king, on the farther side of the fire. Between the heir and the pillar the judge has a seat in the first place; in the second (place) the priest of the household (has a seat). But on the other side of the heir the chief poet of the land (has a seat). No one can claim that a place is due to him after this (poet) on that side....

...

p 4 col 1 (*Protection for the king, queen, and officers*)

...The protection for the bard of the household is to escort a person to the captain of the household, and the captain of the household (escorts that person) to the boundary of the commote in which he may be...

p 5 col 1 (*Location of officials' lodgings*)

...

The captain of the household's lodging is the largest house that may be found in the middle of the town, for the members of the household should lodge with him or near him, ready for any task for the king. The bard of the household and the physician should be placed with him....

p 11 cols 1-2

...

About the bard of the household

The bard of the household shall go forth with the king's household to take plunder; he should have a good draught animal from the plunder if he be with them. And if there be a struggle of war he should sing what is called 'The Sovereignty of Britain' before the household. If the poet come to the king to demand something from him he shall sing for him one song only. If (he come) to a nobleman (to demand something from him he shall sing for him) three (songs). If (he come) to a villein (to demand something from him) he shall sing until he grows tired.

About the chief poet

The chief poet should have payments from the daughters of the poets subject

to him. He will also have wedding gifts, that is, 'cyfarws neithior,' from recently married women, namely, 24d. When it pleases the king to hear songs in the hall the chief poet should sing songs first and second, namely, one (song) about God and another about kings. And this (should take place) in the nearer part of the hall, that is, in (the) upper court. Afterward the poet of the household may sing a third song in the farther part of the hall, that is, in (the) lower hall. When the queen wishes to hear songs in her chamber the poet of the household should sing three songs of another sort of song for her, and this (should take place) in a low voice and without noise lest the hall be disturbed.

...

p 18 col 2 (*Miscellaneous ordinances*)

...

...There are three things, called the three necessities of the king, that the king cannot be without, that is, a household priest to celebrate the mass and bless the meals, and a judge of the court to judge cases and to give counsel, and a household that should always be ready for the king's need. The three necessities of the son of a noble, namely, harps, a cloak, and a cauldron. The three necessities of a villein, namely, a threshold, a trough, (and) a fire-stone....

p 19 col 1 (*Various triads*)

...There are three arts that it is not allowed to assign to the son of a villein without his lord's permission, that is, literature, smithcraft, and poetry. If however a villein's lord should allow him to become a cleric and to be ordained, he cannot afterward take him back (into villeinage) even though he may wish (it)....

p 20 col 1

...There are three lawful harps. The king's harp and the chief poet's harp are each of them worth half a pound, and the plectrum of each one is worth 12d. And (the third is) the nobleman's harp, which is worth 60d. Its plectrum (is worth) four lawful pennies....

Welsh Laws: Latin Redaction B BL: Cotton Vespasian E.xi
f 9v col 2

...When the king's household goes forth to take plunder, the poet of the household should have a good draught animal from the plunder if he should

take part with them. And if there is war he should sing the song that is called 'The Sovereignty of Britain' before the household.

If the poet comes to the king to demand something from him he shall sing for him one song only. If he comes to a nobleman (to demand something from him) he shall sing three songs for him. If (he comes) to a villein (to demand something from him) he shall sing until he grows tired.

...

f 11 cols 1–2

...

About the poet of the household

On the day on which the bard of the household accepts his service, the king should give him a harp and the queen (should give him) a ring and he should not give away those gifts.

About the chief poet

The chief poet should have wedding gifts from (previously unmarried) girls, that is, 24d, and nothing from women. He should sing first in the hall. No other poet | can seek anything in his province without his licence.

...

f 20 col 2–f 20v col 1 (*On women and their circumstances*)

...

...The chief of the poets, that is, the 'pencerdd,' should have rewards from the daughters of the poets subject to him and wedding | gifts, (called) 'cyfarws neithior,' from wives recently given (in marriage), that is, 24d. The smith of the court will have rewards from the daughters of the other smiths, because he is the chief poet of all the smiths that are under him. The reward for the daughter of the smith of the court is half a pound and is the king's (gift).

...

f 38v col 2–f 39 col 1

...

The bard of the chamber

Some say that the bard of the chamber is of the number of the twenty-four and should have woollen garments from the king and linen ones from the queen three times in the year and (should have) his land free and a horse. His protection is to lead a person from the time that he began (his) first song in the chamber until the time when he has finished (his) last (song). His recompense for harm is six cows and six ounces of silver. His homicide price (*ie*, 'galanas') is six | cows and 120 cows. Six ounces (of silver (?)) are handed over in the reward for his daughter; a pound and a half in (her) morning gift (*ie*, 'cowyll'); £3 in her matrimonial share (*ie*, 'agweddi'); (and) six ounces of silver (is the) inheritance tax (*ie*, 'ebediw') of the bard of the chamber. By

right no clan should hand over recompense for injury with any of his kindred while he has any goods left in his possession. If, however, his goods have given out then his clan should divide among themselves what remains (*ie*, what remains owing in recompense, unto the third generation.

...

Welsh Laws: Latin Redaction C BL: Harley MS 1796
pp 24–5

...When the king wishes to hear 'cherd,' (that is,) music or songs, in the hall, the 'percerdd,' that is, the chief of the minstrels, should first sing two songs, one about God and another about kings, in the nearer part of the hall, that is, 'in e chenet.' Afterward the 'bardd teulu,' that is, the poet of the household, should sing a third song in the farther part of the hall, 'is coru.' | When the queen wishes to hear 'cherd,' (that is,) songs in (her) chamber, the 'bardd teulu,' (that is,) the poet of the household, 'a deli canu idi triculum,' (that is,) should sing three songs to her, 'o cherd amgen,' (that is,) of various kinds, 'a henni heb leuein,' (that is,) and this (should take place) without noise lest the hall be disturbed....

...

c 1230–5

Welsh Laws: The Book of Iorwerth BL: Cotton Titus D.II
ff 2–2v*

...He began with the court. There should be twenty-four officers in it:

captain of the household	silentiary	the queen's steward
priest	chief huntsman	the queen's priest
steward	mead brewer	the queen's groom
chief falconer	physician	the queen's chamberlain
judge of the court	butler	the queen's handmaiden
chief groom	door-keeper	the queen's door-keeper
chamberlain	cook	the queen's cook
household poet	candle-bearer	the queen's candle-bearer.

And the first officers listed above are those of the court, and the last eight are those of the queen. Three times each year the above twenty-four officers have the right by law to receive their woollen clothing from the king and their linen clothing from the queen at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun.

...

ff 3–3v

...

There are fourteen in the court who have chairs, four of them below the

column and ten above; the first of them is the king. He has the right to sit by the column, and next to him the local administrator (*ie*, 'cynghellor'), after that the guest, after that the heir, after that the chief falconer, and the footholder across the dish from him at the base of the 1 column, across the fire from him. Next to the other column the priest of the household to bless the food and sing the pater, and it is the column above him that the silentary should strike, and next to him the judge of the court, and next to him the chaired poet, and the court blacksmith at the end of the bench before the priest's knees. The captain of the household should sit at the lower end of the hall with his left hand at the end door and with those whom he wishes of the bodyguard with him, and the rest on the other side of the door. The household poet on one side of him, and the chief groom across the screen from the king, and the chief huntsman across the screen from the household priest.

The captain of the household should be the son or nephew of the king, or a man sufficiently high that he can be the captain of the household. The son of a freeman should not be captain of the household; the reason is that his privilege comes to him through the king, and this is not so with the son of a freeman. Because of this the men of Gwynedd omit the captain of the household from the number of the twenty-four officers under the steward. His worth is one-third the worth of the king. His injury price (*ie*, 'sarhaed') is one-third the injury price (*ie*, 'sarhaed') of the king, except for the gold. His protection is to take the man who does wrong to a place of safety. His place is with his left hand at the door of the hall. He should place the harp in the hand of the household poet at the three special feasts....

f 6

...

Fifth is the judge of the court; he is entitled to his land free and his horse in attendance and his woollen clothing from the king and his linen clothing from the queen. His place is across the fire from the king, next to the household priest. His lodging is in the king's chamber, the one he sleeps in, with a pillow and bed-linen from the queen, and with the cushion on which the king sits during the day under his head at night. Others say that he should not lodge outside the hall. His horse is entitled to be between the king's horse and the wall, and is to have two shares of fodder. He is entitled to a game-board of whalebone from the king and a gold ring from the queen and another from the household poet; these trinkets he is not entitled to give away or sell while he lives....

f 6v*

...

Sixth is the chief groom.... He is entitled to 4d for each horse that the

king gives, except from three men; those are the bishop, the chief falconer, and the jester. This is the reason he is not entitled from the bishop: since he is the king's confessor and he rises before him and sits after him, and holds his sleeves while he washes. This is the reason he is not entitled from the chief falconer: since it is right for the king to serve him on three regal occasions. This is the reason he is not entitled from the jester: since it is right for him to tie the halter (*ie*, the one on the head of the horse that is given him) around its (*ie*, the horse's) testicles when he comes to the court. And for these reasons they are not required to pay the grooms' money....

ff 7-7v

...

Eighth is the household poet; he is entitled to his land free and his horse in attendance and his woollen clothing from the king and his linen | clothing from the queen. He sits next to the captain of the household on the three special feasts, in order to receive the harp in his hand. He is entitled to the steward's clothing at the three special feasts. When it is desired that a song be sung the chaired poet begins, first to God and second to the king to whom the court belongs or, if he has nothing to sing of him, let him sing of another king. After the chaired poet the household poet is to sing three songs of various kinds. If it happens that the queen desires a song let the household poet go to her and sing to her without limit, and that quietly so that the hall is not disturbed by him. He is entitled to a cow or ox from the booty that the retinue takes in a foreign country, after a third has gone to the king. When the booty is shared he should sing 'The Sovereignty of Britain' to them. He is entitled to a game-board of whalebone from the king and a gold ring from the queen. His lodging is with the captain of the household; his protection is as far as the captain of the household. When he travels with other poets he is entitled to the share of two men. His injury price (*ie*, 'sarhaed') is six cattle and 120(d) of silver; his worth is six cattle and six score cattle with augmentation.

...

f 9v

...

Fourteenth is the door-keeper; he is entitled to his land free and his horse in attendance and his woollen clothing from the king and his linen clothing from the queen. He is entitled to a share of the supper money; he is entitled to lawful liquor. He should carry messages that are told to him from the gate to the hall, or to another place where the king may be. He is entitled to the clothing of the household poet on the three special feasts....

f 12

...

Above we have dealt with the twenty-four officers who belong to the court; here we deal with the officers who are in the court by use and by custom. First of these is the groom of the reins, second is the footholder, third is the dung steward, fourth is the serjeant, fifth is the porter, sixth is the watchman, seventh is the fueller, eighth is the bakeress, ninth is the court smith, tenth is the chief poet, eleventh is the laundress.

...

ff 14–14v

...

Tenth is the chief poet; he is entitled to his land free. His place is on one side of the judge of the court. He should begin with a song to God, then to the lord to whom the court belongs or to another. No one may solicit except the chief poet, and of what he and his companions receive he is entitled to two shares. | He is entitled to 24(d) from each minstrel after he leaves his instruction. He is entitled to 24(d) from every woman who sleeps with a man, if he has not had a payment from her previously. He is entitled to the maidenhead price (*ie*, 'amobr') of the daughters of the minstrels. His lodging is with the heir. His protection is from when he begins the first song in the court until he finishes the last. His injury price (*ie*, 'sarhaed') is six cattle and 120(d) of silver; his worth is six cattle and six score cattle.

...

Further on the
third (page)

Above we dealt with the officers who belong to the court and those by use and by custom, and their privileges and entitlements. Here we deal with other things. The three necessities of a king are a priest to bless the food and sing mass, a court judge to resolve doubtful things, and a household for his needs. The three necessities of a nobleman are his harp, his cloak, and his cauldron. The three necessities of a villein are his trough, his threshold, and his fire-stone....

f 15

...There are three lawful harps: the king's harp, and the chief poet's harp, and a nobleman's harp. The value of the first two is 120(d) and 24(d) for their tuning-horn; a nobleman's harp, 60(d) and 12(d) for the tuning-horn.... Three arts the son of a villein may not learn without permission of his lord, and although he learn them, he (the lord) is entitled to take them back, except for the scholarship after he has taken orders. Those are scholarship, smithcraft, and bardism....

c 1250–1300***Welsh Laws: Latin Redaction D*** Bodl.: ms. Rawl. C. 821

pp 27–8

...

About the bard of the household

If the bard of the household comes to the king because of a request he should sing one song only to him. If to a nobleman (he should sing) three. | If to a villein he should sing until he is tired. If the bard of the household goes forth with the king's household to plunder he will have the best animal from the plunder. And if the struggle of war should threaten he should sing before the household the song that is called 'The Sovereignty of Britain.' When a household poet is given his office the king will give him a harp and the queen (will give him) a ring; he will never give away his harp. The reward for his daughter (is) 10s (and) he (should have) a man's share, just as anyone from the household would have. And because the chief poet begins (the singing), he will sit nearer, next to the chief of the household.

...

pp 31–2

About the chief poet |

The chief poet of the land will have rewards from the daughters of the poets subject to him. It is his right to have wedding gifts from girls that have been married, namely, 'cyfarws neithior,' that is, 24d. He is not among the number of the officers. When it pleases the king to hear songs the chief poet of the land has first to sing two songs, namely, one about God and another about kings, in the front part of the hall, that is, the court. The bard of the household shall sing a third song in the lower part. When the queen wishes to hear songs in (her) chamber the bard of the household shall sing three songs for her from the love songs, in a low voice, indeed, (and) not a noisy one, lest the hall be disturbed. He will have his land free. He should not have anything from the marriage of a woman that has been a wife before but when a girl is married he will have his gift from her. A bard will be a chief poet when he is the winner in a contest for a chair. No bard is permitted to ask for anything without the licence of the one in whose power (he is), unless he is from a foreign land. He will be free from the prohibition that the king has made, namely, that nothing be given to beggars at this time.

...

c 1300**Welsh Laws: *The Book of Iorwerth*** NLW: Peniarth MS 35

f 108v–f 109 col 1

...

The (king's) harp, 120(d). His tuning-horn, 24(d). A chief poet's harp, 120(d), his tuning horn, 24(d). The king's game-board, 120(d). The horn from which the king drinks is worth £1, and the horn that is regularly used for his companions is also worth £1. | The chief huntsman's horn, £1. And these horns should be made of buffalo horn.

...

The harp (of a nobleman), 60(d).

...

If his horn is of ox its value is 12d.

...

Welsh Laws: *The Book of Colan* NLW: Peniarth MS 30

f 19v cols 1–2

...

The homicide price (*ie*, 'galanas') of the king of Aberffraw is three times his injury price (*ie*, 'sarhaed'). The homicide price (*ie*, 'galanas') of the king's | wife, and his son, and the captain of the household, and the heir, and (the king's) nephew, is a third of the homicide price (*ie*, 'galanas') of the king without gold and without silver, and the injury price (*ie*, 'sarhaed') of each one of these is a third of their injury price (*ie*, 'sarhaed'). The homicide price (*ie*, 'galanas') of the daughter of the king is half the homicide price (*ie*, 'galanas') of her brother, and her injury price (*ie*, 'sarhaed') half the injury price (*ie*, 'sarhaed') of her brother. The steward and the local administrator (*ie*, 'cynghellor'), and the chief huntsman, and the chief groom, and the judge of the court, and the chief poet, and the chamberlain: the worth of each of them is nine cattle and nine score cattle with augmentation three times, and their injury price (*ie*, 'sarhaed') (is) nine cattle and 180(d) of silver....

f 48 cols 1–2

Every other minstrel whatsoever, whether he be an exile or an inheritor, pays the maidenhead price (*ie*, 'amobr') of his daughter and his own inheritance tax (*ie*, 'ebediw') according to his due. Each chief poet whom the lord invests with office, the king should supply him with an instrument, that is, a harp to one, a crwth to another, and pipes to others, and they, when they die, should leave them to him. Each chief harper should have from each young minstrel, who wishes to learn the hair-strung harp and who wishes to become a recognized minstrel and suppliant, 24(d) as his fee, and he is entitled from

each gratuity that they receive, either as a boon or as a wedding | gift, two men's share, whether he be in the place or not, if he asks for it. A wedding gift is 24(d) at a woman's first marriage and that to the bards, and he is entitled to that service as a man of authority over them.

...

c 1325

Welsh Laws: The Book of Blegywryd BL: Cotton Titus D.IX
f 5v*

...The heir apparent, that is, the heir who is to reign after the king, is entitled to be honoured above all others in the court except the king and queen. He should be son or brother to the king. His place in the hall is on the opposite side of the fire to the king, and next to him the judge between him and the column, and next to him the household priest. On the other side of the heir the chief poet of the land; after that there is no place of privilege for anyone on that side....

f 7v*

...The protection of the household poet is to lead the man to the captain of the household....

f 8v*

...The injury price (*ie*, 'sarhaed') of each one of these, that is, the steward, the chief huntsman, the chief groom, the judge of the court, the falconer, the chamberlain, the chambermaid, is nine cattle and 180(d) of silver. The worth of each one of them is nine cattle and nine score cattle, with three augmentations. Others say of the steward that his injury price (*ie*, 'sarhaed') and homicide price (*ie*, 'galanas') are to be paid double. The injury price (*ie*, 'sarhaed') of each of all the other officers is six cattle and 120(d) of silver; the homicide price (*ie*, 'galanas') of each of them is six cattle and six score cattle with three augmentations....

ff 16v–17*

...

...If the household poet comes to the king to solicit let him sing one song to him; if he comes to a nobleman let him sing three; if he comes to a villein let him sing until he is tired. If the household poet | sings poetry while taking booty with the king's household let him have the best animal of the booty, and if there be preparations for battle let him sing the song that is called

'The Sovereignty of Britain' before them. When the household poet begins his office he should have a harp from the king and a gold ring from the queen, and he is never to part with the harp. The maidenhead price (*ie*, 'gobr') of his daughter is 120(d); her morning gift (*ie*, 'cowyll') is a pound and a half; her matrimonial share (*ie*, 'agweddi'), £3. The inheritance tax (*ie*, 'ebediw') of the household poet is £1. He has one man's share, like each member of the household, and since the chief poet begins each song, he should sit next to the captain of the household....

ff 18–18v*

...

The chief poet of the land is entitled to the maidenhead price (*ie*, 'gobr') of the daughters of the minstrels who are under him, and he is entitled to have a wedding gift from each maiden when she is married, that is, 24(d) of silver. The chief poet is not one of the number of the officers of the court. When the king wishes to hear songs let the chief poet sing two songs to him at the entrance to the hall, one of God and the other of kings, since he should begin the song in the court, and the household poet should sing the third song below the entrance to the hall. When the queen wishes to hear a song in her chamber let the (household) poet sing to her three eloquent songs in a moderate voice, lest the hall be disturbed. He has his land free and he receives nothing at the marriage feasts of women who have been married before that. The chief poet is a bard who has won a chair. A bard may not solicit anything in his jurisdiction without his permission, except a bard of a foreign country, since that is free. Although the king may prohibit giving anything to supplicants in his country at certain times the chief poet is free (of the law).

...

f 51*

...

...The minstrels of another country are to have a circuit among the peasantry while they are waiting for gifts from the king, if he give any....

c 1350–1400

Welsh Laws: Latin Redaction E CCCC: MS 454

f 9*

...(The chief groom) has 4d from every horse given by the king, except from the priest of the household, and the judge of the court, and the minstrel, and the butler. The jester/buffoon is excepted from the payment of 4d

because when he is going out of the court he ought to tie the horse's halter about its testicles....

ff 9v-10

...If the bard of the household goes to take plunder with the king's household he will have the best animal, that is, the choice. And if a battle threatens | he should sing before the household the song that is called 'The Sovereignty of Britain,' and because of this he will have another such animal. When he takes his service he should have a harp from the king and a ring from the queen, which he should never give away. He should have rewards from girls (who are) the daughters of the poets under him, namely, 24d, but nothing from women. He should sing first in the hall. No poet in his power can ask for anything without his licence. If any bard comes to the king in order to ask for (anything) he should sing one song only. If (he comes) to a nobleman (he should sing) three (songs); if to a villein he should sing until he is tired....

f 10v

...The chief poet of the land will have rewards from the daughters of the minstrels under him and 24d from the marriages of women. When it pleases the king to hear songs he (the chief poet) should sing one (song) about God and another about the kings in the front part of the hall; the bard of the household should sing a third from the lower part. When the queen (wishes to hear) songs from (the) songs of love in (her) chamber the bard of the household should sing in a low voice, lest the hall be disturbed by a noisy voice....

c 1400

Welsh Laws: The Book of Blegywryd NLW: Wynnstay MS 36

f 107 col 1

...

...Every minstrel whom the lord may invest with the office of chief poet, the lord is to supply him with an instrument, that is, pipes to one, a crwth to another, a harp to a third; and they, when they die, should leave them to the lord. Each chief harper should have (24d (?)) from each of the young minstrels who are learning the harp and who intend to leave the hair-strung harp to become a suppliant, the chief poet should have 24(d) from each one of them, and he is entitled from each gratuity that they receive, either as a boon or as a wedding gift, two men's share, whether he be in the place or not, if he asks for it. A wedding gift for a bard is 24(d), and the chief poet is entitled to the service as a man of authority over them....

1402

Henry iv's Statute on Minstrels TNA: PRO C 74/5

mb 15* (30 September)

...

Likewise, to avoid many troubles and misfortunes that have come about before now in the land of Wales on account of many jongleurs, rhymers, minstrels, and other vagabonds, it is ordained and established that no jongleur, rhymers, minstrel, nor vagabond shall be supported in any way in the land of Wales by imposing comorthas or a collection upon the common people there....

...

c 1567

List of Notable Crwth Players, Harpers, and Poets NLW: NLW MS 17,116B

f 61v*

Here are the names of the teachers of harp music, who made songs and were numbered among the geniuses, and of authority in learning of metrical art and singing, such as may bring pleasure and delight to the aristocracy and the learned and others through the hearing of those songs by the men who have been and are and will come after; these are their names: Hildir and Adda ap Hildir, (and more) such as Ieuan ab y Gof; Dafydd Athro; Llywelyn ab Ieuan ab y Gof; Gwilym ap Llywelyn Ddu; Gronw Bach from Cefn y Rhos; Hwlcyn Delyniwr from Bwlch Coed y Mynydd; Cadwgan and Culhelyn – the one lived in Uwch Gwyrfaï and the other in Is Gwyrfaï, but Cadwgan actually lived in the old town of Shrewsbury and built a chapel that is known today as Chapel Cadwgan; Y Llwydteg from the lineage of Cynwrig Bencerdd, and Edward Cherke, and Dafydd Nanklyn. And these teachers, and other teachers afterward, made metrical art according to the rules as others have done after them, receiving degrees by their submission and earning their living by (...) they taught as was appropriate to men (...) art....

f 65v*

...Further, we present the names of the teachers of music for crwth: Rydderch Foel, Olaf, Kabwlka Grythor, Gwas Dewi, Ankws, Llef Gŵr, Gwrnerth Grythor, Gruffudd Grythor, Y Passant, Athro Nant, Einion ab Adda, Gruffudd ab Einion ab Adda, Madog Grythor, Llwyn Grythor Hen, Rheinallt Grythor, Howell Llanvor of Penllyn, Bedo ap Madog Grythor, and Thomas ap Madog. These performed (their) art according to the

rules and passed learning to others who henceforth make their living from that learning.

Early 17th century

Three Memorials of Britain NLW: Llanstephan MS 144

pp 1–5* (*Chapter 1*)

...

(*English*)

The first hall in which I received a degree

Was at the border court of my grey eagle;

I was elevated for the three memorials

At this wedding feast with three rewards.

(*English*)

DIOCESE OF ST ASAPH

1311

- A *Red Book of St Asaph* NLW: Records of the Church in Wales SA/MB/1
f 4v col 2* (*13 December*) (*Distribution of cloth*)

...

Gregory Vaughan, harper

Rhirid, his student

...

ANGLESEY/MÔN

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

BEAUMARIS

1585

Council Orders and Minutes UWG: General Collection 478B

f 6* (*14 April*)

...

On the Wednesday in Easter week, AD 1585, before the mayor, Rowland Thiknes, one of the bailiffs, and the burgesses.

Richard Price, shearman, (was) chosen and sworn, (being) the son of a burgess. (*English*)

...

BRECKNOCKSHIRE/ SIR FRYCHEINIOG

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

BRECON/ABERHONDDU

1187/8

Gerald of Wales' Itinerarium Kambriae BL: Cotton Domitian A.1
ff 66–6v*

...

Moreover long ago the ruler of that region that is called Brycheiniog was a powerful and noble man whose name was Brychan, from whom the land of Brycheiniog was named. The noteworthy thing about him, it seems to me, is that he had twenty-four daughters. The Welsh histories attest that all (the twenty-four) were dedicated from (their) youth to divine worship and ended (their) life blessedly in the intention of having undertaken a holy way of life. Moreover there still exist many churches throughout Wales blazoned with their names. One of them was located in the province of Brycheiniog not far from the principal fortified town of Brecon, on the side of a certain hill; it is called St Elined's Church, for this had been the name of the holy virgin. She, despising marriage to an earthly king (but instead) wedding the eternal King, was victorious in blessed martyrdom in that very place.

Moreover her solemn feast day is celebrated in the same place each year at the very beginning of August, where also on the same day many of the folk are accustomed to gather from distant regions and those suffering various infirmities had been accustomed to receive the health for which they longed from the merits of the blessed virgin. Moreover in this place it seems to me that the notable thing is what usually happens on almost every solemn festival of this virgin. For you may see there men or young girls – at one moment in the church, at another in the churchyard, at another in a round dance that winds in a circle around the churchyard with a sung refrain – suddenly drop to the ground; and at first (you see them lie) as though put into a trance and still and then leaping up all at once, as though caught up in a frenzy, acting out with hands as well as feet before the people whatever tasks they had been accustomed to perform illicitly on feast days. You may see this man put his hand to a plough, that man drive oxen as if with a goad, and each of them, as though to lighten his work, raises a voice accustomed to singing in the vernacular (*or* to uncivilized song). You may see this one imitate the tailor's craft; that one, the skinner's. Likewise you may see this woman, as though carrying a distaff, at one moment drawing out a thread at length with (her) hands and arms, at another moment cutting the drawn thread as if to wind it back onto a spindle; you may wonder at that one walking about with the

finished threads as if laying the warp of a fabric (and) yet another sitting as though at the now laid-out (warp) weaving with opposite movements of the shuttle and alternate strokes of the weaver's reed nearby. But finally you would be astonished when they, like those awakened and returning to themselves, are led within the church to the altar with (their) offerings.

...

PARTRISHOW

1187/8

Gerald of Wales' Itinerarium Kambriae BL: Cotton Domitian A.1
ff 72–2v* (On crossing through the Forest of Gronwy and Abergavenny)

...

...Moreover it happened shortly after the death of Henry 1, king of the English, that the noble and magnificent man, Richard de Clare, who held the district of Keretica in southern Wales along with the honour of Clare, was crossing from England into Wales here. And although he had as a companion and guide as far as the aforesaid pass the then lord of that province, that is, Brian (fitz Count) of Wallingford, along with many knights, he (Richard) not only dismissed him, along with his men, unwilling, at the very entrance of that forest but also entered the forest unarmed against his warnings, having also, out of an excessive assumption of safety, a fiddler (*or* a harper) going before and a singer replying by turns to the melody of the refrain on a small fiddle (*or* a small harp). Without delay the Welsh, who had discovered his arrival, namely, Iorwerth, brother of Morgan of Caerleon, together with their household, bursting forth from the recesses of the forest on the unprepared (English), took possession of their most gory prey, after he (Richard) had been killed along with many of his own men.

...

CAERNARVONSHIRE/ SIR GAERNARFON

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

DEGANNWY

c 540

Gildas' Liber de excidio et conquestu Britanniae BL: Cotton Vitellius A.vi
f 14* (Chapter 34: The failure of Maelgwn's conversion)

...

...(Thus) the praises of God and the music of ecclesiastical melody are not

heard with the attentive understanding of (your) ears while the melodious voice of Christ's recruits (*ie*, monks) is sweetly singing. Rather (you hear) (your) own (praises), which are nothing, from a wet mouth of flatterers, stuffed with rascals' lies, and spraying anyone nearby with spit, chanting in the manner of Bacchantes, so that the vessel of God, once prepared for (His) service, is turned into an instrument of sand and what was thought worthy of heavenly honour is deservedly cast into the pit of hell....

...

CARDIGANSHIRE/SIR GEREDIGION

County

c 465

Life of St Brioc Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale: MS 1394 (U119)
pp 49–50*

...

St Brioc, a native of the Cardigan district, was born from parents noble according to worldly position. His father was Cerpus by name but his mother was called Eldruda. Although they were still imprisoned by pagan error and completely ignorant of the worship of the true God yet, given over to works of kindness, they were greatly loved by all the inhabitants of their district. For they were much endowed with many resources of wealth and every year on 1 January they used always to provide a very festive banquet for all their friends and neighbours for three uninterrupted days. In that (banquet) there was so great an abundance, together with a variety, of food and they filled the minds of the banqueters, pagans as one might expect, with so great a charm of pastimes and songs that they seemed to induce a show of happiness in their (the guests') eyes.

...

pp 60–2*

...

St Brioc, turning thence to his homeland with that boy as his only companion, arrived under God's guidance at (his) father's home in the twenty-fifth year of his age, after a successful journey. But on the day when the blessed Brioc reached his father's home, that great banquet mentioned (above) was being held that he always customarily gave on 1 January, in which, just as we said above, many foolish pastimes and songs took place. And so when the venerable mother saw her son coming she quickly ran to meet (him), hastened to kiss (him), embraced (him), led (him) to his father, saying, 'Behold, our

most beloved son, whom we have longed for so long to see with such great desire, has come.' (His) father, hearing this, swiftly rose and, seeing his son, began to weep for joy; and while hugging and kissing (him) he could scarcely keep his feet on account of (his) immense joy. Therefore they sat down together, they were (all) assembled, they rejoiced together, even beyond what can be told.

Asked by his father to dine with them at that banquet the holy youth refused. When asked why he indicated the reason humbly. 'It is unsuitable, father,' he said, 'for Christians and those who serve God | to eat the food of pagan folk, unless they have first been baptized.' While he was speaking in this way, when his father asked what baptism was, one of those playing and dancing with heinous gesture fell to the ground, stricken with a broken leg and right hand. Seeing this, the others who were doing the same things, or even worse ones, suddenly changed their empty pastimes into true sorrow. Then the saint, together with (his) father (and) many (people), the rest of the banqueters, came to the place where people were gathering quickly around the half-dead (dancer).

While they were wondering greatly at the fall (*or* misfortune) of the unlucky (man) and some were weeping while others tried to lift him up with their hands, the venerable Brioc said, 'Why, most dear brothers, do you wish to persist always in your stupidity? Why are you so intent on unspeakable sports (*or* trifles) that offend the true God and show contempt for eternal life? I beg you, dearest ones, abandon these errors of yours and break your idols that, although they have a mouth and eyes, ears and nostrils, yet can speak and see, hear or feel, nothing at all nor do they help anyone toward salvation.' Then turning to his father he said, 'Look, father, into the sky above and the earth below, see the seas and all that is in them, and know and understand that one Creator, even the Most High, made all these things from nothing and there can be no god but Him.' And he added, 'Therefore, all of you, repent and accept baptism, confessing your sins, and completely renounce all idols. If indeed you do this, I, calling upon the holy name of Christ, my Lord and God, shall immediately restore safe and sound the one whom neither you nor your gods are able to save and you shall see | the glory of the God of heaven.'

Therefore all the others very willingly vowed that they would do whatever he commanded; his father alone maintained to the contrary that the custom of their ancestors should be preserved. The practice of an established custom is changed with great difficulty and hardly ever (done). Then the holy man ordered his disciple to bring water mixed with oil. He blessed it after it was brought while all withdrew and sprinkled it over the paralysed body of the one lying there and, taking his hand, said, 'The Lord lifteth up them that are cast down; the Lord looseth them that are fettered.' After these words at once the man arose unharmed; all those that were present were very astonished;

all exclaimed and thundered in loud voices, 'True is the God that Brioc worships!' But he, when he was urgently giving them warnings of salvation, often demonstrated by signs of wonders what he, ever anxious, was eager to preach to men. Therefore it is also fitting to recount his other miracle, which he performed after this preaching.

...

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

CARDIGAN/ABERTEIFI

1176

Brut y Tywysogion (Version A) NLW: Peniarth MS 20C

p 191 col 2–p 192 col 1*

*Concerning
the feast of
Rhys ap
Gruffudd*

...At Christmas in that year the Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd held court in a splendid manner in the castle in Cardigan. And he set two kinds of competition there – one between bards and poets, another between harpers and crwth players and pipers and various kinds of music – and he had two chairs set up for the victors, and he honoured those with lavish gifts. And of the harpers a young man from Rhys' court won the victory. Among the bards those of Gwynedd won. Each of the supplicants received from Rhys that which he sought, so that no one was refused. And the holding of that feast was announced beforehand for a year through all Wales, and England, and Scotland, and Ireland, and the other islands....

...

Brut y Tywysogion (Version B) NLW: Peniarth MS 18A

f 42

...

And then the Lord Rhys held a special feast in Cardigan. And he set two kinds of competition – one between bards and poets, and another between harpers and crwth players and pipers and various kinds of string music. And he set up two chairs for the victors of the competitions. And those he endowed with vast gifts. And at that time a young man from his own court won the victory in string music. And the men of Gwynedd won the victory in poetry. And each of the other minstrels received from the Lord Rhys as much as they asked, so that no one was refused. And that feast was announced for a year before it was held, throughout Wales, and England, and Britain, and Ireland, and many other countries....

Brenhinedd y Saesson (Version A) BL: Cotton Cleopatra B.v
f 160

® The feast in
Aberteifi

...And that Christmas Rhys ap Gruffudd made a great feast in the castle of Cardigan to contend who was best in music or poetry throughout Wales and England and Scotland and Ireland. And he had two chairs made, one for the best of the harpers, another for the best of the bards. The best of the harpers was a young man from the court; the best of the bards were those of Gwynedd. And that feast was announced a year before it was held....

...

Brenhinedd y Saesson (Version B) NLW: NLW MS 7006D
p 266 col 1

...

In the year of the Lord 1176 ... and that Christmas the Lord Rhys made a great feast in Cardigan to contend who was best in music and poetry throughout Wales and England and Scotland and Ireland. And he gave two chairs, one for the poetry and another for the music, which were judged to be the best. The best of the bards was a man from Gwynedd; the best of the harpers was a young man from the court, the son of Eilon the crwth player. And that feast was announced a year before it was held....

CARMARTHENSHIRE/ SIR GAERFYRDDIN

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

CARMARTHEN/CAERFYRDDIN

c 1451

The Carmarthen Eisteddfod NLW: Peniarth MS 158B
p 20*

...

Moreover out of the 'cyghaneddion' the measures are created, of which there are twenty-four allowed according to the new style, which was perfected through the work of Dafydd ab Edmwnd, a chaired poet, and other teachers and master poets together in the great eisteddfod in the new town in Dinefwr before Gruffudd ap Nicolas, an excellent chief who bore the cost himself of maintaining the eisteddfod three months for the apprentices, the master poets, and the teachers, and who made the silver chair to be given to him who might

win it. And Dafydd ab Edmwnd – a noble man of Hanmer lineage on his father's side and the owner of much land in Hanmer, and on his mother's side from Tegeingl, in the town of Gweptra – he used to pay £15 of revenue at that time since a hundred years before now, and it was he who won the silver chair over all the teachers. And the measures that he made that time were seen as masterly, and it was those that were included and given out to be learned and for everyone who shared similar ones according to those examples to receive degrees as each one deserved, according to his ability and his teaching, and the measures that follow and their classification, to know from the classification what they might be, whether true or false.

The Carmarthen Eisteddfod NLW: Peniarth MS 267

pp 53–64*

...

Concerning the deeds of Dafydd ab Edmwnd; a chaired bard, on his way to the eisteddfod in Carmarthen before Gruffudd ap Nicolas, and about his answers there before that judge and his deeds there; and how the men of Tegeingl won three trophies in that eisteddfod in front of Gruffudd ap Nicolas, and this Dafydd ab Edmwnd changed poetry from the old style to the new style through his own work. |

When Gruffudd ap Nicolas was judge of the bards in the eisteddfod in Carmarthen throughout the province of Dinefwr to grade them, there were many champion bards in Deheubarth at that time and going splendidly turned out. And Dafydd ab Edmwnd of Pwll Gweptra in Tegeingl in the province of Gwynedd was the best bard in Gwynedd in that era and from then to this day, and he was simply dressed in a wren-coloured gown, even though he was the son of a nobleman from the parish of Hanmer and in possession of the 'owredd,' that is, the spot upon which the mansion in Hanmer | stands, and in possession of Hanmer lake, or most of it, and many lands in that country; all these (*blank*) ap Dafydd ab Edmwnd, his son, sold, all except the lake. And the lake he left till last without selling and he used to fish on the lake when he had sold all his land. This caused the minstrel Hywel Bangor to sing this verse to him:

What can you do with hooks on the thick ice?
It would be a small matter to hang you,
There's nowhere left for you to piss on the land
Lest you drown in the water.
Hywel Bangor sang it.

And the above Dafydd ab Edmwnd, he and his pupil Gutun Owain, set off to go to the eisteddfod in Carmarthen, and it so happened that he came

and rested on the way in the mansion of a gentleman, where another bard had stayed previously, and Dafydd was a simply dressed stranger, whom no one knew there, and no one supposed him to be a bard, but rather some minstrel or declaimer, and the gentleman went to the bard who was in his house to get him to begin a verse for the stranger to finish, and the bard got the gentleman to ask Dafydd what the name of his horse was, and Dafydd answered that it was Dobyn, and then the bard sang:

You choose from your stool
Either Dobyn or two foals.

And after receiving the above verse, what the gentleman did was go to Dafydd ab Edmwnd and ask him to sit on his stool, and said to Dafydd that he could sing some and that he would start a verse for Dafydd to finish, saying:

You choose from your stool
Either Dobyn or two foals.

And then Dafydd finished it like this:

O God, which is better for a man,
Two foals or Dobyn?

without further ado, and then the gentleman understood that Dafydd could sing. |

And when Dafydd came to the eisteddfod at Carmarthen and went in his grey gown amongst the splendid bards, some pupil or singer asked him, 'Are you one of us?' 'No,' said Dafydd, 'I'm a bard.' And when Gruffudd ap Nicolas came to the bench he told the bards to take their places, saying that he would not place any of them for fear of doing anyone an injustice. And then Dafydd said, 'Have us sit in a circle and then there will be neither highest nor lowest.'

And then Gruffudd ap Nicolas said, 'You're very sharp,' and asked him from which country he came, and he answered that he was from Gwynedd, and said to Gruffudd ap Nicolas, 'Master, I have come here a long way from the province of Gwynedd to sing for the trophy. I entreat you that I may not be done an injustice; if I win the trophy by singing that I may receive it.' And then Gruffudd said to the bards | of Deheubarth, 'Note this – some of you are related to noblemen of this country; make sure you sing well to keep the chair, otherwise, if the grey man from Gwynedd, that is, Dafydd ab Edmwnd, wins it, he shall have it to take home on his shoulder.'

And then Gruffudd ap Nicolas asked the bards a difficult question that

they could not answer, and some of them said jokingly, 'Dafydd – to Dafydd ab Edmwnd – give an answer.' Dafydd said, 'I have memory for what has been, and a measure for what is, and an answer for what will be.'

And then when they were singing for the chair Gruffudd ap Nicolas asked the bards whether it was possible to produce nonsense 'cynganedd,' and they all, except Dafydd ab Edmwnd, answered that it was not, and then Dafydd said that it was and that he would produce 'cynganedd' with no sense in it, and sang the following englyn like this: |

A mill and a knee (*blank*)

And he explained how that was 'cynganedd' with no sense in it and many englynion of that kind have been sung since then.

And after that Gruffudd ap Nicolas caused all the bards to compose an englyn in one colour about a man's clothes, and everyone picked the colour of his choice and took until the next day to do it, and then Dafydd ab Edmwnd said, 'Either they, that is, the other bards, will do it before they shift their feet from here, or I will do it before moving from here.' Then Gruffudd said to Dafydd, 'You are clearly ready; let me hear you.' And Dafydd sang like this:

A blue petticoat (*blank*) |

And then no one sang on that topic but let him excel.

And then Gruffudd ap Nicolas caused all the bards to choose their own topics, and no one should sing on another's topic, and to take time until the second sitting. And then Dafydd ab Edmwnd said that he would sing an englyn so that the others would have no place, and sang the following englyn like this:

Water (*blank*)

This englyn encompasses everything that is in heaven and on earth, and it is impossible to sing about anything that is not related to something specific in the above englyn.

And when Gruffudd ap Nicolas set the bards to sing for the chair, he caused the chief bards to sing the twenty-four | measures and the 'cywydd deuair,' and some sang sixteen of the measures, others eighteen, others twenty, and Llawdden only sang twenty-three, supposing that Dafydd ab Edmwnd would not be capable of the twenty-four measures, but Dafydd ab Edmwnd sang the twenty-four measures and the 'cywydd deuair,' and for that reason the chair was judged to be his. And what Llawdden said then was, 'Devil's shit on me that I did not sing them, when I am as capable of them as you are.'

And then after Dafydd ab Edmwnd won the chair and it had been judged to be his for singing 'cywydd deuair,' Llawdden said that Dafydd had paid Gruffudd ap Nicolas for the chair and had not won it for singing, and sang like this:

It was an injustice (*blank*) |

And then Dafydd ab Edmwnd made the following englyn, saying:

Two words for a chair (*blank*)

And it was at the graduation on the fifteenth day of the eisteddfod that Dafydd won the chair.

And to apologize to Gruffudd ap Nicolas for the slander that had been cast upon him of taking a fee for judging the chair to be Dafydd's, what Dafydd did in the eisteddfod was to say this to the judge, Gruffudd ap Nicolas: 'The master is saying that it was for a fee that I got the chair and not for singing. I sang an englyn on the way from my country coming here, and I will place the chair before you for that englyn, and will warrant that it is faultless, I and they shall search it, and if they shall find a fault in it I shall forfeit the chair. And after they have said it is faultless I shall show them a fault in it that they shall admit is a fault, and after they have agreed that it is a fault, I shall guarantee it to be faultless, and shall make them admit that also.'

And then Gruffudd ap Nicolas said, 'By God's truth, grey man from Gwynedd, if you had said that to me the first day I would not have sat fifteen days for the chair. That is sufficient proof of the superiority of your knowledge to theirs.' And that englyn follows as I received it written in two versions, but which of the two forms is correct I do not know, and no one knows what the fault was, nor how he justified the fault, because the secret is lost:

I am a fisherman in (*blank*) |

And the other version is like this:

Fisherman.

And in that eisteddfod Cynwrig Bencerdd of Treffynnon (Holywell) won the silver harp, and Rhys Bwtting of Prestatyn won the tongue as a declaimer, and therefore the three trophies, the chair, the harp, and the tongue, went to Tegeingl from Deheubarth.

Finished 30 March 1636.

...

DENBIGHSHIRE/SIR DDINBYCH

County

1545/6

Gruffudd Hiraethog's Bardic Licence NLW: Peniarth MS 194A
single sheet*

Let it be known to all gentlemen and commoners within the counties and provinces of Wales that we – by authority of the commission by grace of King Harry, the eighth of the name, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, supreme head on earth under God of the Church of England and Ireland, in the thirty-seventh year of his grace's reign – James Vaughan, esq., Hugh Lewis, esq., Lewys Morgannwg, master poet and teacher of the art of poetry within the counties and provinces of Wales, by authority of the same commission we the above-named, that is, James Vaughan, esq., Hugh Lewis, esq., Lewys Morgannwg, master poet and teacher of the art of poetry, we, by authority of former teachers and previous master poets, testify that Gruffudd Hiraethog, poet, (is) an apprentice of Lewys Morgannwg. By authority of the same commission we testify that according to the statute of the princes of Wales in the five books of the art and science of poetry, he is fully competent to receive the degree of apprentice in the master craft, to go forth, to take and to supplicate, and to receive benefits, and of the good will of noblemen and commoners as it is appropriate to the grade of apprentice in the master craft to receive rewards. In witness whereof we set our hands and seals to this writing. And may God save our gracious king, Amen, Amen, Amen.

(signed) James Vaughan (signed) Hugh Lewis (signed) myself Lewys Morgannwg

c 1600

Rhys Cain's Cwrs Clera Accounts NLW: Peniarth MS 178 pt ii
pp 56–62*

From Christmas until his going home the Sunday after

Epiphany, in a circuit	26s 8d
Frankton	1s 6d
Erddig	2s
Llysfasi	2s 6d
Myddelton	1s 3d
Mr Thelwall	2s
Mr Turbige	2s
Richard ap John ap Harri	1s 6d

Owen Llwyd	9d
£2 3d	
Sir Robert S	5s
Lady Lloyd	3s
John Wynn Fulk	2s
Richard Parry	2s 1
Lleweni	6s
Mr Dean	2s 6d
£3 9d	
Mr Smyth	6d
Mr Conway	2s
The lord bishop	4s
Mr Morgan	1s
Mostyn	3s
Maes-glas	2s
Caerwys	2s
Ysgeifiog	1s
Gwysane	1s
Hersedd	1s
Y Plas Teg	1s
Mistress Parry	1s
£4 3d	
Borras	3s 4d
Rhiwabon	2s
Bodylling	1s
Roger Eaton	1s 1
Llansilin	5s
Richard Wynn	2s
and also	6d
Mr Owen Vaughan	2s 6d
John Wynn ap Huw	3s
£5 7d	
Llanymynech	5s 6d
Llannerchemrys	2s 6d
Gruffudd ap Rheinallt	1s
Trevor	1s
Yale	5s
Gwerclas	2s
Rhiw-las	5s
£6 7d	
Huw Owen	2s
John Vaughan of Caer-gai	2s
Rhiwedog	2s

Crogen	1s 1
Llwynymaen	2s
Morton	1s
Y Dre-wen	1s 6d
Lent	
Robert Owen	1s
Hanmer	1s
Broughton	5s
William Jones	40s
Alhre	2s
Mr Hanmer	5s
Mr William Lloyd	3s
Mr Jones	1s

£9 10s before Easter

Easter	
£4 less 4s	
Together Mr William Lloyd and Mr Jones came to £4 even	
Trefeglwys	1s
Dre kalanmai	5s
Mr Hanmer	3s

The total is £4 (...) s. 1

Pant y Bwrsle	2s 6d
Mr Hanmer	2s
Eglwyseg	10s
Mr Edward Price	2s
Thomas ap John of Llanymynech	1s
Nothing on Whitsun	
Trefalun	2s 6d
Llandynnan	2s
Corpus Christi	3s 3d

£15 3d

The feast of St Moling	4s
Treflech	1s
Deuddwr	1s
Llanrhaeadr	3s 6d
Llanwddyn	7s 6d
The feast of St Dwyn	7s 6d
Llanrhaeadr	2s 8d

£15 save 1d

Richard Derwas	1s 6d
Barbara's house	9d 1
The son of Randal Lloyd	2s 6d
[The son of Ellis ap Kadr	9s]

Owen Ellis of the school	10s
Sir Richard Trevor	10s
William Lloyd Brondl	10s
Huw Robertes	3s
Weston	7s
Lower Chirk	2s
£18	
Llangollen	3s 4d
Llangadwaladr	3s 6d
Myddelton	1s
Bryncunallt	2s
Dudleston	6d
John Lloyd	20s
Morgan Broughton	20s
Robert	6s
The wedding at Hendregeginan	1s
Where are (...) £20	
Where (...) 12s until the 1	
Emral	10s
Halchdyn in the parish of Chirk	1s 6d
Lloran wedding	2s 6d
The feast of St Michael in Blodwel	1s
In Llwydiarth, Sunday	2s
Morton wedding	1s
Ann Staney's house with Robert Lloyd	1s
Mr Hanmer	6s
Marchwiall	20s
Wrexham	1s
Felldyn	2s 6d
Edward Mason's house	8d
	£23 [2s]
	2s 6d

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

ABERGELE

1580/1

Bonds and Licences to Keep an Alehouse

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/6/1/61

single sheet* (27 January)

...

John ap Madog

Be it known that on the aforesaid day in the aforesaid year, John ab Ithel of

Abergele Abergele in the county of Denbigh, yeoman, and Griffin ap Robert of the same in the aforesaid county, yeoman, came before us, the justices named above, and gave pledges on behalf of John ap Madog of Abergele aforesaid in the aforesaid county, yeoman, under pain of £40. They acknowledged that they were bound to the lady queen for that (£40) and that it would be raised from their goods and chattels, lands and tenements, to the benefit and use of the said lady queen, that is, each of the aforesaid guarantors gave a pledge on behalf of the same John ap Madog under pain of £10 and the aforesaid John ap Madog (gave a pledge) on his own behalf under pain of £20, if the same John ap Madog should fail in any part of the following condition, namely:
(English)

Abergele Griffin ap David ap Tudur of Abergele aforesaid in the aforesaid county gave a pledge as above under pain of £40, by means of his guarantor William ap Hugh ap John of the same in the aforesaid county, yeoman, and (his guarantor) John ap David ap Griffin of the same in the aforesaid county, yeoman, namely, each of the aforesaid guarantors (gave a pledge) under pain of £10 and the aforesaid Griffin (gave a pledge) on his own behalf under pain of £20, to be levied as above if, etc.

Llansannan David ap David of Llansannan in the aforesaid county gave a pledge as above under pain of £40, by means of his guarantor Maredudd ap William and (his guarantor) Ieuan ap Robert of Llansannan aforesaid in the aforesaid county, yeoman, namely, each of the aforesaid guarantors (gave a pledge) under pain of £10 and the aforesaid David (gave a pledge) on his own behalf under pain of £20, to be levied as above if, etc.

Llansannan John ap John ab Ieuan of Llansannan aforesaid in the aforesaid county gave a pledge as above under pain of £40, by means of his guarantor Richard ap Jenkin and (his guarantor) Thomas ap Gronw of the same in the aforesaid county, yeoman, namely, each of the aforesaid guarantors (gave a pledge) under pain of £10 and the aforesaid John (gave a pledge) on his own behalf under pain of £20, to be levied as above if, etc.

Abergele John ap John ap David Lloyd of Abergele in the aforesaid county, yeoman, gave a pledge as above under pain of £40, by means of his guarantor Griffin ap Robert and (his guarantor) David y Gwyddel of the same in the aforesaid county, yeoman, namely, each of the aforesaid guarantors (gave a pledge) under pain of £10 and the aforesaid John ap John (gave a pledge) on his own behalf under pain of £20, to be levied as above if, etc.

Abergele Morris ap William gave a pledge as above under pain of £40, by means of his guarantor William ap Hugh ap John and (his guarantor) John ap Madog

of Abergele in the aforesaid county, yeoman, namely, each of the aforesaid guarantors (gave a pledge) under pain of £10 and the aforesaid Morris ap William (gave a pledge) on his own behalf under pain of £20, to be levied as above if, etc.

Abergele

Marcellia verch Maredudd of Abergele in the aforesaid county, widow, gave a pledge as above under pain of £40, by means of her guarantor William ap Hugh ap John and (her guarantor) John ap John ap David Lloyd of Abergele aforesaid in the aforesaid county, yeomen, namely, each of the aforesaid guarantors (gave a pledge) under pain of £10 and the aforesaid Marcellia (gave a pledge) on her own behalf under pain of £20, to be levied as above if, etc.

Abergele

Griffin ap Robert of Abergele in the aforesaid county, yeoman, gave a pledge as above under pain of £40, by means of his guarantor William Kenericke and (his guarantor) Kenric ap Robert of Abergele aforesaid in the aforesaid county, yeoman, namely, each of the aforesaid guarantors (gave a pledge) under pain of £10 and the aforesaid Griffin (gave a pledge) on his own behalf under pain of £20, to be levied as above if, etc.

Abergele

David ap Llywelyn of Abergele in the aforesaid county, yeoman, gave a pledge as above under pain of £40, by means of his guarantor Griffin ap Robert and (his guarantor) Ednyfed Tailior of Abergele aforesaid in the aforesaid county, yeomen, namely, each of the aforesaid guarantors (gave a pledge) under pain of £10 and the aforesaid David (gave a pledge) on his own behalf under pain of £20, to be levied as above if, etc.

Henllan

Hugh ab Ellis of Henllan in the aforesaid county, slater, gave a pledge as above under pain of £40, by means of his guarantor John Lloyd and (his guarantor) John Piers, gentlemen, of Henllan aforesaid in the aforesaid county, namely, each of the aforesaid guarantors (gave a pledge) under pain of £10 and the aforesaid Hugh ab Ellis (gave a pledge) on his own behalf under pain of £20, to be levied as above if, etc.

Llanefydd

Ieuan Lewis of Llanefydd in the aforesaid county, yeoman, gave a pledge as above under pain of £40, by means of his guarantor John ap Thomas ap David ab Ednyfed of Wigfair in the aforesaid county, yeoman, and (his guarantor) Thomas ap Griffin ap Grigor of Meriadog in the aforesaid county, yeoman, namely, each of the aforesaid guarantors (gave a pledge) under pain of £10 and the aforesaid Ieuan Lewis (gave a pledge) on his own behalf under pain of £20, to be levied as above if, etc.

St George

Thomas ap John Davie of St George in the aforesaid county, yeoman, gave a pledge as above under pain of £40, by means of his guarantor John ap

Hugh ab Ieuan of Abergele in the aforesaid county, gentleman, and (his guarantor) William ap Griffin ap Robert of the same in the aforesaid county, yeoman, namely, each of the aforesaid guarantors (gave a pledge) under pain of £10 and the aforesaid Thomas (gave a pledge) on his own behalf under pain of £20, to be levied as above if, etc.

...

LLANFWROG

1349/50

Dyffryn Clwyd Manor Court Roll TNA: PRO SC 2/217/14
mb 32d* (10 March)

...

Memorandum of the goods of John de Rosse, who died intestate: ... a harp, price 1d....

...

MAESMYNAN

1344

Dyffryn Clwyd Manor Court Roll TNA: PRO SC 2/217/10
mb 27d (6 October) (*Presentments within the parish of Aberchwiler*)

...

Presentment is made for the vill of Maesmynan that David ap David ab Einion carried away one harp, price 4d, in breach of the peace, from the house of Madog ap Iorwerth, and (that) Gwerful, wife of the said Madog, (raised) the hue justly....

...

RUTHIN

1347

Dyffryn Clwyd Manor Court Roll TNA: PRO SC 2/217/12
mb 26d (8 May)

...

Iorwerth Acres pleads on his own behalf against Iorwerth le Goldsmyth in a plea of trespass. He says that the aforesaid Iorwerth (le Goldsmyth) unjustly took from him one of (his) horns, price 12d. And the aforesaid Iorwerth (le Goldsmyth) comes in the court and defends against (the charge of) force or wrong. And he says that he is in no way guilty thereof and upon this he wages his law. The pledge for his law (is) John de Schirlond.

...

(His) law
(to be waged)
with three
compurgators

mb 30d (25 September)

...

At the next
(court)

John Rauf pleads on his own behalf against William the smith and says that the same William unjustly broke John's own harp to his loss of 3d. And the said William denies (it) and thereupon he wages his law.

...

1576

Inquiry Concerning John ap Gruffudd, Yeoman

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/4/6/36

single mb*

...

An inquest is held on the lady queen's behalf whether John ap Gruffudd ap William, late of Ruthin in the county of Denbigh, yeoman, on 25 July in the eighteenth year of the reign of our Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc, at Ruthin aforesaid in the aforesaid county, and on various occasions both before and after, by force and arms, etc, did and does at this time keep in his house, which amounts to a brothel, various persons unknown, vagrants and beggars, to play by night and sleep by day, to a pernicious example to the subjects of the said lady queen and contrary to the form of the statutes laid down and provided in this case (and) against the peace of the said lady queen, her Crown, and dignities.

Households

BRERETON OF BORRAS HALL

1597

A *Christmas Games at Borras* NLW: NLW MS 1559B
pp 665–6

...

(English) |

Say, Huw, is it true you were naked in the town
Under the wing of Borras?

That you're to blame, punished on a
Heavy cowl-staff, following the drum to town?

(English)

I ride without pride on the tree into Borras;
May the cowl-staff's time be short.

If I'm naked, for a birthday or a wench,
Watch out! says old Huw.

...

SALUSBURY OF LLEWENI

1595

List of Performers at Christmas UWB: MS Gwyneddion 4

p 133* (*Christmas*)

The names of the poets and musicians who were at Lleweni
at the Christmas feasts, 1595

1. Thomas ap Richard
2. Lewis Penmon
3. Simwnt Fychan, poet
4. Rhydderch Delyniwr
5. John Llivon
6. (Robert) Peilin
7. Walter Grythor
8. (*blank*) Grythor
9. Huw Pennant, poet
10. John Robert, harper
11. Evan Goch Prydydd
12. John James, harper
13. Edward Mechain, harper

...

WYNN OF MOELIWRCH

c 1562

Moeliwrch House Book NLW: Peniarth MS 103D

p 66*

...

Huw Dai, Robert ap Siôn Llwyd
Wiliam Penfro, Wiliam Goch Grythor
Hwmffre Grythor, Morus Grythor
Tomas Grythor from Cegidfa (Guilsfield)
Hywel Gethin was with me on a circuit when Christmas fell on a Friday.
Rhys Wynn Wiliam Penllyn

...

FLINTSHIRE/SIR FFLINT

County

1547

Inquiry Concerning Entertainers

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/966/6/174

single mb*

Trespass k An inquest is held on the lord king's behalf whether Richard Dawnsiwr of Ruthin in the county of Denbigh, minstrel, Robert Fydler of Llanwyth in the county aforesaid, minstrel, Hugh Dawnsiwr, lately of Beaumaris in the county aforesaid, minstrel, and Rhisiart Prydydd Breg, lately of Llandrillo-yn-Rhos in the county of Denbigh, minstrel, did on 20 June in the first year of the reign of Edward VI, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and supreme head on earth of the English and Irish church, and at many times and on many occasions before and after wander like vagabonds within the county of Flint, claiming that they were entertainers, and do wander up to the present time, with force and arms, contrary to the form of the statutes promulgated and provided in such a circumstance and contrary to the lord king's peace.

Inquiry Concerning Entertainers

NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/966/6/175

single mb verso

A true bill for these men, Richard Dawnsiwr of Ruthin, Robert Fydler of Llanwyth, Hugh Dawnsiwr of Anglesey, Rhisiart Prydydd Breg, lately of Llandrillo-yn-Rhos, and (the finding is) in every respect as it is inquired.

1577

Englynion by Hywel Bangor NLW: Peniarth MS 73

p 6*

...

Hywel Bangor sang thus in an eisteddfod:

Sit, consider, let us ask everyone

Zealously for us to prove

Goodness in a man who is not there.

Let us win your ears amongst so many minstrels.

Sir, give money to the poet
 Who married Gwenllian.
 If it's not received, I'll ridicule you.
 By Mary, you'd not wish that even for a horse!

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

CAERWYS

1523

Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan (1523) BL: Additional MS 19,711
 mbs 2–12*

Let it be known to all gentlemen and commoners that there will be an eisteddfod for craftsmen in poetry and music within the town of Caerwys, in the county of Flint, on 2 July, the fifteenth year of the reign of Henry VIII, in the presence of Richard ap Hywel ab Ieuan Fychan, esq., with the collaboration of Sir William Griffith and Sir Roger Salusbury and with the personal counsel of Gruffudd ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan and Tudur Aled, a chaired poet, and many gentlemen and learned men besides, in order to bring order and government to the craftsmen in poetry and to their art according to the terms of the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan, prince of Gwynedd, that is, to certify and confirm master craftsmen and those who were previously awarded a degree and to award (a degree) to such as merit it and to give to others a period of time to learn and to study as deeply as conscience permits and according to the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan.

These are the ones for whom there is freedom, despite their having forgotten what they learned, so that they do not have a degree: a disabled, blind, or deaf poet, those should be supported by alms and generosity.

There are three levels of apprenticeship – temporary apprentice, instructable apprentice, apprentice of the master craft – as well as the master craftsman. A temporary apprentice is not given a share of the rewards or a degree until in the judgment of the master he can be made a craftsman in poetic art.

A temporary apprentice with degree in poetry ought to know his syllables thoroughly, and the five englyn metres, the 'cywydd deuair hirion,' and be able to compose them poetically in the opinion of the master, who may say that a poet can be made of him, being able to learn the degree of instructable apprentice by the end of three years.

An instructable apprentice (ought to know) twelve of the metres of poetic art, five englyn, four 'cywydd' metres, and three of the 'awdl' metres – the 'toddaid' and the short and the long 'gwawdodyn' – how to avoid the fifteen common faults, and to show a poem of his own making in each one of the twelve metres in correct instructable manner.

An apprentice of the master craft ought to know all the syllables and their nature and their characteristics and the rules of the parts of speech according to grammar, the classification of the 'cynganeddion' in all its forms, how to avoid all the common faults, to compose in parallel (double) rhyme or in harmony in twenty-one of the metres. Although he does not compose 'cadwynfyr' or perhaps one of the other metres, he is the companion of the master poet, but he ought not to compete with the master poet while he is in that degree.

A master poet ought to know everything and compose in cross 'cynganedd' in 'cymeriadau,' with entertainment fruitful in sense, using poetry of recognized authority, and poetically imaginative, so that the learning or reciting of the poem may be the most smooth, and hearing it and reading it most entertaining, and may keep the memory of the praise of gentlemen in memory for the longest time.

A temporary apprentice in music with degree ought to know the five 'clymau' and one 'cadair' and whatever number his teacher wishes of 'caniadau' and 'gostegion.' An instructable apprentice ought to know ten 'clymau' and ten 'caniadau,' one 'cadair' and one 'colofn,' and ought to know which measures and which tunings they are.

An apprentice of the master craft ought to know twenty 'clymau' and twenty 'caniadau,' two 'cadeiriau' and two 'colofnau' and the twenty-four 'clymau cytgerdd,' and the twenty-four measures, and ought to be able to classify them and compose them in the manner of a master and receive the same reward as the master poet, and ought not to compete with the master.

A master craftsman ought to know thirty 'clymau' suitable for competition, and of those at least three 'cadeiriau' and three 'colofnau,' and if he wishes to wear a silver medal for harpers or crwth players, he must know four 'colofnau' and four 'cadeiriau' and the twenty-four 'clymau cytgerdd' and the twenty-four measures that go with them.

And if he is a harper he must know 'tri mwchl odidog,' whose 'cwlwm' is graded as high as fifty 'clymau,' and he must know how to classify each weak beat and anacrusis, each inclusion, and the movement of each excessive length on 'tyniad' and 'cyweirdant' and present an attested song of his own making, with master craftsmanship, and in an instructive manner so that it may be possible, in the judgment of a master craftsman and learned men, to judge whether he may be chosen as a master and teacher in his art.

For no one ought to learn except from a master teacher nor by getting him to correct what is taught by another and that which is taught over and above what is counted and inclusive to obtain a degree, except in the way that has been specified.

This is the eisteddfod that was held before the personal presence of the prince Gruffudd ap Cynan.

Let it be known to all who are within the (bardic) province of Aberffraw

that there will be an eisteddfod in the town of Caerwys, summoned according to law and announced by the authority and under the provincial prince and his dynasty, Gruffudd ap Cynan, and Gwyn ab Eginir, his steward, and others of the gentry and barons of the same province, to legislate and rule on all compositions and all the bards of poetry and music, and on their art, insomuch as worthless weeds have grown among them, and whether they deserve to be received, since they have not been under the control of a licensed teacher of the art to eradicate those entirely, and to confirm and graduate | those deserving and to assist in becoming bachelors everyone according to his degree and his deserts.

And first that the aforementioned prince by agreement of the assembly commands and specifies that the instructors and master craftsmen take apprentices according to the rules of the art, that is, one at a time in a stage of apprenticeship, that is, so that the apprentice may be taken by a donation from the nation or a nobleman acting for the nation, by an instructor who should come into the presence of the highest throne with the young man with him and ask the noblemen whether they find the appearance of that young man pleasant, whether a graduated poet may be made of him. If they say that they find him imaginative and that they like the look of him, the instructor may take him and teach him, and if the noblemen do not find his appearance to their liking, he may not.

Also that, by this statute, (there is) a kind of man whom an instructor cannot take as an apprentice: the son of a bonded villein, a son whose parentage is in doubt, and a son who has a hideous, unpleasant deformity on his face.

Also, by this statute, three degrees are decreed for every art and that which appertains to them, that is, a temporary apprentice, an instructable apprentice, an apprentice of the master craft. A temporary apprentice: he is not given a share of the reward until an instructor of the art knows and judges (him), and then he is a temporary apprentice with degree, and has the degree and reward of an instructable apprentice; and unless he will have attained the instructable degree within three years, from then on let him have no more to do with that art nor a teacher acknowledge him.

An instructable apprentice may stay in that degree as long as he lives if he wishes. An apprentice of the master craft, unless he within three years gains completely through privilege the art as he shows beforehand, he shall lose his degree from then on.

And in the time that the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan was formulated, the youngest sons of noblemen were chosen to be poets, and it was so rare to find that those had poetic ability, and for fear that the art should be lost, it was permitted to every kind of man who might be endowed with the muse and sense and intelligence to learn the art from a legitimate instructor, so long as he was not one of the forbidden three mentioned above.

Also that an apprentice shall not make another apprentice nor teach anything

that he has received from his teacher unless he does so beneath his teacher in the teacher's school or by his permission to teach another, and | every apprentice must be with his teacher during Lent and especially every temporary apprentice until he has gained the instructable degree, under pain of losing his degree except through imprisonment or illness or a similar legitimate reason.

Also it is by this statute commanded that a blind or deaf poet should be supported by alms despite the fact that he has forgotten what they learned so that they do not have a degree; their gifts shall be of the kind they deserved when they were in good health.

Also that there shall not be a poet who makes a poem to ask for a horse or a greyhound or any such outstanding treasure without the permission of the owner, and that he should not go with a poet of music under pain of a fine; also that he shall not imitate his teacher in mind or musing and that an apprentice shall not make a poem without showing it to his teacher to know that it is right before performing it.

Also that a poet shall not compose but four 'cywyddau' during the year in praise of a man unless there is an invitation or a desire, and especially that he should not go to a house composing poetry except on a special feast day, Easter, Christmas, Whitsun, or All Saints' Day, and if he goes it is up to the person to whom he sings whether he is paid or not, unless he asks him to come and if he asks let him come when he is asked; a vow shall break the law. Apart from this he can do as he wishes as the need arises for elegies and 'dyfaliadau' and bring them to a house when he wishes at a time that happens to be suitable.

Also that they shall not follow the customs of the vagabonds or 'clêr y dom,' that is, to roam or wander, and that no one shall go out of the house he comes to while that feast lasts without the permission of the master of the house and an invitation from another, and if he goes from house to house, if a small gift comes to him he shall carry it in his purse and put it in the window of the church if he gets drunk at the feast, so that his own self-control shall not lose him his gift by this statute.

Also that they shall not be loose nor discourteous to a lady or a maiden where he comes to show his art, under pain of a fine and imprisonment and also losing his reward for seven years. |

Also that they shall not go to taverns or hidden corners to play dice or cards or any other gambling, and if they go everyone may be permitted to take what is in their purses.

Also that they shall not teach insults nor shameful rhymes nor in like fashion satirization, abuse, imitation of blasphemy, imagining falsehoods, or stating according to another, under pain of fine and imprisonment.

Also that they should not participate in arguments, quarrels, deception, or stealing, murder or plot, associate with thieves, nor with anyone who engages in other evil activities, because men of art should behave peaceably, pleasantly,

kindly, obediently, and render true service to all of the prince's loyal subjects and his officials to strengthen and assist them.

Also a month before every special feast it behooves them to visit their teachers to know where they should go lest too many go to the same place, or that only one should go to a man of £10 income and two to a man of £20 income on the three special feasts, and so on to those of higher income.

Also if a man from another area is caught on a circuit without having in writing from the hand of one of the master craftsmen to show of what degree he is, otherwise he shall be without his reward where he is found lacking the requested (document).

This is the charge of the committee and the judges who award silver medals like this by their oath, (that is) who is the ablest, and the ablest to teach the art properly to others and to improve those who are at fault. |

Also if anyone has attained the degree of an apprentice of the master craft or is able to gain it without fault by the statute, he can award himself a silver medal and receive it at his own risk, and give warning in court and market that he is taking the medal, and give answer to everyone who may challenge him by placing the value of the silver medal against it within a year and a day. And that day the bearer of the silver medal shall come asking whether there is anyone who will claim it, and if whoever claims it puts the value of the silver medal against it on the floor and his degree as well, and if he loses, he shall never have the master craftsman's degree for competing with someone with whom he could not; and then let the master craftsman take the silver medal and the other shall never throw down a challenge on a silver medal.

Also if a silver medal is won in a legitimate eisteddfod through a commission of a year and a day, no one shall stake a claim nor (issue) a challenge ever on a silver medal that is won in an eisteddfod during the life of that bearer, and everyone is to acknowledge him the only teacher of that (bardic) province, and that teacher on taking the silver medal must deposit a surety for restoring that silver medal in the period of time to the appropriate resting place, the house out of which it came. |

A teacher of music should compose 'clymau' and 'caniadau' himself under guarantee | and (this rule) to be kept by the teacher of the art and the learning guaranteeing it, and not those who sing it. Let it be done according to the service and work and diligence of teachers in teaching it in the same way as another craft would be taught, and such as those shall be called the declaimers of music.

And there is a great difference between makers and declaimers, because makers know how to compose everything and declaimers sing something that he made before, because he who composes that which was never composed and which none of the declaimers of music knows what it is, that one deserves the praise and the honour because of it, and he who follows the art and does not know how to compose anything may be compared to an animal, in

praising (to the) braying of a donkey compared to the nightingale or, on the (other) hand, to the loudest loud voice. Therefore it is not he who sings loudest who is considered wise in learning.

This is the way in which music is graded. Every 'cadair' of the four is worth five 'clymau' each, but playing five 'clymau' before the first two; every 'colofn' of the four 'colofnau' is worth ten 'clymau' each, but playing ten 'cwlwm' before each of the first two; 'tri mwchl odidog' is worth fifty 'clymau' so long as the thirty 'clymau' are played before it, and in those thirty, three 'cadeiriau' and three 'colofnau' are counted there as at least one 'cwlwm' each, as if he were attempting a degree, because no one goes to attempt a degree who attains that high honour nor who was thus priced as high in number of 'clymau.' But where there are two master craftsmen competing for a silver medal or another competition between master craftsmen or apprentices for superiority, having previously obtained a degree in eisteddfodau or noble wedding feasts, there is nothing but (that) to denote who is the victor and distinguish precedence between equal brothers of the same art.

And for a master poet or a teacher in poetry it is fitting that a declaimer perform the poem that he composes. By the authority of art it is fitting that this declaimer should know how to read Welsh I and know its eight parts of speech, its syllables, and how to compose an englyn in the manner of a household bard to amuse young women and gentlewomen, and know the classification and declamation of the three branches of poetry – englyn, 'cywydd,' and 'awdl' – and realize if there is a fault in a verse of a poet's work, and show it to the poet and ask him to put something in its place, and serve the poet diligently, and follow him, and dress and undress him, and carry him water and a towel and all such service for him on top of that, and the reward that he can demand is a goat.

And after that a declaimer can increase his reward and raise his degree by the authority of the art of music, that is, learning all its 'plethiadau' and the common 'profiadau' of its 'gostegion' and the thirteen principal 'ceinciau,' and know them well in their parts and declaim his 'cywydd' with them, and after that he can demand a goat again with respect to the strings. And in such a way a declaimer can demand two goats between tongue and string, and it is not fitting that a declaimer should travel a circuit, except by following a master craftsman of poetry or of music.

And to graduated poets there is the demand of reward from men of 100s of rent and upward, whichever way he collects it, either from land rent or from the breeding of wild or tame cattle.

Whoever attains a degree of art in one province can demand his reward in each of the three provinces as well as the other.

And let not a poet under the degree of apprentice compose poetry or sing, except to women, and (let) him playfully refine his descriptive powers to

become more proficient in his poetic art until he attain a degree in a legitimate eisteddfod.

Also let no one keep up two arts, for example, the work of a harper or crwth player and poetry or another craft, or a poet (being) a blacksmith and a poet, and let no teacher take as an apprentice anyone who was an apprentice to a craft and is not responsible to learn. |

The topics of this statute (provide) through the agreement of the king of the realm with his full permission that there shall be freedom for the arts of poetry and music, harp and crwth, and that (craftsmen shall) have five 'free acres,' that is, Christmas and a circuit after it until Candlemas, and secondly Easter and the circuit until Ascension Day, Whitsun and its circuit until Relic Sunday, a fourth 'free acre' when a nobleman would build a house that poets would get a gift each according to the privilege of his degree, and in that same time there would be to the nobleman presents from his fiefs and his family and his relatives, and that 'free acre' was cancelled by the agreement of noblemen by permitting poets a 'free acre' instead of it, that is, a saint's day feast. The fifth 'free acre' is the payment of a young girl, that is, the marriage of a young virgin girl, and if it happens that she gets married a second time, poets do not have the demand of a gift after that.

And of the three arts that were mentioned above, that is tongue, harp, and crwth, there are three degrees in each of them, that is, master craftsmanship, apprenticeship, and dabbler.

Here, as were noted, are the rewards from the hereditary barons of £5 income and up once every three years. A master craftsman of poetry can demand for his 'cywydd' 81d, and if he is a teacher he should have some medal, weapon, or clothing or something else according to the courtesy of the giver, and if it is a noble wedding feast and the teacher's 'butt of bards' is made or the master craftsman is a 'butt of bards,' his reward should be doubled or a surcoat, which is the second best doublet of the young man who is to be married.

The reward of a master craftsman and an apprentice of the master craft of tongue and string on the three special feasts is 40, a noble wedding feast the same, and a circuit 1s, a common wedding feast the same.

The reward of an instructable apprentice for his 'cywydd' is 3s 4d and for every special feast 2s, a noble wedding feast the same, | on a circuit two groats, a common wedding feast the same.

A household poet who prepares their pedigrees where he knows the lineage of the husband and wife (receives) 2d, where he does not know but one, 1d, with the courtesy of the nobility. And that every teacher should have a copy of this order to show to his apprentices when they come to accept his teaching over Lent.

Every three years it is fitting that an eisteddfod should be held in the

appointed place, and summons and notice in every fair and market to state and announce to the populace, and set it a year and a day's time to allow a space of time for the apprentices to learn and for the graduated brother to study and meditate and contemplate tongue and string.

c 1540–50

Bardic Schedule of Fees NLW: Llanstephan MS 195

p 5

...

Also concerning the rewards of craftsmen, each degree according to its grade. Below an instructable apprentice there is no reward. An instructable apprentice, each of the three special feasts, namely, Easter, Christmas, and Whitsun, 24(d); as a reward (at) each royal wedding feast the same, 24(d). A circuit, 6d once every three years. Common wedding feasts the same, 6d. An apprentice of the master craft, 3s and 4d each of the three special festivals. A royal wedding feast the same, 3s and 4d. A circuit every three years, 12d. Every common wedding feast the same, 12d. The reward of a master craftsman of poetry for his 'cywydd' is a penny and 80, and if he is a teacher there is more for him (in the form) of clothing or a weapon or some other trophy.

...

c 1550

Bardic Schedule of Fees and Regulations NLW: Peniarth MS 155B

pp 90–4*

This is how rewards for each degree were noted by the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan in its grading of poetry and music.

There are three special feasts, namely, Easter, Christmas, and Whitsun. The reward of an apprentice of the master craft and a master teacher – because they are the same reward, but the pupil should not compete with the teacher but allow him his respect and his superiority – the reward is, namely, 3s 4d. The reward of an instructable apprentice, 2s. The reward of a temporary apprentice with degree, 12d. At a noble wedding feast there should be the same size of reward to everyone as one of the three special festivals above. And if there were many poets and a 'butt of bards' was created and banns were announced on a topic, the 'butt of bards' should double his reward, or the next-best doublet of the son whose wedding feast it was. And the reward of a noble wedding feast will be proof of the degree of a craftsman who deserves it, if there is no eisteddfod available at that time, and by that he may ask for his reward until an eisteddfod in which to confirm it takes place. And if he does not win it there he loses it forever. |

A master craftsman's reward in another wedding feast, a patron saint's

festival, or the circular festival that is called a poetic circuit, 12d. The reward of an instructable apprentice at those times, a wedding feast, a patron saint's festival, and a circuit, 8d. The reward of a temporary apprentice with degree for the same times above is, namely, 6d. A temporary apprentice without a degree has no specified reward, except so much as people will feel generous enough to give him while he is gaining a better degree through the training that he has received, as was said before.

The reward of a household servant (who prepares) pedigrees of gentility, where he knows how to trace the lineage of the husband and the wife to one of the royal tribes who used to bear arms in the past, 2d. And in the case where he cannot trace their lineage except in one case, either the husband or the wife, 1d. And that comes about through the generosity of noblemen everywhere and therefore the greatest master craftsman has nothing today but the generosity of noblemen.

Also if a stranger comes from another country to wander as a poet, he shall not be acknowledged without (carrying) the written word of one of the master craftsmen with him to show what he should receive; he shall be without his reward where that (document) is asked for and he has it not. An eisteddfod or a noble wedding feast should have full advance notice of the space of a year and a day, and that through a general open notice in public in each specified synod, 1 market, city, court of law, and mother church within the province, unless the noblemen of the province and the master craftsmen agree to shorten the space of time on occasion, when they see that it is right and proper. If a silver trophy is lying idle in its appropriate resting place or wherever it may be, as commanded by the teacher and the last retainer who was in possession of it, and should a master craftsman hear of this, he himself is able to take it by virtue of his art and to answer for it; he can take it from there and give sufficient warning of a year and a day in every fair and market and court of law within his province to show that he is taking the silver trophy at his own risk and acknowledging it. And if anyone should wish to challenge him within a year and a day, it is at his own risk, that is all of the silver trophy's value in gold or silver and his degree in addition to that, and no one may challenge the holder of the silver trophy unless he has attained the degree of apprentice of the master craft before them. And if a challenge is made 1 and cannot be carried out, or (if) he leaves, his degree will be lost and the equivalent value. And if the defender can keep the silver trophy for the term stated above by answering to everyone who challenges him, it cannot be taken from him during his lifetime. But he must in the next legitimate eisteddfod come there and show that he is able to deserve it, and keep it through art and authority to make apprentices according to the statute and the privilege of the art. And from then on the province is to accept him as a teacher of his art. And all the noblemen are to assist him, according to the statute and the privilege of the art, as was said before about the privilege

of art. Each 'cadair' is valued at five 'clymau' each as long as five 'clymau' have been sung previously. Each 'colofn' is valued at ten 'clymau' as long as the 'clymau' have been sung previously. 'Tri mwchl odidog' is valued at fifty 'clymau' as long as thirty have been sung previously. And of those thirty, three of the 'cadeiriau,' three of the 'colofnau,' at least. And counting there as one 'cwlwm' each, as if he were seeking a degree, for it was not for the purpose of anyone seeking a degree that they received that privilege, nor that they were priced so high in number of 'clymau,' but in order, where two master craftsmen might be competing for a silver trophy or other competition, to place them in order and keep a distinction between master craftsmen and apprentices, having previously attained their degrees in eisteddfodau or noble wedding feasts.

These are the ones who were awarded degrees in Caerwys, namely, Tudur Aled, who was admitted and confirmed as a chaired teacher to hold a silver trophy, as it was, since he had taken it at his own risk to remove it from where it was. Dai Nanklyn was made a teacher and a silver harp trophy was given to him.

Edward Cherke, Thomas ap Madog, Edward Grythor, and Morus Llanvair, who had been graduated previously in royal wedding feasts as master craftsmen and were there given certainty by being admitted and confirmed.

Hwlcyn Llwyd, Ieuan Delyniwr, Ieuan Grythor, (and) Dai Maessmor, apprentices of the master craft.

Huw Menau, Rhys Grythor, Bili ab Owain, and Siôn ap Saunder, instructable apprentices.

Other than these were refused degrees.

The end Music

c 1560

List of Licensed Musicians and Poets NLW: NLW MS 17,116B
ff 73-3v*

The names of the poets

Lewch y (...)

Lewis ab Edward from Bodfari, master poet

Siôn Brwynog from Anglesey, master poet

Siôn Tudur from Llanelwy (St Asaph), deceased

Simwnt Fychan from Dyffryn Clwyd

Morus ab Ifan ab Einion from Eifionydd

Harpers from the same province (Aberffraw)

Hwlcyn Llwyd from Ruthin, apprentice of the master craft

Siôn ap Rhys from Anglesey, at the rank of master harper

William Penllyn, at the rank of master harper in the same position

Ieuan Delyniwr from Llŷn, apprentice of the master craft
 Robert ap Howell Llanvor from Pwllheli, at the same rank
 Lewis ap Jenkin from Dolgellau, at the same rank
 Dai Maenan from Llanddoged, at the same rank
 (*blank*) ap Siôn ap Rhys from Anglesey, at (the same rank)
 Thomas [vychan] Anwyl from Maenan, at the same rank
 Iert ab Ieuan Delyniwr, at the same rank |
 Ieuan Penllyn from Caerwys, instructable apprentice
 Elisau Delyniwr from Penllyn, at the same rank
 Llywelyn Delyniwr from Penllyn, at the same rank
 John ap Rhys Gutun from Llanddyfnog, at the same rank
 Robert Llwyd, son of Hwlcyn Llwyd, from Ruthin, at the same rank
 ...

ff 74–5*

The names of the crwth players from the province of Aberffraw
 attending the eisteddfod
 Ieuan Penmon from Anglesey, master crwth player
 Siôn Ednyfed, crwth player from Anglesey, apprentice of the master craft
 Thomas Môn from the same county, at the same rank
 Robert ap Rhys Gutun from Llanddyfnog, at the same rank
 Thomas ap Rhys Lloyd (from) Llanddoged, at the same rank
 Thomas Grythor Dall, at the same rank
 Thomas Grythor from Llansannan, temporary apprentice |

The names from the province of Mathrafal, master poets
 Gruffudd Hiraethog from Llangollen
 Huw Arwystli from Arwystli
 Morgan Elfael from Bishopston
 Hywel ap Mathew
 Wiliam Llŷn, instructable apprentice
 Owen ap Sir Ieuan, at the same rank
 Ieuan Tew the poet, temporary apprentice

Harpers from the same province (Mathrafal)
 Rhys Wynn, harper from Powys, instructable apprentice
 David Lloyd, harper from Cedewain, at the same rank
 Lewis ap Howell Wynn from Powys, at the same rank
 Huw Dai from the parish of Rhiwabon, at the same rank
 Rhisiart Glynne, at the same rank
 Huw ap Morus from Llansilin, at the same rank
 John ab Edward Delyniwr

Siams Morlas from Croesoswallt, temporary apprentice
 Ieuan ap Meredudd ap Howell Goch from the area of Chirk, temporary
 apprentice l

The names of the crwth players from the province of Mathrafal
 James Eaton, crwth player from Maelor Gymraeg, master crwth player
 Morus Grythor from Croesoswallt, instructable apprentice
 Edward Grythor from Rhiwabon
 Robert ab Ieuan Llwyd from Wrexham
 Wiliam Goch Grythor from Powys Wenwynwyn
 Thomas Dall Grythor

1567

Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan (1567) NLW: Peniarth MS 158B
 pp 81–9*

...

After this comes the rule or law of Gruffudd ap Cynan, and some call it the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan, which divides this book into six books, that is, the five books of poetry according to the five grades. The other may be understood as a separate book, that is, concerning the craftsmen of poetry and music as it is known, concerning those who are free to wander as poets, namely, l a disabled poet such as a blind man, although he has no degree, a temporary apprentice without a degree, a graduate temporary apprentice, an instructable apprentice, an apprentice of the master craft, and a master craftsman or teacher.

A temporary apprentice in poetry should know his syllables and five englyn measures and be able to classify them, namely, 'unodl union,' 'unodl crwca,' and 'unodl cyrch,' 'proest cyfnewidiog,' and 'proest cadwynog' and two 'cywydd' measures, 'deuair hirion' and 'deuair fyrion,' and be able to sing them poetically in the opinion of a master poet, who says from conscience whether he can be made into a poet or not. This is one book of the craft of poetry.

As an instructable apprentice he should know the degree and the above book thoroughly, and the five extra measures, namely, 'cywydd llosgyrniog' and 'awdl gywydd,' and the three 'awdl' measures, namely, 'toddaid,' 'gwawdodyn byr,' and 'gwawdodyn hir,' and avoid the common faults and show a poem of his own composition in a flawless instructable manner in each of the twelve measures above, and classify them correctly. This is the second book.

As an apprentice of the master craft he should know the two books above, and obtain the two degrees, and know all the syllables and 'cynghanedd,' and the rules and classification of the measures, and his eight parts of speech and the rules of grammar, the classification of the branches, and compose as his own work a poem guaranteed flawless in twenty-three of the measures named

in the book of classification above, avoid all the faults, and sing poetically and fruitfully in the three aspects of a poem, that is, measure, sense, and 'cynganedd,' although he might not sing a 'cadwynfyr' or a 'towddgrych cadwynog,' or may not know one of the measures. Despite that he is the companion of a master craftsman and receives the same gift as he does, but he should not compete with a master craftsman. Let him take care that he knows all the relations – this is the third book – and knows the pedigrees of kings and noble wise men. |

As a master craftsman he should know how to compose the twenty-four measures and sing them in parallel, harmoniously on topical subjects, fruitful in meaning and poetry, in cross 'cynganedd,' full of pleasant and humorous material, of guaranteed authority, poetic in imagination, clear in understanding, of his own poetic work, so that they are appropriate to learn, declaim, and entertain, to listen to or to read, so that the praise of God and the noblemen will be remembered for a very long time. This is the end of the fourth book.

As a teacher he should know the four books above and have the four degrees, and place upon them true teacher's learning such as belongs to a teacher, that is, a doctor, and take care of his pupils so that none harms this art, but rather (that they be) honest and of those of good character, since a man of poetry is a companion to the second son of a nobleman, if there is a son to be connected to him, and thus a teacher should take care for everyone in the art and insist on knowing how everyone will travel, whether by authority or not, and if they do not progress in a seemly fashion cause them to be punished, and also prevent them being wrongfully done by, as if they were his own heirs in possession of a silver trophy, that is, a silver chair.

Further it (the statute) concerned music, that is, a temporary apprentice in music, if he is without a degree, there is no ration either on his degree or on his reward, but the opinion of a master craftsman who shall say from conscience whether he can be made a musician or not.

A temporary apprentice with a degree should know ten 'clymau' and a 'colofn' and five 'clymau' and a 'cadair' and eight 'caniadau.'

As an instructable apprentice he should know twenty 'clymau' and two 'colofnau' and ten 'clymau' and two 'cadeiriau' and sixteen 'caniadau' and his twenty-four measures, and sing them according to the rules, | and classify them without fault and correctly in the opinion of teachers.

As an apprentice of the master craft he should know thirty 'clymau' and three 'colofnau' and three 'cadeiriau' and twenty-four 'caniadau' and the four 'gostegion' and be able to classify them and fifteen 'clymau cytgerdd' and recognize the differences between all the measures and every classification.

As a master craftsman he should know fifty 'clymau' and the four 'colofnau' and twenty 'clymau cytgerdd' and the four 'cadeiriau' and thirty-two 'caniadau' and the four 'gostegion' and all the measures and their rules and the twenty-four 'deifr,' and know all his keys and their relations and the contents, as

well as the previous contents as the classification book demands, and be able to create music himself guaranteed without fault in the opinion of a master craftsman, and classify every *crusis* and *anacrusis*, every '*cynhwysiad*' and '*gorffwysiad*,' every modulation and hidden and non-hidden keys, and show it to be guaranteed from his own work in a craftsmanly and teacherly manner so that in conscience master craftsmen and wise men can judge whether he should be chosen as an author and a teacher of his craft.

For no one should learn except from a teacher, or by getting him to put right what is taught by another, and if he is a harpist he must know '*tri mwchl odidog*,' which is graded as high as the four '*colofnau*,' because each '*colofn*' was graded as ten '*clymau*' each, '*tri mwchl newydd*' was graded as high as the four '*cadeiriau*,' and the four were graded as five '*colofnau*' each. | After that it was arranged for the teachers to take pupils, namely, one at once in a token apprenticeship, which is seven years, and no one should learn but from a teacher, and it is not permitted for a pupil to make another pupil, for that is inappropriate and reprehensible.

And each pupil during Lent must be with the teacher under pain of losing his degree unless he has a wound or an injury or (is in) prison or some such legal reason.

Also a poet is not to sing a poem to ask for a horse, a hawk, or a greyhound or some such favour without the permission of the owner, and let no musician nor declaimer send such a '*cywydd*' home under pain of fine and imprisonment.

Also they must not go to taverns nor hidden corners to play dice or cards or any other gambling for any kind of profit, and if they go everyone shall be an officer over them as over a thief and take what may be in their purses and give it to the work of the church or to the poor.

Also it is ordered that they shall not learn any insults or indecent rhymes, mockery, imitation, blasphemy, spying, lying, or devising falsehood, nor speaking according to another, under pain of fine and imprisonment.

Also they shall not cause arguments, quarrels, deceit, nor theft or murder, nor plot or associate with thieves or bad characters and (visit) unsavoury places under pain of fine and imprisonment.

Also let no one imitate or mock a teacher for his serious meditation. |

Also that a pupil shall not create a poem without showing it to his teacher before singing it outside, and know from his opinion that it is correct, under pain of losing his degree.

Also it is ordered that they shall not follow the customs of vagabonds by roaming or wandering, and that they shall not go to a high feast or a patron saint's festival out of the place to which they came, without the permission of the master of the house or an invitation by another, under pain of fine and imprisonment and losing the right to travel as a poet, and if he goes from house to house he shall be considered a vagabond and have his poetry money taken and put to the work of the church, and if he gets drunk in the feast

he shall lose his reward. Also if he makes amorous advances or is discourteous to a lady or maiden where he comes, he shall suffer a fine and imprisonment and the loss of his travel as a poet for seven years in that country.

For craftsmen should carry pleasant, peaceful, kind, obedient, and subservient words, so that everyone of the king's true subjects and his officers shall certify them and assist and help them.

A month before every festival they should inquire of their teacher to know where they shall go, for fear of going too frequently to the same place, and so that only one will go to a man of £10 income and two to a man of £20 income, and so on to those whose income is higher, and that every teacher should have a copy of this order with him to show to his pupils, who should have it when they come to take instruction every Lent.

Furthermore the following shall be said about the rewards of everyone according to their degrees, namely, an instructable apprentice should receive a reward of 40(d) for his 'cywydd.' 1

An apprentice of the master craft receives 81(d) as a reward for his 'cywydd,' and for a master craftsman an additional courtesy, whether it be an item of clothing or some other trinket.

A temporary apprentice with degree in music (receives) 1s on each of the four special feasts, that is, Christmas, Easter, Whitsun, and All Saints' Day.

An instructable apprentice on each of the festivals above (receives) 24(d), at each royal wedding feast the same, and every other wedding feast and circuit 7d.

An apprentice of the master craft on each of the four festivals and at every royal wedding feast (receives) a reward of 40(d). At a festival and every other wedding feast and circuit (he receives) a reward of 1s, and a master craftsman the same, unless he wishes to be commented upon, and a circuit every three years.

A temporary apprentice with degree, unless he learns to be an instructable apprentice before the end of three years, shall lose his degree and be without one.

An instructable apprentice, unless he learns to be an apprentice of the master craft within the three years, shall lose his degree and become a temporary apprentice.

An apprentice of the master craft, unless he learns to be a master craftsman before the end of the three years, shall lose his degree and become an instructable apprentice.

Also there is the person who declaims, and the job should be discussed although it has no degree, because it is the foremost of that art and the original title is household servant, and he is entitled to the same reward as an instructable apprentice. And he should know part of three arts, namely, like the poets who devise riddles, he should know his syllables and his 'cynganedd' and be able to attain the degree of a temporary apprentice with

degree in poetry, so that he can know if a poem is faulty and be able to put it right.

Also he must know some of the job of the herald-bard, who is a tracer of lineage, and the reward of the herald-bard from every house he comes to is to trace the lineage of the master from his father's father or his mother and their land holdings for fifteen generations, or the king of a family or lineage. His reward is 1d, and if he can trace the wife as well his gift is 2d and his circuit once every three years. He should be able to describe the coat of arms and know family tales.

Also he must know on a harp or a crwth thirteen main melodies and sing them with poetry, and be able to set up a table and raise it before noblemen, carve or cut everything on a wild bird, and be of service and keep the topics mentioned above, and these are the four degrees of music, namely, poet, harpist, crwth player, and declaimer.

There are four vain types of music; that is, do not allow a piper, a magician, a taborer, or a wandering minstrel to speak, and the reward of each of those is 1d and to sing standing, although there is more for the piper, namely, a host who is contemptible.

And thus concludes the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cyran, 1 prince of Wales and her chief; and in his time came William the Conqueror to reign to England, and he ordered William the Conqueror out, and William Rufus his son and Henry 1, and he was a lawful man and lived more than eighty years, and he was buried in the abbey of Daniel in Bangor Fawr in Gwynedd in an addition to the south of the church, and he did many masterful, praise-worthy deeds.

...

List of Eisteddfod Graduates (Version A) NLW: Peniarth MS 132B
pp 59–63*

Here is a memorandum of the time when there was an eisteddfod in Caerwys for men of poetry and music, and how everyone was graded according to his degree in his craft through the power of the commission, by the grace of the queen and her counsellors, and by the authority of the princely statute, which eisteddfod was made legally; and a year and a day's warning was given, and a summons and a declamation to be made in fairs and markets in AD 1567, on 26 May, in the ninth year of the reign of her grace, Queen Elizabeth, before Ellis Price, esq., DCL and one of the counsellors of the gracious queen in the Welsh Marches, William Mostyn, Piers Mostyn, Owen ap Siôn ap Howell Vaughan, Siôn ap Wiliam ap Siôn, Siôn Lewis Owain, Morris Griffith, Simon Thelwall, John Griffith, serjeant, Robert Puleston, Evan Lloyd from Yale, and William Glynne of Glynllifon. These were eisteddfod organizers according to the commission. 1

Here, then, are the names of the poets who graduated and the grades they gained according to the regulations:

Master craftsmen of poetry

Lewis ab Edward	master poet
Wiliam Llŷn	master poet
Simwnt Fychan	master poet
Owain Gwynedd	master poet

Apprentices of the master craft

Siôn Tudur	apprentice of the master craft
Lewis Menai	apprentice of the master craft
Huw Llŷn	apprentice of the master craft
Wiliam Cynwal	apprentice of the master craft
Bedo Hafesb	apprentice of the master craft
Siôn Phylip	apprentice of the master craft
Huw Cornwy from Anglesey	apprentice of the master craft

Instructable apprentices

Ieuan Tew, poet	instructable apprentice
Huw Ceiriog	instructable apprentice
Huw Pennant	instructable apprentice

Temporary apprentices

Dafydd Alaw	temporary apprentice
Rhisiart Prydydd Bregb	temporary
Edward Huw o Benllyn	temporary

The harpers and their grades

Howell Llwyd	} They are master harpers
Siôn ap Rhys, master harper from Anglesey	
Wiliam Penllyn	
Dafydd Llwyd ap Siôn ap Rhys	
Edward ab Ieuan Delyniwr	
Robert ap Howell Llanvor	
Hwmffre Goch	
Thomas Anwyl	

Apprentices of the master craft

Robert Llwyd	} They are apprentices of the master craft
Ieuan Penllyn	
Rhisiart Glynne	
Llywelyn Hwssman	

Huw Dai	}	Instructable apprentices
Huw ap Morus		
Siams Morlas		
Ellis Griffith		
Siôn Newbrough		

	Temporary apprentices	
Ieuan ap Maredudd	}	They are temporary
Lewis Berain		
Gwalchmai		
Rhisiart Llwyd		

	The crwth players	
James Eaton	}	They are master crwth players
Ieuan Penmon		
Thomas Môn		
Robert ap Rhys Gutun		
Thomas Grythor Dall		
Siôn Ednyfed		
Siôn Ddu Grythor	apprentice of the master craft 1	

	Instructable apprentices	
Tomas Llwyd from Powys	}	They are instructable apprentices
Robert ab Ieuan Llwyd		
Tomas Vaughan, crwth player		
Edward Grythor Hir		
William Ednyfed		
Rhys Grythor from Llansannan		
Rhys Grythor from Cerrigydrudion		
Rhisiart Conway	}	They are temporary apprentices
Robert Conway		

List of Eisteddfod Graduates (Version B) NLW: NLW MS 872D
pp 473–5*

...

- 1567 The eisteddfod in Caerwys in Flintshire, which was held on 26 May in the ninth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in the presence of Ellis Price, DCL and one of the Council in the Marches of Wales, William Mostyn, Piers Mostyn, Owen ap Siôn ap Howell Vaughan of Caer-gai, Siôn ap Wiliam ap Siôn of Ysgeifiog, Siôn Lewis Owain of Dolgellau, Morris Griffith, the heir, Simon Thelwall of Plas-y-ward, John Griffith, serjeant, Robert Puleston, Evan Lloyd of Yale – °Sir Evan Lloyd afterward°, and William Glynne, esq.

And here are the graduates in the eisteddfod:

He is Owain Gwynedd	Lewis ab Edward	}	As master craftsmen in poetry
	Wiliam Llŷn		
	Owain °ap Gruffudd° Ieuan		
	Simwnt Fychan I		
	Wiliam Cynwal	}	As apprentices of the master craft in poetry
	Lewis Menai		
	Siôn Tudur		
	Huw Llŷn		
	Bedo Hafesb		
	Siôn Phylip		
	Huw Cornwy		
	Ieuan Tew	}	As instructable apprentices in poetry
	Huw Pennant		
	Hywel Ceiriog		
	Dafydd Alaw	}	As temporary apprentices in poetry
	Edward Brynnlys		
	Rhys Gelli		
Harp	Siôn ap Rhys, master craftsman	}	As master craftsmen and teachers of music
	Wiliam Penllyn		
	Hwlcyn Llwyd		
Harp	Thomas Anwyl	}	As master craftsmen in music
	Dafydd Llwyd ap Siôn ap Rhys		
	Edward ab Ieuan		
	Robert ap Howell Llanvor		
	Hwmffre Goch		
[At the bottom of the next page]			
Harp	Rhisiart Glynn	}	As apprentices of the master craft in music
	Robert Llwyd		
	Ieuan Penllyn		
	Lewis Llanvor		
Harp	Lewis Berain	}	As temporary apprentices in music
	Ieuan ap Maredudd		
	Gwalchmai ap Dafydd I		
Crwth	James Eaton	}	As master craftsmen and teachers of music
	Ieuan Penmon		

Crwth	Robert ap Rhys Gutun Thomas Môn Siôn Ednyfed Thomas Grythor	} As master craftsmen in music °This was the blind crwth player from Ruthin°
Crwth	Siôn Ddu Grythor	As apprentice of the master craft in music
Crwth	Robert ab Ieuan Llwyd Edward Grythor Thomas Kegidfa Rhys Grythor from Hiraethog Thomas Grythor Bach Dafydd ap Howell Grythor William Ednyfed	} As instructable apprentices in music
Crwth	Rhisiart Conway Siôn Alaw Robert Conway The crwth player of Llwyd Marchedd	} As temporary apprentices in music
Harp	Huw Dai Huw ap Morus Siams Morlas Siôn Newbrough Ellis Griffith	} As instructable apprentices in music
...		

A *Simwnt Fychan's Bardic Licence* NLW: Wynnstay MS 10
f 146v

This is how Simwnt Fychan was graded a master poet. Let it be known to all types of man that there will be an eisteddfod for men of poetry and music in the town of Caerwys, in Flintshire, on 26 May in the ninth year of the reign of the gracious Queen Elizabeth before Ellis Price, esq., DCL and one of her gracious majesty's counsellors in the Welsh Marches, William Mostyn, Piers Mostyn, Owen ap Siôn ap Howell Vaughan, Siôn ap Wiliam ap Siôn, Siôn Lewis Owain, Morris Griffith, Simon Thelwall, John Griffith, serjeant, Robert Puleston, Evan Lloyd of Yale, and William Glynne, esqs. And that we, the above-named commissioners of the eisteddfod by the commission of her grace the queen and her counsellors, give and permit to Simwnt Fychan, poet, the degree of a master poet, and everyone should include and welcome him everywhere it is convenient to

1567 come and go, and to receive the reward due to his degree according to the princely statute. In the year of our Lord 1567.

Ellis Price

Siôn 'John' Griffith

William Mostyn

Read 'John' for
'Siôn' wherever
(it occurs);
the autograph
(reads) thus

Morris Griffith

Piers Mostyn

Robert Puleston

Owen ap Siôn 'John' ap Howell Vaughan

Evan Lloyd

Siôn 'John' ap Wiliam ap Siôn 'John'

William Glynne

Siôn 'John' Lewis Owain

Simon Thelwall

Simwnt Fychan died in AD 1606 on 12 April in the same place.

Transcribed from the autograph at Plas-y-ward by me, William Maurice.

c 1570

Bardic Schedule of Fees BL: Additional MS 15,038

ff 96v-7v*

...The reward of a master craftsman's apprentice is 3s 4d on each of the three special feasts, and at each noble wedding feast the same reward as the three special feasts. The reward of a master craftsman is more generous than that of the apprentice. A temporary apprentice with degree, unless he learns to be an instructable apprentice within the space of three years after taking that degree, will lose the degree he had gained so that he has no degree. An instructable apprentice who does not learn to be an apprentice | of the master craft within three years (...). An apprentice of the master craft who does not learn to be a master craftsman within three years will lose his master craftsmanship degree and remain at the instructable apprentice level. A declaimer should know how to play a harp and tune it, and know fourteen principal melodies on strings and declaim a 'cywydd' with them, and know a 'cwlwm' and a 'caniad,' and know his syllables, and know whether the verse of a 'cywydd' is in place and how to put it in its place if it is not. And his reward is 24(d) on each of the three special feasts and common wedding feasts, and a circuit every three years, 6d. There are four degrees of music according to the statute: poet, harper, crwth player, and declaimer. There are four ungraded levels, four vain kinds of music, namely, piper, magician, taborer, and fiddler, and the reward of each one of those four is 1d and to sing standing, and unless he is content (he must) contribute to his reward. This is how rewards were set out by the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan to each degree according to his degree of poetry and singing. A teacher and an apprentice of the master craft have the same reward, but the apprentice should not compete with the teacher but allow him his respect and his superiority. Their reward is 3s and 4d. The reward of a temporary apprentice with degree (is) 1s; the reward of an instructable apprentice | (is) 2s, and that is his reward on each of the three special feasts. And if there are many poets they make a

'butt of bards' and banns should be announced on a topic. The 'butt of bards' should double his reward or the next-best doublet of the son whose wedding feast it was. And at each noble wedding feast a craftsman can be graduated in the degree that he should have, unless there is an eisteddfod available at that time, and by that he can request his reward until the eisteddfod occurs to confirm it within it, and unless he wins it there he loses it forever. The reward of a master craftsman in a common wedding feast, a patron saint's festival, or the poetic journey that is called a circuit (is) 1s. The reward of a pupil at those times, a wedding feast or a patron saint's festival and a circuit, is 8d. The reward of a temporary apprentice with degree at the above times (is) 6d. A temporary apprentice without a degree has no specified reward but courtesy while he is gaining a degree with the training he has received....

HAWARDEN/PENARLÂG

1638

Consistory Court Acts for Vicar's Peculiar FRO: D/BJ/1/15
f [1v] (2 August)

Proceedings of the court held in the parish church of Hawarden before Robert Browne, cleric, MA, and in the presence of John Barkley, notary public

...

The same (office) against Thomas Lawrence of Broughton
Today and in this place (Lawrence) appeared and acknowledged (*English*).
Therefore the master (enjoined him) to refrain hereafter and to carry out a penance according to the schedule and to certify (his compliance) for the aforesaid day under penalty, etc.

...

GLAMORGAN/SIR FORGANNWG

County

c 1580

Siôn Mawddwy's Letter to Meurig Dafydd BL: Additional MS 14,886
ff 45v-6

...

A letter that the learned poet Siôn Mawddwy sent to one Meurig Dafydd of Glamorgan because he was satirizing his poetry and saying that he himself was as good as the best.

To you, Meurig Dafydd, a short letter since I am totally amazed that you find

fault with my poetry. So far I have found both noblemen and commoners who will speak against you, not to mention apprentices and master poets, and yet it was not so much a source of amazement to me as the fact that you had said you were as good as the best. If you were you would know the truth and be able to judge correctly and learn correctly through the complete co-ordination of phrases, the grammar of metre and syllables, and the richness of poetry, namely, the measures of 'cywyddau,' and rhymes and englynion, and sing those in a poetical manner in the opinion of master poets, as you must before becoming a poet by the privilege and ordinance and custom of the old Britons, until (...). I saw a man like you who borrowed | the five books of poetry from me (...) for two years, and whom I myself tried to teach, had there been learning in him, but he was as stupid with regard to learning as a wild goose, as foolishly proud as Satan, as jealous as Lucifer, as wise as Ieuan Kedewen, as easy to trust in as a Jew in Britain with a big head and little sense to learn to sing a plaited, connected, balanced poem, making sense from both sides, and yet he was wise to collect good things (...) full of floors like an old castle, as shameful as a goat, as fierce as an ape (...)wen and Judas, as generous as the toad in the earth, as full of love as a hen on salt, as full of flattery as a hardened prostitute, with honey on his tongue and bile in his heart, and the whole country reciting his feats from his youth to his old age. I (...) him. Now you, Meurig, are not he, ha ha, or rather no no, by that two no's make one yea. Cure yourself, Meurig; until you are a good man, farewell to your life.

Siôn Mawddwy

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

LLANDAFF

c 1585

Anecdote of Sils ap Siôn NLW: NLW MS 13,068B

f 40*

...

Sils ap Siôn sang this.

Sils ap Siôn made this englyn extempore when a company of poets were meeting together to sing satirically concerning competence, before Mr William Evans, chancellor of Llandaff, and Mr Thomas Lewis of Llandaff at that time.

+ Take note!

The drum and the alarum, let us sing composing satire, everyone arousing his instruments with his song. Begin the competition, let us cry, each with his portion, each with his handful.

Sils ap Siôn sang it extempore.

MERIONETH/SIR FEIRIONNYDD

Households

LLOYD OF RHIWEDOG

1555

Poetry at a Wedding Feast NLW: Peniarth MS 81
pp 127–33* (20 October)

Let it be known that there was a grand wedding feast in the house at Rhiwedog between Wiliam Lloyd ap Morus, son and heir of Elisau ap Wiliam Lloyd ap Morus, and Elizabeth, daughter of Owen ap Siôn ap Howell Vaughan of Llwydiarth in Powys and Caer-gai, in Penllyn on Sunday, 20 October AD 1555. This is the series of englynion that was made there on the above day:

They made a store for their wedding feast – these
Are the names they praise,
Here in the court there are nine hundred
Within the gates wanting to be fed.

May the couple getting married be at one – fortunately,
Prosperity to their offspring;
Even more to their advantage, may children come to them,
Understanding that success will come to them.

There is a subject such as this, the true art of poetry,
And others express it
In language, ah men, speaking of lust,
Testifying there, they compose satirical verse.

Gruffudd, the image of Einudd, true prosperity followed,
Hiraethog they call him.
His steed rushed into the hollow
Yesterday, at a single bound, into the water of the stream.

He fell, struggling from great desire, in the lake,
(It was not to his credit)
The young salmon, who avoids passion,
Emasculated the chosen prey.

If the tale they tell so ardently is true, they'll reproach his soaking

And forgive what they hear.
Girls, may he avoid lust!
They will miss the chief poet's testicles!

He was castrated, he insisted on the delights of the groin
With failure rather than success,
And his sack, awkward after passion,
Already defective, they have lost (them). |

And his ardent penis, maidens will not tame it;
Those who see it will believe it!
And his leaden testicles, the basket of children,
Lie reproachfully in the belly of a salmon.

If this is the subject to which they attest, it is not hateful,
But an attempt at an attested poem.
They give their word of fine fame,
Shame on those who believe it.

Lewis ab Edward, alias Lewis Meirchion, sang it.

You, Gruffudd, are sad; your testicle has suffered treason!
A great loss has come upon you
In this place, less semen
In your drawers, because of what the salmon did.

Through a river you came on the tumbling of a horse;
No girl will love you at all.
In an hour, in terrible pain,
Having lost a testicle, there were you found.

There are terrible cold pains in your arse,
Because of what the salmon's teeth have done.
On your testicle, without doubt,
Woe is your wife, there was a rending gash. |

Noble Hiraethog, was the journey blessed?
For the rest of his life he'll be afraid of a salmon!
From your coppice, the blessing of a salmon
In the water of Menai inflicted a severing.

Doubtless, beware of your death, you were castrated;
You'll have grief in the bargain!

No bright impassioned girl in the land
Will seek the favours of a man newly trimmed.

Woe is me for the Teifi, the growth of a fishing rod,
I know hatred toward the salmon.
May a hook, through an unhealthy occurrence,
Go to avenge it, sorrow was begotten.
Siôn Tudur

There is today a free-giving court and tasks performed in it,
And truly remarkable privileges,
The court of the descendants of Cynan, sturdy and generous,
A place which is comely, the court of Elisau.

An eminent wedding feast, between the children of chieftains,
A blessing on talents.
A feast akin to the great feast,
And, after the fashion, all kinds of minstrelsy.

Minstrels were invited, having many passions without displeasure,
Poets and players of music, I
And one from the peak of the excellent muse
Fell; he will not bear offspring!

Gruffudd, gifted of the muse, golden linguist
Of the privileges of Hiraethog,
And let him request, woe is me,
A faultless poem to the treacherous Dee!

A salmon from the fords took aim at him,
Removed one of his testicles.
It'll be by chance he'll get children
When my bull has a broken testicle.

Poor wretch, meandering wounded, soaked
After swimming in lakes.
He came after a nasty mishap
At night-time missing a testicle!
Simwnt Fychan

Arthur's feast was pure and full of excellent courses,
The warmth so beloved of Caerleon;

The heir of a second Elisau, name with a royal sound,
Wiliam was grandson to noble folk.

Let there be numbered a thousand and a half in frequent fair weather
Joined together with forty
And fifteen, many gifts,
Anno Domini when this was done.

The summons of men of the muse and others
Who like receiving gifts
Came there with haste on horseback
Choosing this Sunday. |

As was I, I know the complaints of a careless man
Coming through the well,
It was asserted throughout Edeyrnion,
An unpleasant journey, that I swam the wave.

From my saddle, the ardent Dee dragged me into a pool,
And hauled me to the depths,
And ripples and fish from its body (of water)
I was covered in sweat and soaked.

Because the salmon we have heard of came to me,
I will give a true answer,
And put very bluntly,
With a shears, spawn on a round testicle.

Lewis, rude defender, foolish song,
His name once was 'Meirchion,'
He's an old speckled deer, here at hand,
By Mary, one of the testators is cruel!

And Simwnt Fychan, when they consider the man
With the words of englynion,
He raised shut eyes
To look on the foam of the sea.

Busy Siôn Tudur, fragments of a sham book,
The fiery books of the musicians;
A cold proof of the lie before us.
Are all of these my pupils?

This is a lie about soakings,
 A cruel herald Edward Huw – I
 And with him, the sound of a shabby bleat,
 Another cobbler with cold cheeks.

And Hits Aled the hard-hearted, where's he?
 Not in the midst of musicians.
 And will he gain respect, root and base,
 If he gets a degree among shoemakers?

Let not one man with a heart believe these
 Divisive testators (those distributing subjects for satire);
 A poet knows it not; let them not prohibit it –
 But they're right to be silent about it!

Gruffudd Hiraethog

MONMOUTHSHIRE/SIR FYNWY

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

ABERGAVENNY/Y FENNI

1320

Episcopal Register of Adam Orleton HRO: AL19/3

ff 51v–2* (27 September)

...

The start of the reform at Abergavenny Priory.

To all, etc, as above, until: Therefore we – wishing reverently to carry out this papal order as we are bound (to do), and coming in person to the aforesaid house, which, as is mentioned above, is called a priory, on the Thursday next after the feast of St Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist, AD 1320; and while a certain brother named Fulk Gastard, proctor of the aforesaid abbot, although saying that he had been appointed prior dative of the said priory by the said abbot, both in his own name and in that of the abbot himself, and other monks of the said priory then residing in the same appeared on the said day in the convent church of the aforesaid priory before us as we sat (as a judge) in the said business for the inquiry to be carried out by us in this regard on the aforesaid authority in accordance with the notice and call made to them on our authority, so that they would be present for the aforesaid inquiry, to be made on a certain day and in a certain place, as is mentioned above, intending to do and to receive what the said papal order demands and requires from them; and after the abovesaid papal order and a letter certificatory

concerning the aforesaid notice and call had been read out completely and a copy of those things had been given to all concerned, and equally every lawful defence decreed in this regard had also been given to the same (people) – have made a diligent inquiry about the contents of the abovesaid papal order, in accordance with the form of the same (order), (*ie*, an inquiry made) by the agency of the diocesan bishop of the place as well as by the agency of the monks of the same place, and also by the agency of rectors, vicars, chaplains, clerics, and with a numerous multitude from the said diocese and with neighbours that could plausibly know more accurately the truth of the premises put forward by the said nobleman, after each and every one of the aforesaid persons by whose agency we were making inquiry had been sworn beforehand in form of law regarding these (matters) and examined individually by our authority.

Through this (inquiry) we have clearly learned that the goods of the aforesaid priory are worth and have been worth for a long time past, namely, the past forty years and more, 240 marks sterling and more annually. From these goods thirteen monks and more could be maintained easily according to the practice of regulars and the custom of the country and could support the debts incumbent on them and on the said priory. And the same nobleman, on his own behalf and that of his heirs, to maintain an increase in divine worship and a larger number of monks in the said priory in the future, has given, granted, and assigned, effectively and in fact, to the same priory, two carrucates of land within the walled town of Abergavenny, together with the meadows, pastures, moorlands, and other appurtenances belonging to the aforesaid land and £20 sterling annually from the same walled town each year, to be received in the said walled town on the feasts of St Michael the Archangel and the Annunciation of the Lord in equal portions – as long as the same monks and the aforesaid priory will have been provided and I fully assured by the same nobleman or his heirs (of a sum (?)) up to the value of the said £20 from other rents and incomes.

We have also learned through the aforesaid inquiry that the monks of the said priory resident in the same have not been visited by the same abbot or by his authority for the past forty years, on account of the too-great distance of the aforesaid abbot (from them). Moreover we have found that in the past none of the monks resident in the same priory has observed the observances of the (Benedictine) Rule at all in the said priory for a long time, but almost all of them, after the decency of the religious life had been cast aside, have led an outrageously dissolute life, that is, living incontinently and wandering quite often outside the said priory, even at night, and being caught several times by laypeople with whores and other women of suspect life and publicly exposed to the scandal and shame of the whole (Benedictine) order abovesaid. And (we have found that) those very monks are not observing silence at all in the cloister, at table, and in other due hours and places but

rather are involved together in indecent and shameful conversations and use chattering talk; they eat meat in refectory even on Wednesdays and on Septuagesima; they do not in any way observe the fasts of Advent, the Ember Days, and others especially usual and customary for monks; they do not hold the divine office and equally (do not hold) the night office in an orderly way in the church at appropriate hours, but during those hours they play together at knuckle-bones and dice and other forbidden games/pastimes and some of them make a spectacle of their bodies and sometimes – which we did not learn without bitterness of heart – they come down naked from their dormitory at night, with arms stretched out with rods and tied in the manner of someone crucified, with straw or something else in the manner of a crown put upon their heads, and walk in that way and play before their fellows and others staying there and do other outrageous things, about which we are silent at present because of their excessive outrageousness.

We have also learned that, for the last forty years past before the date of the aforesaid papal letter, commonly only five monks – but sometimes six – were resident in the said priory. And we found that no prior elect had been appointed in the same (priory) at any time. We also found by means of the said inquiry that the said priory has collapsed due to the fault and insolence of the monks living in the same (priory) and due to the alienation of the goods belonging to the same – to the fullest extent possible – both among (its) temporalities and (its) spiritualities. Also (we have learned that) the aforesaid brother, Fulk Gastard, shortly before our aforesaid arrival at the said priory, had daringly caused two silver chalices, thirteen silver spoons, five lengths of silk cloth, various muniments regarding the status of the said priory, also some complete lives of the saints and other books, and some other goods belonging to the said priory to be secretly carried away to remote places by his own rashness, daring, (and) sacrilege. Also after he had been warned and ordered by us to restore the aforesaid muniments and other things removed by him, the same (Fulk), conscious of his own crimes, leaving the said priory secretly by night, made no further effort to appear before us or restore these things removed by him.

We have also learned by the aforesaid inquiry that the said Fulk was so guilty of various adulteries and many vices of incontinent living and other criminal dissolute actions that he was no longer able to be suffered in the said priory by unimpaired justice without grave scandal. And (we have also learned) that each and every one of these things was and is so public and well known in the district of Abergavenny and neighbouring places that they could and can not be hidden by any evasion.

Therefore we, having deliberated fully over these matters with the venerable father in Christ, John (de Monmouth), by the grace of God lord bishop of Llandaff, the diocesan of the place, and the devout man Dom Richard (Stradell), by the same grace abbot of Dore, (a member) of the Cistercian

order (and) a doctor of Holy Scripture, and other learned men assisting us and continuously present in the said inquiry and in the whole process done and held by us in this regard, because we have found, as is mentioned above, that the faculties of this very priory, leaving aside those (gifts) that the said nobleman has granted to the said priory from his goods, as is mentioned above, are sufficient for the support of twelve monks and a perpetual prior in the same (priory) – to be instituted and also ordained by us on the aforesaid authority – in accordance with the practice of regulars (and) especially (with that) of the country mentioned, institute and also order, by the aforesaid authority, that (there shall be) the aforesaid number of monks and a prior, who shall have authority in spiritualities and temporalities over the same (monks) who are intending to remain and serve there under obedience to that prior according to the form of the papal mandate, to the praise of the divine name (and) for the observance of the (Benedictine) Rule in the same priory. And we canonically provide to the same priory the devout man, Brother Richard de Bromwich, a monk of Worcester Cathedral Priory, of the order of St Benedict, a doctor of Holy Scripture, being in the priestly order and of legal age, a man born in lawful marriage, particularly prudent and strict, and very circumspect in spiritualities and temporalities, and expressly professed in the aforesaid order in the said Worcester Priory. And we appoint, institute, and also ordain that Brother Richard, by the same authority, to the office of prior of the said priory of Abergavenny on this occasion, fully committing to the same Brother Richard the care and administration of the said priory. We also ordain by the aforesaid authority that, as often thereafter as the said priory lacks a prior, the monks of the aforesaid priory shall choose a prior for themselves by canonical election, to be confirmed by the diocesan, as is just, and further that what the said papal mandate demands and requires shall be done, preserving for the aforesaid abbot and monastery of Le Mans a pension of 107s, which we have learned by the aforesaid inquiry was and is customary and due to the same of old. In witness of all these things we have ordered this, our letter, to be written and made public by the notary mentioned in writing below, and we have caused (it) to be corroborated by the affixing of our seal. Given at Abergavenny, 27 September AD 1320 and in the fourth year of our consecration.

CAERLEON

1187/8

Gerald of Wales' Itinerarium Kambriae BL: Cotton Domitian A.1 f 74v * (On passing by Usk Castle and Caerleon)

Caerleon on
the Usk

...From there, passing through Caerleon (and) leaving Monmouth Castle and the noble Forest of Dean, which provides a supply of game and iron for

Gloucester, far behind on the left across the Wye and on this side of the Severn, we stayed the night in Newport after quickly crossing the River Usk for the third time. Moreover it is called Caerleon, 'city of the legions,' for in the Welsh language, 'caer' means 'city' or 'fortified town.' In fact the legions sent into the island by the Romans were accustomed to make their winter quarters there, and from that fact it is called 'city of the legions.' Moreover this was an ancient and genuine city, once built in outstanding fashion by the Romans with walls of baked brick. You may still see here many traces of (its) former nobility: huge palaces imitating Rome's proud displays with formerly golden rooftops, because they had first been built by Roman princes and adorned with distinguished structures; a gigantic tower; famous baths; the remains of temples; and theatre sites with surpassing walls still partly remaining (but) all closed. Everywhere you will see, both within circuit of the walls and without, underground construction: aqueducts and passages below-ground. And, what I have judged notable among other things, you may see all around hypocausts, connected with wonderful skill by some adjoining and quite narrow air-ducts, heating inconspicuously (*or* in a hidden manner)....

DIXTON NEWTON

1618

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office HRO: HD4/1/177

f [206v]* (27 October)

Proceedings for Archenfield deanery, held in the consistory of Hereford Cathedral before Gabriel Wallwin, MA, deputy judge

...

Against George Llewellyn.

Dismissal

(*English*). He has acknowledged (his fault) and the lord (judge) enjoined on him two days of penance. On the last day of February 1618 (*ie*, 1618/19) David Williams certified (*ie*, that Llewellyn had complied) and the lord dismissed (Llewellyn).

Against David Williams.

Dismissal

(*English*). He has acknowledged (his fault) and the lord (judge) enjoined on him one day of penance. (His case was dealt with) in like manner.

Against William Rosser.

(Presented) in like manner. (Enjoined) in like manner. On the last day of February (1618/19) he is excommunicated.

Against William Price.

Dismissal

(*English*). (Excommunicated) in like manner. °On 28 September (1619)

Walter Horwell, cleric, appeared in the consistory, etc. In his person the lord vicar (general) absolved the said Price and restored him, etc, and thereon he issued a decree. Then after the said Horwell had sworn an oath that the said Price had performed (his) penance according to the decree, the lord (vicar general) dismissed him.°

Against Lewis Prichard.
(*English*). (Excommunicated) in like manner.

Dismissal

Against Richard Clarke.
(*English*). (Enjoined) in like manner. °On 4 June 1619 he appeared at Hereford before Master Gabriel Wallwin, MA, deputy judge, etc, and after cause had been shown, the lord (judge) dismissed him with a warning.°

Dismissal

Against Thomas Dillwin.
On the last day of February 1618 (*ie*, 1618/19) he appeared in the consistory and acknowledged (his fault) and the lord (judge) enjoined penance on him as above. He has certified (his compliance).

...

MONMOUTH/TREFYNWY

1621

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office HRO: HD4/1/172
ff [171v–2]*

Proceedings in the consistory of Hereford Cathedral before Gabriel Wallwin, MA, deputy judge, and in the presence of Thomas Crumpe, registrar

...

Philip Howell of 'Butholl.'

Detected (*English*). (He was) sought, etc, for 23 June 1621. The aforesaid (Howell), after being called, etc, did not appear. (Let him be cited) by ways and means for the next (court day). °After being cited by public edict for 13 July 1621, (he was) called, etc, and he did not appear, etc. He is excommunicated.°

Richard Acton (*English*).

On 23 June 1621 (his case was dealt with) in like manner. °After being cited by public edict for the aforesaid 13 July, (his case was dealt with) in like manner.°

Morus Acton for the like (offence).

On 23 June 1621 (his case was dealt with) in like manner. °After being

cited by public edict for the aforesaid 13 July, (his case was dealt with) in like manner.^o |

Blanche Davies for the like (offence).

^oAfter being cited by public edict for the aforesaid 13 July, (her case was dealt with) in like manner.^o

NEWPORT/CASNEWYDD-AR-WYSG

1187/8

Gerald of Wales' Itinerarium Kambriae BL: Cotton Domitian A.1
ff 77–7v* (On passing by Newport and Cardiff)

...

And so, after many had been drawn to the service of the cross at Newport, where the River Usk, descending from (its) source, the spring of Cantref Bychan, flows into the sea, (and) after we had quickly crossed the River Rhymni, we arrived at the noble fortified town of Cardiff upon the River Taff. Moreover, in the district of Newport, namely, in the territory of Wenlock, a stream meanders whose name is Nant Pencarn, passable only at certain places and fords, not so much because of the depth of the water as because of the curve of the river-bed and the muddiness of its pool. Moreover it had in old times a ford, whose name was Rhyd Pencarn, to which the high road used to lead. In Latin (its name) means 'uadum sub capite rupis' ('a ford beneath the head of the cliff'); for in the Welsh language 'rhyd' (means the same as) 'uadum' (ford) in Latin; 'pen,' 'caput' (head); 'carn,' 'rupis' (cliff). Making mention of it Merlin Silvestris burst forth in these words, 'When you see a gallant, freckled man attack the | South Walians, know that if he should cross Rhyd Pencarn, the strength of Wales will be made weak.'

Moreover it happened in our times that when King Henry II of the English took up arms against Rhys ap Gruffudd and made his way along the coast of South Wales toward Carmarthen, the old Welshmen of those parts awaited the coming of the prince with the greatest concern around the aforesaid ford on the day when he had to cross Nant Pencarn, intending to know for certain – since they knew he was both gallant and freckled – whether the crossing of the ford would agree (with those words to show) that the prophecy was fulfilled without a doubt by him. Therefore when the king had hastened to the aforesaid stream, led by the road, and had by then made preparation to cross at another ford of the same stream of which more modern practice had frequently made use, since the old ford mentioned in the prophesy had long fallen out of use, the trumpeters and horn players – whom they call 'cornhiriez' from 'hir,' that is, 'long,' and 'cornu' (horn) because they blow on long horns – began to play from the other bank of the ford as if rejoicing at

the king in honour of his coming. Wherefore when the horse that the king was riding, ignoring the spurs, entirely refused to enter the water for fear of so horrible and unaccustomed a noise, the king, turning the reins, hastened to go to the old ford, with his anger leading the way. When he instantly crossed it impetuously, the Welshmen, now sure by this proof as if of imminent death, returned mournfully to their homes.

...

MONTGOMERYSHIRE/ SIR DREFALDWYN

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

BUTTINGTON/TAL-Y-BONT

1619

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office HRO: HD4/1/177
f [312v] (12 October)

Proceedings for Pontesbury deanery arising from detections at a general session in September 1619, held in Ludlow parish church before Gabriel Wallwin, MA, surrogate judge

...

Against Thomas Phillips.

Detected (*English*). He appeared and acknowledged the article and the lord (judge) enjoined penance according to the schedule and warned him to make a copy of the form, etc, and to appear. °On 9 November the aforesaid (Phillips) did not appear, etc, after he was called, etc. He is excommunicated.°

Against the same.

Detected (*English*). (He was dealt with) in like manner.

Against the same.

(*English*). He appeared and denied (the article) and the lord (judge) enjoined canonical compurgation on him and warned him to make a copy of the proclamation. °Afterward he acknowledged that the article was true, whereupon the lord (judge) enjoined on him two days of penance in a penitential manner, one of them in the church there and the other in the church of Forden, and to certify (his compliance) on the next (court day).° °On 9 November aforesaid (he was dealt with) in like manner as above.°

Against the same.

(*English*). (He was dealt with) in like manner.

CHURCHSTOKE/YR YSTOG

1589

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office HRO: HD4/1/155

ff [231–1v] (8 September)

Proceedings for Pontesbury deanery held in Ludlow parish church before William Langford, deputy of Francis Bevans, LLD

...

Suspension

The schoolmaster there (has been) suspended. Noted in English (*English*).
Today he has not appeared. †

Lewis Powell
(has been) cited
(to appear) on
the next (court
day)

The churchwardens there (have been) suspended. They have to make presentment of the names of those who were present at this entertainment or play, etc. Today Edmund ap Howell, one of the churchwardens, appeared and sought the benefit of absolution and was absolved, etc. And he claimed that the same play was before he entered office. Wherefore the lord (judge) ordered Lewis Powell, one of the players, the other churchwarden, to appear on the next (court day) to make presentment of these names, etc.

...

f [263v] (30 September)

Proceedings for Pontesbury deanery held in Ludlow parish church before Francis Bevans, LLD, vicar general

...

He has
returned

The suspended schoolmaster. He was detected, in English (*English*).

Suspension
And he has
the names of
the players,
wherefore he
was dismissed

Lewis Powell, one of the churchwardens and one of the players. He has to make presentment of the names of those that were present at this play, etc. Today he did not appear.

...

HYSSINGTON

1605/6

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office HRO: HD4/1/213

ff 158v–9* (15 January)

Proceedings held in Ludlow parish church before James Bailey, LLD, vicar general, in the presence of James Lawrence, notary public and deputy registrar

...

Dismissal

Thomas ap Griffith, alias Brooke, detected (*English*). On 5 September 1606 in the church there (*ie*, at Hyssington) before Master Henry Griffithes, deputy, etc, the said Thomas ap Griffith, alias Brooke, appeared. After this article was charged against him he denied that the article was true, etc, and has to clear himself by the next (court day) with six compurgators, etc, after the proclamation had been made, etc. On 24 September 1606, after he was called, etc, he did not appear, etc. He should be cited to declare the reasons, etc. Afterward he did appear and produced certain men, Edward Gittins, Richard ap Rhys ap Lewis, John ap Howell, Richard Myddelton, and Thomas Androes, as his compurgators, etc, and he cleared himself according, etc (*ie*, according to the compurgation schedule). Therefore he is dismissed. |

Dismissal

Against the same. Detected (*English*). Today, 5 September aforesaid, he appeared before the before-mentioned deputy and, after this article was charged against him, he denied that the article was true. (He has) to clear himself with three compurgators, etc, after proclamation has been made, by the next (court day), etc. On 24 September aforesaid he cleared himself, etc. Therefore he is dismissed as, etc.

...

LLANFYLLIN

1582

Complaint in Lloyd v. Porter

NLW: Great Sessions Prothonotary Papers 13/10/15/[57]

ff [1–2]*

...

Oliver Lloyd, esq., is suing Howell Porter for this (reason), namely, that although the aforesaid Oliver is now a good, true, faithful, and honest subject and liege man of the now lady queen and has conducted, held, and governed himself since the time of his birth up until now as a good, true, faithful, and honest subject and liege man of the same now lady queen and her various progenitors, lately kings of England; (and although) the same Oliver was, during the whole period of time aforesaid, of good name, reputation, status, opinion, and credence among all the faithful and honest subjects of the said now lady queen to whom the same Oliver was known and was held, accepted, and reputed as a true, good, and faithful subject during all of the same period of time, and has not only continued among all his neighbours and other faithful subjects of the said now lady queen dwelling within the said county of Montgomery or elsewhere without any crime of burglary, of vagrancy, (of receiving) of vagrants, or of sacrilege or of any other harmful crime but has also always lived truly, honestly, and faithfully; and (although) he remains up until this time free from all such crimes and any one of them and well regarded, by reason of which, and also because of his right-dealing, honesty, and sincere manner of living, the

same Oliver has both won for himself the love and favour of all his neighbours and other faithful subjects of the said now lady queen and also has attained and gotten various advantages and benefits from the same his neighbours and other subjects of the said now lady queen by lawfully buying, selling, and contracting for sale, for the maintenance of that Oliver himself and of his whole household and the generous increase of his wealth; nevertheless the aforesaid Howell, not being ignorant of the foregoing, maliciously envying this Oliver's state and condition, and scheming and maliciously intending to deprive and despoil the same Oliver of these his goods, name, reputation, credence, and estimation, and to put him in danger of the loss of his life and of the forfeit of all his goods, chattels, lands, and tenements, did write, publish, proclaim, and declare on 10 March in the twenty-third year of the reign of the Lady Elizabeth, now queen of England, etc, at Llanfyllin in the aforesaid county in the presence and hearing of various subjects of the said now lady queen being then and there present, certain false, scandalous, and opprobrious songs or verses complaining of the same (Oliver) and to his scandal and defamation, in these words following, both in Welsh and in English words, namely:

I am not a man (who is) a housebreaker,
 Nor a destroyer, a prison breaker,
 Nor a grievous church robber,
 As you are, Oliver Lloyd of Leighton
 (*English*)

[And he has sung and published the same verses as often as possible after the said 10 March.] Indeed, by reason of these false, scandalous English and Welsh words contained in those songs, the same Oliver is not only offended and injured in many ways as to his aforesaid goods, name, reputation, credence, and estimation, but also his neighbours and other faithful subjects of the said now lady queen with whom the same Oliver was accustomed to consort are in some way reluctant to mix with that Oliver, and have removed themselves from the company of the said Oliver, and day by day remove themselves more and more. Therefore he says that he has been injured and suffers damage to the value of £1,000 and thereof he brings suit.

LLANIDLOES

c 1365

Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd's Poem to a Maypole

NLW: Peniarth MS 98A

pp 24–7*

...

A poem to a birch tree that Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd sang.

Green birch tree, your hair's in disarray;
Long an outlaw from the hillside woods,
Fine lance in the forest where you were nurtured,
Green-veiled, you've betrayed the grove.
A refuge for me and love's messenger
Was your bower in the brief nights of May.
We once had frequent songs – a hateful journey –
From your beautiful green branches,
Each song, the road's fashioning,
I heard in your bright greenery; I
Each herb between the hazel sprouts
That grew beneath your leaves,
When it was by a maiden's counsel,
Your dwelling last year in the grove.
Now you no longer meditate on love,
Your branches up there are deaf.
You have gone entirely
From the field – in spite of the cost –
From the hillside and signal honour
To the town, a swift exchange!
Though your favoured resting place may seem good
In Llanidloes town amongst the crowd,
I don't like it, my birch tree,
Neither your abduction, your country, nor your dwelling.
It's not a good place there for you to
Bring forth your leaves.
Each city garden has green feathers;
Was it not unseemly, birch tree,
To bring about your withering here,
A sad pole next to the pillory?
Have you not come at the time of leaf-bearing
To the dry centre of the cross-roads? I
Though you may be pleasant, so they say,
Better, tree, to be a roof for the brook.
No bird sleeps nor sings,
With its shrill voice, in your gentle boughs,
So frequent, sister of the shady woods,
Will the noise of people be about your tent.
Harsh wound, the green grass no longer grows
Where the town tramples under you,
No more than on the windswept path
Of Adam and the first woman.
You've become a part of the cattle-dealing,

And you look like a tradeswoman.
 Everyone at the fair with pleasant chatter
 Points a finger at your pain,
 In your grey petticoat and your old fur,
 Amidst the tawdry merchandise.
 No longer, by your sister's side, does
 The bracken hide your bold seedlings.
 Neither privacy, nor mystery,
 Nor shade beneath your slim eaves,
 Nor do you shelter, sharp glance from above,
 The April primroses;
 No memory comes to you of wishing,
 Fair protector, for the birds of the valley. |
 Woe to us, God, the thin cold land,
 A sudden fear, for your ensnaring.
 Higher than noble Tegfedd
 Up there, fine in your peak.
 Choose of the two, captive branches –
 Your burgess-hood is naive –
 Either go back home to the mountain field
 Or wither there in the town.

...

PEMBROKESHIRE/SIR BENFRO

Boroughs, Parishes, and Other Locations

CEMAIS

1188

Gerald of Wales' De Rebus a se Gestis BL: Cotton Tiberius B.XIII
 f 173v col 2–f 174 col 1* (*A preaching tour in Cemaïs and Cardiganshire*)

...

® (Chapter) 31

Moreover the archbishop, making his way and coming thence to St David's, since he was hastening his journey to Rhys, prince of South Wales, who was waiting for him at Aberteifi, ordered Gerald, the archdeacon, to be his deputy in preaching there upon the word of God. Where indeed many men | that heard him rushed to the sign of the cross with great devotion, but many more, much moved by his word and having a sure plan to take up the cross at the intermediary's voice, which came forth neither in such a well-arranged manner or pleasingly, shrank immediately after from the vow taken; for as the orator Apollonius says, 'Nothing dries more quickly than tears.'

On the morrow indeed at Cemais, yet not far from the bridge of Aberteifi, where the people of those parts had gathered before Prince Rhys, a great body of men was won over at the word first of the archbishop and then of the archdeacon. Wherefore, on the very same day, a certain witty man who customarily provided great consolation to the court with (his) feigned foolishness and ready tongue, whose name was John Spang, said to Rhys, 'O Rhys, you must love your cousin, this archdeacon, very much because today he has sent a hundred of your men and more to Christ's service. And if he had spoken in the Welsh tongue I don't think that one man would have remained with us out of your whole multitude!...

...

MILFORD HAVEN/ABERDAUGLEDDYF

1399

Jean Creton's Chronicle BL: Harley MS 1319

ff 2v-3*

...

A great many, more than ever before, of his (the king's) finest friends had been killed. (The king) did not wish to be at rest or peace until he had taken adequate revenge against MacMorogh, who calls himself 'excellent king' and 'lord' of Hibernia the Great and of Ireland. In wars there is no room for complaint nor delay; thus the king repeatedly commands (his followers) to set forth and that, as soon as the order is given, each should come to the port of Milford, where it is well stocked. There we spent ten whole days in joy and diversion, awaiting the north wind, so that we might depart. One could hear many trumpets resounding there (and) minstrels by day and night. From all quarters armed men arrived to load the vessels with bread, with wine, with cows and calves, with salted meat, and with great barrels of water (and) to guide (on board) horses that were good and beautiful.

...

RADNORSHIRE/SIR FAESYFED

Boroughs, Parishes, and Townships

NORTON

1599

Diocese of Hereford Acts of Office HRO: HD4/1/157

f [183v] (6 November)

Proceedings for Leominster deanery, held in the consistory of Hereford Cathedral

before Richard Madokes, LLB, deputy judge, and in the presence of James Lawrence, notary public

...

Excommunica-
tion

Osmund Goode, vicar there, (*English*), without church authority. Cited for 19 February (1599/1600) aforesaid, etc.

...

APPENDIX 2

Mid-16th century

Preservation of Welsh Music NLW: Peniarth MS 155B
pp 79–83

This is the book that is called 'The Preservation of Welsh Music.'

That is, harps and crwths within the three bardic provinces of Wales; these were drawn out of the complexity of music through the understanding and imagination of a doctor of the art, and through the desire of the four chief musicians of harp and crwth and the thought and ingenuity of all of them together in the making of music, the keeping of it in memory, and singing it in the (appropriate) place and its classification; and the names of those four chief musicians are Allon ap Cynaf, Rhydderch Foel, Matholwch Gwyddel, and Olaf Gerddor. And listening to them, Henry Cefnrhudd and Karsi Delyniwr and many others adding their counsel and experience to theirs, and by uniting the advice of those masters and wise men with the art of the doctor of music and the art of the teachers were created the | twenty-four measures. And to support the twenty-four measures were made the twenty-four 'deifr.' And they were created for three purposes: first to make music, second to recognize music, third to keep music in memory, as names were first memorized in the Irish language. And Mwrthan Gwyddel was principal lord at that time and confirmed them in the place called Glendalough by virtue of all his power and his offices, and commanded everyone to support them, and indeed if there is someone who knows the twenty-four measures correctly and properly unmuddled and the gamut classified, both (of these) together, it is no stranger for him to hear a mistake in a song than for a good reader to notice when a letter or syllable or word is omitted from the argument, and therefore it proves that in the case of the 'clymau' and 'caniadau,' 'cyweirdannau' and 'tyniadau,' of which there are some strong and some weak. Four weak 'cyweirdannau' equal one strong one, and in the same way as the strong 'tyniadau,' and from those are produced the | 'pynciau,' and from the 'pynciau' are created the measures, and from the measures are created the 'profidau,' the 'gostegion,' the 'ceinciau,' the 'clymau,' and the 'caniadau.' Let

us mention moreover the 'crychiadau,' the 'plethiadau,' the 'cysylltiadau' and 'stopiadau,' 'tagiadau' and 'tolcadau.' This is how 'cysylltiad' gets its name, because it connects 'cyweirdannau' and 'tyniadau.' This is how 'tagiad' gets its name, because it sometimes creates a stop between the 'cyweirdant' and 'tyniad' in music. 'Crychiadau' fill in between 'cyweirdannau' and 'tyniadau' and sometimes, where the finger stops the 'tolciadau,' are counted instead of bowings. 'Plethiadau' begin 'cyweirdannau' and 'tyniadau' and provide ornament between a 'tyniad' and a 'cyweirdant,' and compete with each other in the classification.

Let us also speak about the tunings and their relations, | each of which displays a different voice. There are five warranted standard tunings; from those can be produced whichever tunings are desired. One of the crwth player's fingers controls three tunings, the low tuning, the harsh tuning, and the changeable tuning. The index finger keeps the sharp tuning and the mixed tuning, in which every finger stays down. This is why it is called the mixed tuning, because it contains some of each tuning. There are four types of retunable strings: the retunable strings of the mixed tuning, the retunable strings of the low tuning, the retunable strings of the middle tuning, and the retunable strings of the retunable key, which gets its name because of them. And whoever knows these facts without a craftsman's education, he will not be a teacher but rather a dabbler in music.

How many times should a 'cwlwm cytgerdd' occur in a 'cwlwm' or 'caniad'? Twice if the measure is short, four times if the measure is long, no more, no less. And if it is more or less, it is a faulty | measure. Eight 'tyniadau' and 'cyweirdannau' stand each one in place of the other, no more, no less, and whoever knows this studiously enough, his craftsmanship will never fail at any time, nor with regard to answering for it legally. And thus concludes the classification, called the hand and foot and ear of the lore of Welsh music.

Mid-16th century

Classification of Welsh Music NLW: Peniarth MS 62

pp 17–20

Here is the classification of Welsh music, that is, 'cyweirdannau' and 'tyniadau.' Some of them are weak, others are strong. Four weak 'cyweirdannau' are equal to one strong. Four (weak) 'tyniadau' are equal to one strong. And from those are created 'pynciau,' and from the 'pynciau' are created measures, and from the measures are created 'ceinciau.' And from the 'ceinciau' are created 'clymau' and 'caniadau.' There are twenty-four principal or special measures. And from those teachers created twenty-four 'deifr.' And they exist for three reasons. The first is to produce music, the second to recognize music, the third to keep music in mind. Oloch Foel and Henry Cefnrhudd and Marchan Gwyddel

and their pupils in the time of Cwysen, son of Karsi of Glendalough in Ireland, (were the) teachers and creators of this art and the measures and the 'caniadau.' See further at the end of the book. |

About the minstrelsy of instrumental music.

About a strong 'cyweirdant' and how many of them are strong: there are seven of them altogether, and of the seven, four change in some way and the others do not do so. There is a reason why they do not, because the three are principal or special and the four are not.

There is a reason for them, because there is not one number between them and they are not of the same movement.

What is begun on a (particular) 'cyweirdant' must be sung through until it ends. What is begun on a weak 'cyweirdant' can be judged as desired, and because of that one cannot be without one of the four weak ones in a song. And not one of the four weak ones stands without the strength of the other three. And the four weak ones are called 'cynhwysdannau.' They will be 'tyniadau' in many places. And for that reason they are called inclusive strings. | And the three strong 'cyweirdannau' stand alone from the three 'llanw' that are between them. How many times should a consonance occur in a 'cwlwm' or 'caniad'? Twice if short, four times if long.

How did 'tagiad' get its name? Because it creates a stop between a 'tyniad' and a 'cyweirdant.'

How did 'crychiad' get its name? Because it resolves a 'cyweirdant' and a 'tyniad.'

How did 'plethiad' get its name? Because it creates an ornament between a 'cyweirdant' and a 'tyniad.'

Let us speak moreover about the tunings and their relations, each one of which display different voices from the others.

There are five standard and warranted tunings, that is, the mixed tuning, and the harsh tuning, and the middle tuning, and the changeable tuning and the low tuning. From those can be produced any desired tunings. |

There are four retunable strings: the retunable mixed tuning, and the retunable middle tuning, and the retunable low tuning, and the retunable tuning, which gets its name for that reason. All tunings are mixed together, and through education it is possible to classify the complement between the tunings.

c 1560

The Musical Measures NLW: NLW MS 17,116B
f 62v (*Measures for harp*)

The 'tri mwchl odidog' was previously ranked as high as fifty 'clymau'; whoever sings thirty 'clymau' before (the 'pencerdd') will attain the level of a

'tri mwchl' of fifty, and whatever harper who learns (a piece for) a silver trophy must know the 'tri mwchl' in its sophisticated version with its 'colofnau' and 'cadeiriau,' and its price is £5. Also there is the new 'tri mwchl' ranked the same, "but it, on the other hand, is only ranked as high as four 'cadeiriau.'"

ff 69–9v (*Measures for crwth*)

Here are the twenty-four measures of music and the names of the measures according to the crwth players:

(*List follows*)

And thus ends (the list of) all the measures. And whoever wants to know the role of a harper, it is opposite, that is, the 'tyniad' of the crwth player is the 'cowndant' of the musician, and the 'cowndant' is like a 'tyniad,' but the zero is the 'cowndant' of the crwth player, and that is the 'tyniad' of a harper.

A teacher and master craftsman and a master craftsman's apprentice: the apprentice of a master craftsman and a master craftsman have the same reward, but since the master craftsman has the greater learning, and the other sets everything by the rules, their reward is first into his hand.

Now the fourth level of instructable apprentice (*blank*).

f 68v (*Additional measures*)

Here are the names of certain of the 'clymau' and 'caniadau' and the other measures of the art:

(*List follows*)

c 1560

Tune Lists: Ceinciau NLW: NLW MS 17,116B

ff 70–70v

Here are the names of many of the 'ceinciau' that no one made:

(*List follows*)

Mid-16th century

Tune Lists: Gostegion NLW: Peniarth MS 62

p 144

...

The names of the four musical 'gostegion':

The 'gosteg' of the salt, made for the service of dinner and supper in the court of Arthur.

The 'gosteg' of Ieuan ab y Gof of Pencarreg.

The 'gosteg' of Dafydd Ddu Athro.

The 'gosteg' of Y Llwydteg.

c 1560

Tune Lists: Caniadau NLW: NLW MS 17,116B

f 62

...

The four principal 'caniadau' for harp:

(List follows)

ff 67v-8

Here are the names of the four principal 'caniadau' for crwth music:

(List follows)

Now we present the names of many of the various other 'caniadau'
and 'gostegion':

(List follows)

and those which are 'clymau.'

ff 71-2v

Also here are shown many of the 'caniadau' and the 'bargweiriadau,' first the 'caniadau' that are in the 'bragod gywair' and the old 'bragod gywair' tunings.

(List follows)

Here, further, are listed the 'caniadau' that are in the 'cras gywair' tuning.

(List follows)

...

c 1560

Tune Lists: Clymau NLW: NLW MS 17,116B

ff 66v-7

Now here are the names of many of the 'clymau':

(List follows)

c 1560

Tune Lists: Cadeiriau NLW: NLW MS 17,116B

f 62

...

The four 'cadeiriau' for harp:

(List follows)

...

f 66

...

Now here are the names of the four 'cadeiriau' for crwth:
(*List follows*)

c 1560***Tune Lists: Colofnau*** NLW: NLW MS 17,116Bf 62 (*Colofnau for harp*)

Here are the names of the four 'colofnau' for harp music in
Powys and Gwynedd:
(*List follows*)

f 66 (*Colofnau for crwth*)

Here are the names of the four 'colofnau' for music (...).
(*List follows*)

...

APPENDIX 3

OVERTON

1284

Gifts and Other Expenses for the Welsh Wars TNA: PRO C 47/3/21/10
single sheet

...

To barber/s of Sir Thomas de Clare as the king's gift	20s
Memorandum, for Welsh minstrel/s coming to the king at	
Overton as the king's gift	10s
To Thomas, the fool of Sir Thomas de Clare as the king's gift	13s 4d

...

RHUDDLAN

1282

Wages and Other Expenses for the Welsh Wars TNA: PRO C 47/3/18
mb 4

...

Gifts On the queen's purification day at Rhuddlan £10 were delivered to various minstrels that were there at the same time as the queen's gift.... 12d (were delivered) to an entertainer as a gift....

CHEPSTOW/CAS-GWENT (STRIGOIL)

1311

Royal Wardrobe Account TNA: PRO E 101/374/19

f 8 (31 December) (Gifts)

...

Minstrels

To King Druet, viol player, and John Perle, trumpet player, the lord earl of Gloucester's minstrels, making their minstrelsy in the presence of the Lords (Thomas and Edmund), as their gift, when the arrival of Sir John Weston was announced at Strigoil on the last (day) of December

13s 4d

To William de Hereford, once harper of Sir John ap Adam, making his minstrelsy in the presence of Lords (Thomas and Edmund), as their gift, there the same day

5s

...

APPENDIX 5

'1564'

The 'Llandaff' Eisteddfod NLW: NLW MS 13,089E

p 320 col 1

...

Llandaff eisteddfod in 1564

1. Sir Thomas Jones
2. Sils ap Siôn
3. William Dyfi
4. Thomas Brwynllys
5. Thomas Llywelyn
6. Meurig Dafydd
7. Siôn Mawddwy
8. Thomas Lewis
9. Maredudd ap Rhoser
10. Hopcyn Twm Phylip
11. Twm Siôn Cati
12. Sir Siôn Gruffydd of Llangrallo (Coychurch)
13. Evan Gruffydd, his brother
14. Mr William Evans, the chancellor, as judge
15. Dafydd Benwyn

Endnotes

3–4 BL: Cotton Domitian A.1 ff 64–4v

Gerald quotes the story of St Patrick's horn from his *Topographia Hibernica*, distinction 3, chapter 34, pp 180–1. Gerald conducted his tour of Wales as a member of the company of Archbishop Baldwin, whose circuit of Wales was undertaken to preach the Third Crusade. At this point in the journey, Wednesday, 9 March 1187/8, Gerald and Archbishop Baldwin have reached Brecon and Gerald has presented a copy of the *Topographia* to the archbishop. He takes the opportunity to insert into his travelogue a record of events that took place in the region during his lifetime. It is clear from the variety of the following narratives that the region includes Brecon itself and the Wye valley, as well as Bury St Edmunds and the north of England, although when Gerald claims that St Patrick's horn was brought 'in partes istas' (p 3, ll.5–6) it is likely that he is speaking of southeast Wales. Some manuscripts of the *Topographia* name the horn's owner as St Brendan.

5–6 BL: Harley MS 4353 ff 9v–10

The sigla used for the manuscripts of the Cyfnerth recension of the Laws follow those given by T.M. Charles-Edwards, *The Welsh Laws* (Cardiff, 1989), 101–2. V (BL: Harley MS 4353) has clearly lost some pages and has been supplemented by W (BL: Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv), which is in the same hand.

7–10 BL: Cotton Domitian A.1 ff 120v–1, 121v–3

I have accepted Dimock's dating of the second version of the *Descriptio*, which I have used as the base text. I have taken the large coloured initials of the manuscript as paragraph indications. The passage Gerald quotes from his *Topographia Hibernica* (p 8, ll.11–26) is from distinction 3, chapter 11, pp 153–4. For his examples of alliteration in Welsh verse (p 9, ll.9, 12) Gerald has taken lines from two stanzas of moral verses, the 'Englynion y Clyweit,' or 'stanzas of things heard.' Each of these gnomic poems is in the same form: the first line sets the 'have you heard?' question and names the speaker of the gnome, the second line describes him, and the third line provides the gnomic statement. Gerald has taken two of the gnomes as his examples. Though clearly composed at least two centuries earlier two manuscripts of the 'Englynion y Clyweit' survive, NLW: Llanstephan MS 27 (the Red Book of Talgarth) from about 1400, and Oxford: Jesus College MS 3 from about 1425. In the Llanstephan text the full stanzas read:

A glyweisti a gant dirmic.
milwr doeth detholedic.
digawn duw da y unic.

(Have you heard what Dirmic said?
A wise chosen warrior:
'God will give enough to the lonely.')

A glyweist di a gant anarawt.
milwr donyawc did[l]awt.
reit wrth amhwyll pwyll parawt.

(Have you heard what Anarawd sang?
A warrior endowed with many gifts:
'Lack of sense needs a quick wit.')

(NLW: Llanstephan MS 27, ff 162–2v; also in Ifor Williams and T.H. Parry-Williams, 'Englynion y Clyweit,' *BBCS* 3 (1927), 4–21; the Jesus College text of the englynion was printed in Jones, *Myvyrian Archaeology*, vol 1, pp 172–5.)

In the lower margin of f 122 of the *Descriptio* a hand of the seventeenth or early eighteenth century has given a modernized version:

Dychawn dduw dda i ddyn vnyc
Erbyn dibwyll pwyll parawn.
alias dychawn duw dad y vnyc

Gerald's quotation from Lucan's *Pharsalia* (p 9, ll.1–2) is incorrectly attributed to Juvenal in an annotation in the left margin. The epigram 'Dum dubitat natura' (p 9, l.24) has been attributed both to Vergil, as here, and to Ausonius, although it is no longer considered even part of the Appendix Vergiliana, and references to it usually attribute it to Pseudo-Ausonius. In *The Oxford Book of Latin Verse* (H.W. Garrod (ed), (Oxford, 1912), 399, poem 350) it is attributed to Pseudo-Ausonius and dated c 350–400(?). It appeared in the 1886 Teubner edition of Ausonius by R. Peiper in a section headed 'Incertorum olim cum Ausonianis edita.' The 1919 edition for the Loeb Classical Library puts the poem in an appendix (H.G.E. White (ed), vol 2 (London, 1919–21), 288). R.P.H. Green's 1999 Oxford Classical Text of Ausonius does not mention it although his earlier full edition includes the poem in appendix A under the heading 'Epigrammata Varia.' See R.P.H. Green (ed), *The Works of Ausonius* (Oxford, 1991), 671, 673.

Gerald's English examples are made somewhat opaque by the scribe's false word division. The first (p 9, l.14) should read, 'God is togedere gamen and wisdom,' meaning '(It) is good (for) mirth and wisdom (to exist) together.' The second (p 9, l.16) should run, 'Ne halt nocht al sor isaid, ne al sorghe atwite,' meaning 'It does not avail (for) every injury (to be) spoken of, nor to assign blame for every trouble.' The third (p 9, l.19) is correctly divided and may be rendered 'Good counsel is better than rash action and cunning, than wicked force.' See *MED* god *adj* 3(a), togeder *adv* 1b, game *n* 1, ne *adv* 1(a), holden *v* 26b, nought *adv* 1(b), al *lim adj* & *n* 2a(d), seien *v* 9a, sōr(e *n* 6, sorne *n* 1(a), atwiten *v* 1, red *n*(1) 1a(a), rape *n*(1) b, list(e *n*(1) 1a, lither(e *adj* 1c, and strength(e *n* 1. The third proverb seems to have been a common one in medieval England; see the parallels given under *MED* list(e).

The first two proverbs display the normal pattern of alliterative verse inherited from Old English, in which the line has four stresses with a distinct break after the second stress word, and the first three stresses help to bear the alliteration while the fourth does not. The third proverb displays a different

verse type: the two main stresses of the first half alliterate together, while the second half also has two stress words alliterating together but on a different sound and 'streingthe' either carries a third stress or, more likely, is subordinated to the preceding adjective.

On Gerald's discussion of Welsh music, see Philip Weller, 'Gerald of Wales's View of Music,' *Welsh Music History/Hanes Cerddoriaeth Cymru* 2 (1997), 1–64.

11 NLW: Peniarth MS 28B p 1 col 2

The sigla used for the manuscripts of the Latin recensions of the Laws follow those given by T.M. Charles-Edwards, *The Welsh Laws* (Cardiff, 1989), 102.

15, 17–18 BL: Cotton Titus D.II ff 2–2v, 6v

The sigla used for the manuscripts of the Iorwerth recension of the Laws follow those given by T.M. Charles-Edwards, *The Welsh Laws* (Cardiff, 1989), 100. Damage to MS A (NLW: Peniarth MS 29B) is in some cases so severe that the text is only partly visible and could not be thoroughly checked for collation. The facsimile edition preserves some readings that have since become illegible and has been used to supplement the manuscript (see Evans, *Facsimile of the Chirk Codex of the Welsh Laws*). The collation is also complicated by the fact that the manuscripts use a variety of layouts: A gives the list of officers (p 15, ll.6–13) in two blocks of columns while D (NLW: Peniarth MS 32) presents the list as run-on prose. For the purposes of collation, text in columns has been read consecutively from top to bottom rather than from left to right across the page.

The discussion of the jester's horse and halter (p 17, l.20–p 18, l.1) is grammatically ambiguous as to the location where the halter is tied. As Dafydd Jenkins has pointed out (in *The Law of Hywel Dda* (Llandysul, 1990), 227) it could be tied around the testicles either of the man or of the horse on the basis of the syntax alone. Fortunately the parallel Latin text in Redaction E (see p 26, ll.20–1) is expressed unambiguously, making it clear that the halter is tied round the horse's testicles and suggesting that the jester was expected to ride his horse backward from the court.

23–6 BL: Cotton Titus D.IX ff 5v, 7v, 8v, 16v–17, 18–18v, 51

The sigla used for the manuscripts of the Blegywryd recension of the Laws follow those given by T.M. Charles-Edwards, *The Welsh Laws* (Cardiff, 1989), 100–1. The text of NLW: Peniarth MS 33 (M) has been extensively obscured by gall wash and is often illegible; Massachusetts Historical Society: MS E187 (Bo) is heavily worn and the outer edges of many pages are no longer readable.

26 CCCC: MS 454 f 9

In the E2 copy (Merton College, Oxford: MS 323) glosses have frequently been added, but in some cases (as with the 'Croissan,' l.20) it is clear that the copyist has entirely missed the point.

28 TNA: PRO C 74/5 mb 15

Henry IV's anti-Welsh laws were in part a reaction to the Glyn Dŵr rebellion that had begun two years earlier with an attack on Ruthin, Denbighshire. They remained in force until the Acts of Union in 1536 and 1543, though their enforcement was sporadic. The 'kymorthas' ('comorthas') (l.22) to which the statute refers were originally a form of community assistance intended to aid those in economic difficulty; by the fifteenth century, however, it is clear that they were exacted as a form of local taxation rather than through need. Actions against the exaction of comorthas appear frequently in the records of the Council in the Marches of Wales through the later sixteenth century.

28–9 NLW: NLW MS 17,116B ff 61v, 65v

The first list of harp teachers on f 61v overlaps significantly with the composers of pieces in the well-known Robert ap Huw manuscript (BL: Additional MS 14,905), where harp pieces appear by six of the fourteen names listed here. The identities of these harpers/composers are discussed in detail by Peter Crossley-Holland, *The Composers in the Robert ap Huw Manuscript: The Evidence for Identity, Dating and Locality* (Bangor, 1998), 10–40, 45–56. The names that appear in both sources are Ieuan ab y Gof, Dafydd Athro, Llywelyn ab Ieuan ab y Gof, Cadwgan, Y Llwydteg, and Cynwrig Bencerdd (p 28, ll.34–6, 38–9). See also Dafydd Wyn Wiliam, 'Ifan ab y Gof, Llywelyn ab Ifan ab y Gof, and Dafydd ab y Gof (Dafydd Athro): Three Anglesey Composers?' *Welsh Music History/Hanes Cerddoriaeth Cymru* 4 (2000), 21–38.

The second list of famous crwth players covers the whole of the Middle Ages. Many of them are identified only by surviving tunes or tune names; the surviving information is summarized by Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' pp 140–61. Rhydderch Foel (p 29, l.4) may have been the Rhydderch who gave his name to one of the 'caniadau' (Appendix 2, p 282, l.25). He is mentioned in the *Llyfr Cadwedigaeth Cerdd Dannau* (*Preservation of Welsh Music*) as one of the four masters of the harp and crwth (Appendix 2, p 274, l.11); see Sally Harper, 'So How Many Irishmen Went to Glyn Achlach? Early Accounts of the Formation of *Cerdd Dant*,' *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 42 (2001), 1–25. Like Rhydderch Foel, Olaf (p 29, l.4), or Olaf Gerddor as he is usually styled, appears in the *Llyfr Cadwedigaeth* as one of the four masters. His name may be Irish (Enid Roberts, 'Marwnadau Telynorion,' *DHST* 15 (1966), 88, n 5). Kabwlka Grythor is otherwise unknown, as is Gwas Dewi (p 29, l.5), although Gwas Dewi survives as a place name in the parish of Rhosyr, Anglesey (A.D. Carr, *Medieval Anglesey* (Llangefni, 1982), 140, n 48). One of the four principal 'caniadau' for crwth was named after Ankws (p 29, l.5), and he is listed as the composer of one of the four principal 'colofnau' (Appendix 2, p 286, l.15) and several 'caniadau' (Appendix 2, p 281, l.39; p 282, l.24; and p 283, l.7). One each of the four principal 'caniadau' and 'colofnau' is named after Llef Gŵr (p 29, l.5 and Appendix 2, p 281, l.38 and p 286, l.16), and one each of the four principal 'caniadau' and 'colofnau' is named after Gwrnerth (p 29, l.5 and Appendix 2, p 281, l.40 and p 286, l.17). Several tunes are named after Gruffudd Grythor (p 29, l.5), including an elegaic 'caniad' and two 'clymau.' It is not certain whether he is one of the two men (named 'Griffid Crouthur' and 'Gryffin Crouthur' respectively) who appear in the Merioneth lay subsidy roll for 1293–4 (Keith Williams-Jones (ed), *The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll, 1292–3*, Board of Celtic Studies, History and Law Series, no 29 (Cardiff, 1976), 34, 91).

Several 'caniadau,' including one of the four principal 'caniadau,' are named after Y Passant (p 29, l.6 and Appendix 2, p 281, l.41; p 282, l.5; and p 283, l.17), and Athro Nant's name is attached to an elegaic 'cwlwm' (p 29, l.6 and Appendix 2, p 284, l.37). No other references to Einion ab Adda survive but Gruffudd ab Einion ab Adda (p 29, ll.6–7) was clearly his son. A poem in Madog Grythor's (p 29, l.7) praise by Gruffudd ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan gives a few details of his life ('Athro pob crythor yw pwy,' listed as Maldwyn 5497 in Maldwyn, the Index to Welsh Poetry in Manuscript database, at the National Library of Wales). The son of one Ieuan of Gronwy, Madog came from Gwynedd and achieved a reputation as both a teacher and a performer. Llywelyn Grythor Hen ('Allwelyn grythor hen,' p 29, l.7) may be the Llywelyn Grythor who appears in NLW: Peniarth MS 54, f 298v, dating from the end of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. His name does not appear in the list of graduates from the 1523 eisteddfod but he may have died before that time. It is likely that the Robert Reynolds who was paid £3 6s 8d on 4 August 1537 as Henry VIII's Welsh musician, and who appears in a variety of Welsh sources as Robert Rheinallt, was the son of Rheinallt Grythor (p 29, l.7). He, too, may have died before the 1523 eisteddfod (Walter Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (London, 1953), 298).

Although very little is known about Howell Llanvor of Penllyn (p 29, ll.7–8), Robert ap Howell Llanvor, clearly his son, graduated as master harper at the 1567 Caerwys eisteddfod and appeared in the Aberffraw list of a few years earlier (see p 168, l.18 and p 178, l.7). Bedo ap Madog Grythor (p 29, l.8) was doubtless the son of the Madog Grythor who appeared earlier in this list and was probably the brother of Thomas. Nothing else is known of him. Thomas ap Madog (p 29, l.8) was one of four performers admitted to the rank of master crwth player at a wedding feast and was confirmed at the 1523 eisteddfod (see p 167, l.31). He probably was also Madog Grythor's son. NLW: NLW MS 3039B (previously Mostyn 131), p 708, lists Thomas as 'krythor a gwas ir brenin harri wythfed' ('crwth player and servant to King Henry VIII').

29–30 BL: Lansdowne MS 111 ff 10–10v

Meredydd Evans has suggested that this report may have been the work of Nicholas Robinson, bishop of Bangor, and that is certainly a possibility ('Canu Cymru yn yr Unfed Ganrif ar Bymtheg,' *Cof Cenedl* 13 (1998), 52). The volume in which this document survives is a collection of the papers of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and its content suggests that it was a report commissioned by Cecil in his capacity as lord treasurer. Cecil took office in 1572 and remained in that position until his death in 1598, although later in his career he had far more pressing problems on his mind than the state of religion in North Wales. Robinson was bishop of Bangor from 1566 until 1585 and was succeeded by Hugh Bellot. The list (p 29, ll.37–8) of those whom the Welsh revere is extraordinarily eclectic, including one sixth-century poet (Taliesin), one legendary character (Merlin), and three Welsh saints (Beuno, Cybi, and Ernin).

30–1 STC: 4606 pp 190–2

The excerpt from David Powel's *Historie* included here is part of the chronicle entry on Gruffudd ap Cynan for the year 1137 and reflects the traditional Welsh belief that Gruffudd returned to Wales from Ireland with musicians, whose work formed the basis for Welsh poetry and music. The 'Statute' (p 30, l.30) referred to is the so-called Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan that, despite its name, derived from the Caerwys eisteddfod of 1523 (see pp 159–65 for the full text; see also Osian Ellis, 'Welsh Music: History and Fancy,' *THSC*, session 1972–3 (1974), 78–9).

31–3 Evans: *Report*, vol 1 pp 293–5

The petition seems to have produced no result, which Dafydd Bowen attributes to weaknesses within the Council at this time ('Ail Eisteddfod Caerwys,' p 156). Enid Roberts also notes that members of the Mostyn family, who had been instrumental in the organization of both earlier eisteddfodau, no longer appear in the list of petitioners and that the traditional site of Caerwys, Flintshire, is not mentioned ('Eisteddfod Caerwys 1567,' p 33).

33–4 TNA: PRO SP 46/3/12 ff [6v–7]

I have included this set of instructions to the lord president of the Council in the Marches since it forms the legal basis for prosecutions of libels and slanders contained in public performances, predominately impromptu recitations in the alehouse or street. An account of a prosecution under this directive is given in Cardiganshire, pp 83–6. Another copy of these instructions, with only minor orthographic differences, is at TNA: PRO SP 46/3/11.

34–5 NLW: Llanstephan MS 144 pp 1–5

Llanstephan MS 144 is a treatise on Welsh orthography by the great copyist and calligrapher John Jones

of Gellilyfdy, on whom see pp 411–12, endnote to NLW: Peniarth MS 267 pp 53–64. The poet Tudur Aled (fl 1480–1526; p 34, l.24) was born in Llansannan, Denbighshire, though he wrote for patrons in many parts of Wales, including Sir Rhys ap Thomas of Dinefwr, Carmarthenshire. The details of his education are not known though he has been traditionally seen as a student of Dafydd ab Edmwnd, who was closely associated with the Carmarthen eisteddfod of 1451. He may also have studied with Ieuan ap Llywelyn who, T. Gwynn Jones suggests, may have been present at the wedding of Ieuan ap Dafydd ab Ithel Fychan described here, at which Tudur received his first bardic honour. The passage is from Tudur Aled's elegy for Ieuan ap Dafydd and is printed in Jones' edition. Tudur Aled was the senior presiding bard at the Caerwys eisteddfod of 1523. See further T. Gwynn Jones, *Gwaith Tudur Aled* (Cardiff, 1926), vol 1, 310–13; vol 2, 677–8.

35–6 NLW: Cwrtmawr MS 34B pp 25–6

Lewis Penmon (p 35, l.28), son of Ieuan Penmon who graduated as master crwth player at the 1567 Caerwys eisteddfod (see p 178, l.30 and p 180, l.37), appears in a variety of documents between 1571 and 1601 (Dafydd Wyn Wiliam, *Traddodiad Cerdd Dant ym Môn* (Tenby, 1989), 36). Lewis was not a harper, as stated here, but a crwth player like his father, and his name appears in the list of participants at the 1595 Christmas feast at Lleweni (p 155, l.10). Sir Henry Salusbury (p 35, l.29), father of Sir Thomas Salusbury, inherited the estate of Lleweni in 1612. The following name, Heilin (p 35, l.29), may be incorrect, likely an error for 'Peilin.' The harper (not crwth player as written here) Robert Peilin appears frequently in documents and poems, and he was also one of the participants in the 1595 Christmas feast (see p 155, l.14). Peilin also wrote an elaborate treatise on music in partial imitation of John Dowland's *Andreas Ornithoparcus his Micrologus* (London, 1609; STC: 18853). The treatise survives in CLIS: MS 2.617 (formerly Hafod 3); it has been edited by Irwen Cockman, 'Traethawd ar gerddoriaeth gan y telynor Robert Peilin (c 1613),' MPhil thesis (University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1999), 154–207, and is discussed in detail by Irwen Cockman, 'Robert Peilin (c 1575–c 1638) and His Essay on Music, "Josseffus,"' *Welsh Music History/Hanes Cerddoriaeth Cymru* 4 (2000), 39–87. Dic Bibydd (p 35, l.30) was a pipe or pibcorn player; the names of all three of these musicians are linked as companions in a poem by Roger Kyffin (fl 1587–1609), where they (along with Tomas Coety) are described as 'the King's men' (Jesus College, Oxford: MS 65, p 65, quoted by Cockman, 'Robert Peilin,' p 75).

The manor of Watstay (p 36, l.4), Denbighshire, was in the hands of the Eyton family until it was absorbed by marriage into the vast Wynn estate of Wynnstay on the marriage of Sir John Wynn (d. 11 January 1718/19) to Jane, daughter of Eyton Evans.

Alice, countess of Derby (p 36, l.1), was married to Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, 14th earl of Derby, who died on 16 April 1594. She then married Thomas Egerton (20 October 1600) as his third wife. Egerton was created 1st Baron Ellesmere on 21 July 1603 and 1st Viscount Brackley on 7 November 1616. He served as James I's lord chancellor from his accession in 1603. The Ellesmere estate was purchased from William Stanley, 15th earl of Derby; though it remained in the possession of the Egerton family it was not their residence.

Evans copied this text from a manuscript in the possession of John Salusbury of Erbistock Hall, Denbighshire (p 36, l.9). The Erbistock branch of the Salusbury family was established by George Salusbury, second son of the first Sir John Salusbury of Lleweni (d. 1578); John Salusbury of Erbistock was the grandson of George. See Alfred Neobard Palmer, 'Salusburies of Erbistock,' *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5th ser, 5 (1888), 168.

38 NLW: Records of the Church in Wales SA/MB/1 f 4v col 2

Among the miscellaneous materials constituting the Red Book of St Asaph is a list of the episcopal

household and their entitlements in food, cloth, and horses during the episcopate of Bishop Llywelyn ab Ynyr (1293–1314). I have included the payment to the harper since it is likely that he is being paid for his services as a performer in the household.

42 UWb: General Collection 478B f 6

A preceding fragment records the admission of Richard Price, son of Rhys ap John, as a burgess for the payment of the sum of 30s in 5s instalments. Price's election is based on his marriage to the daughter of a burgess. He is clearly not the same Richard Price whose election is recorded in this entry.

42–4 NLW: NLW MS 15,140A ff 54–5, 116–17v

There are not many dates in the volume; f 1 has 1646 in the same hand as the poems and 1616 in a different hand. Booklet 2 (from f 76) was begun in 1651 and has a few internal dates: 1652 on f 152 and 1653 on ff 152v, 172v.

The Rebellion of Naples, or The Tragedy of Massenello was printed in 1649 (Wing: B199). In his dedicatory epistle and preface 'To the Reader,' the author identifies himself only as 'T.B.,' and Williams' citation here is the only evidence for Thomas Bayly's authorship. Since Williams identifies Bayly as 'D.D.' it is clear that the reference is to Thomas Bayly, the youngest son of Lewis Bayly, bishop of Bangor (d. 1631). Thomas took both his BA (1627) and MA (1631) at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and his DD at Oxford after 1644, following posts as subdean of Wells and prebendary of Lincoln. As a staunch royalist he participated in the king's visit to Raglan Castle following the battle of Naseby in 1646. He escaped to the Continent where he converted to Catholicism, returning soon after the king's execution. The publication of a royalist pamphlet, *The Royal Charter Granted unto Kings* (1649; Wing: B1514) led to his imprisonment in Newgate where he wrote a meditative text, *Herba Parietis* (1650; Wing: B1511). Several other works are ascribed to him with less than complete certainty. His date of death, too, is uncertain but seems to have been around 1657.

The play deals with the 1647 rebellion in Naples against its Spanish overlords, led by the fisherman Massenello (or Tomaso Aniello). Although Massenello's sudden rise and fall have often been read from an anti-monarchist point of view (as by Thomas Paine in the *Common Sense* pamphlet), Bayly interprets the events as indicative of the corrupting effect of power on the mind. An opening dumb show makes his royalist position clear:

there appears a Vision of little Boyes: One whereof, King-like, in War-like state, ascends the Throne; after that, a Company of Beggar-boyes pull down the King, throwing him to the ground, snatching away his Crown, Globe and Scepter, who lies in a trance; the Beggar-boyes all in clusters get up into, and upon the Throne: The Throne breaks, it thunders and lightens, and they all run away. After that, melodious musick; the King rises up, stands dejectedly, whilst a Throne descends from above, with a Crown, Globe and Scepter in it; he assaies the Crown, and settles it upon his head; he takes the Globe and Scepter in his hands, and seats himself in the Throne: It rains first wheat, and then gold upon his head; he ascends up, and vanisheth. (pp 2–3)

The play seems a somewhat risky choice for performance in 1652 in its pointed description of Massenello's descent into madness through the acquisition of power. It also seems a bit bloodthirsty for a school play. Massenello's death at the hands of the crowd of citizens (one of two onstage beheadings) is particularly

graphic: 'He thrusts out his head, and they cut off a false head made of a bladder fill'd with bloud. Exeunt with his body' (p 73).

Although there is no question that Williams thought that Thomas Bayly was the playwright, this identification is by no means certain. The author dedicated the play to his patron, John Caesar of Hyde Hall, Hertfordshire. This was likely Sir Julius Caesar's grandson, who inherited Hyde House in 1647 and sold it in 1656. Led, perhaps, by the heading of the preface Harbage listed the play as 'closet' drama, not intended for performance, though it is clear that it was performed at the Beaumaris School. (See Edmund Lodge, *Life of Sir Julius Caesar, Knt.* (London, 1827), 53–4 and genealogical table following p vi; Alfred Harbage, *Annals of English Drama, 975–1700* (Philadelphia, 1940), 116–17.

44–5 NLW: NLW MS 15,140A ff 68–9v

Thomas Randolph's *The Muses' Looking Glass*, a pastoral comedy, was licensed on 25 November 1630 for the king's revels and was published in 1638 (STC: 20694).

45–6 NLW: NLW MS 9080E pp 12–13

William Williams' narrative begins with anecdotes of Sir Richard Bulkeley's military exploits, largely in Scotland in the mid-1540s. He then adds an extensive pedigree for Bulkeley and his family, ending with his second wife, Agnes, daughter of Thomas Needham of Shropshire, who was 'called by the Welshmen Yr Arglwyddes bach.' Following the brief statement of the charge against her (printed here), Williams lists the six examinations on which the case rested. The narrative concludes with an account of the two primary charges of adultery and murder by poisoning. The latter has not been printed since it contains no performance activity.

'Richard' was the traditional name for the eldest son of the Bulkeley family; there were five of them during the period of Williams' history. Richard Bulkeley I was born c 1507 and died in 1547. He served as chamberlain of North Wales, as high sheriff of Caernarvonshire from 22 November 1542 to 22 November 1543, and of Anglesey from 23 November 1546 to 15 November 1547. His son Richard Bulkeley II died in 1572; his wife Agnes was accused of poisoning him. He served as MP for Anglesey in 1547, 1554 and 1571, and served as high sheriff for Caernarvonshire in 1550 and 1558, and for Anglesey in 1547, 1552, 1561, and 1570. The third Richard Bulkeley built the Baron Hill estate in 1618, served as the first mayor of Beaumaris, and died in 1621. He was constable of Beaumaris Castle in 1561 and was elected MP for Anglesey in 1563, 1604, and 1614. Richard Bulkeley IV died in 1630, his wife suspected of poisoning him. The estate passed to his son, Richard, who died on 15 March 1639/40, at which time the estate passed to his uncle Thomas Bulkeley, who was created Lord Viscount Bulkeley on 6 January 1643/4 and died in 1659. His son, Colonel Richard Bulkeley, born in 1626, was killed in a duel with Richard Cheadle on Lavan Sands near Beaumaris on 19 February 1649/50. Cheadle was executed at Conwy for the crime.

46–7 NLW: NLW MS 9080E p 49

Williams begins the story of the younger Richard Bulkeley with an outline of the background and pedigree of his alleged murderer, Thomas Cheadle. Neither this background material nor the story of Cheadle's life after the poisoning case, as deputy constable of Beaumaris Castle, is printed here.

47–8 NLW: NLW MS 9080E p 58

A brief description of the earl of Leicester's declaration concerning his lost goods has not been printed. Williams includes a second list of the particulars of the loss, which he says is 'much differing from the former....' It does not include the trumpets.

48 UWb: Penrhos II/122 single sheet

Although several John Lloyds (l.17) from Wales attended Oxford both before and after Bulkeley's time, none appears to have been his contemporary.

48 NLW: NLW MS 3150B p 17

It is, of course, tempting to read Bulkeley's attendance at plays as evidence of a thriving tradition of local drama in Welsh on Anglesey. The phrasing 'a play' (l.33) would seem to eliminate the possibility that these represent gaming sessions and the matter is made more certain by the phrase 'to heare a play' (p 50, l.36). There is little doubt that Bulkeley is attending dramatic performances.

49–50 NLW: NLW MS 3150B pp 31, 36

There are two possible candidates for 'llanvair' (l.21): Llanfair-yn-neubwll, just under four miles south of Llanfachreth, and Llanfair-yng-Nghornwy, about five and a half miles to the north. Both parishes had churches though neither was a nucleated community. Llanfair-yng-Nghornwy was the larger and older of the two and likely the more populous, but Llanfair-yn-neubwll lies in the direction of many of Bulkeley's other journeys.

Rhyd Dronwy (ll.9–10) was a ford over the River Alaw Fach, originally probably called the Dronwy and by the early seventeenth century called the Llynnon (on the maps of Saxton and Speed). The river passes through the Dronwy estate; the ford was likely at the point where Pont Dronwy (Dronwy Bridge) lies today on the road between Llanfachreth and Llanfwrog, under a quarter mile south of the Dronwy house.

50 NLW: NLW MS 3150B p 49

Pont yr Erw ('pont r/arw,' l.17) was a bridge over the River Alaw, a quarter mile to the south of Llanfachreth, between the estates of Erw Fawr and Erw Goch.

50 NLW: NLW MS 3150B p 77

Bulkeley is usually quite specific about locations, especially when they lie some distance from his home in the northwest of the county. The school is thus very unlikely to be the Free School of Beaumaris in the extreme southeast but rather the local school in Holyhead.

51 NLW: NLW MS 3150B pp 86–7

The board game of pen-y-lon (ll.6–7) is similar to backgammon; 'Mwm' (l.12), or mumchance, is a dice game with complex rules.

51–2 NLW: NLW MS 3150B pp 110, 111

Hugh Owen's transcription of the diary includes one further record of Bulkeley's attendance at a 'play' on 13 September 1635: 'I rid towards the faire play at mercer Iones' ('Diary,' p 153). The thought of a play associated specifically with a fair is tempting, but unfortunately the entry in fact reads, 'I rid towards the faire & lay at mercer Iones.' Trearddur (p 51, l.27) is a tref with a fine bay and sand beach, which lies on the west side of the central 'waist' of Holyhead Island, in the parish of Holyhead.

52–3 BL: Additional MS 14,918 f 9v

Tew Grythor (p 52, l.23) is otherwise unknown though he clearly came from Llaneilian, Anglesey. Robert Peilin's name (p 52, l.30) also appears in the Robert ap Huw manuscript (BL: Additional MS 14,905) (Wiliam, *Robert ap Huw*, pp 28–9) as well as in a variety of other sources (see p 402,

endnote to NLW: Cwrtmawr MS 34B pp 25–6). Huw Pennant ('hugh benant,' p 52, l.33; fl 1565–1619) graduated as instructable apprentice at the 1567 eisteddfod. Over a hundred of his poems survive, written to a wide range of patrons in North Wales. Evan Llavair ('Ivane llavare,' p 52, l.35; fl 1594–1610) probably came from Glyn Ceiriog, Denbighshire. Twenty-six of his poems survive, written to various North Wales gentry. The crwth player Siôn Alaw ('Iohn allawe,' p 53, l.1) graduated as temporary apprentice at the 1567 eisteddfod and was in the service of Rhisiart Gwyn of Hirdre-faig, Anglesey. Huw Pennant wrote an elegy to him found in NLW: Llanstephan MS 125, p 629 (Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' pp 231–5). Sir 'ymwithige' (p 52, l.36) is probably Gilbert Talbot, who became 10th earl of Shrewsbury in 1590 and died in 1616; 'ymwithige' would be a variant spelling of 'Amwythig,' the Welsh name for Shrewsbury. James Conway may have been related to the two Conways, Rhisiart and Robert, who graduated as crwth players at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 179, ll.9–10 and p 181, ll.11,13). The 'boye' (p 53, l.2) from Llanddeusant might just possibly have been Robert ap Huw himself, who would have been fourteen at the time.

53–4 BL: Cotton Domitian A.1 ff 66–6v

According to Sir Richard Colt Hoare the chapel of St Elined (also known as Almedha or Elevetha; see p 53, l.22) was still standing at the time Hugh Thomas wrote his unpublished 'Essay Towards the History of Brecknockshire' (1698), though Thomas says it was by that time unused and roofless. The chapel stood about a mile east of Brecon, and in Sir Richard's time 'some small vestiges' could still be traced (Giraldus de Barri, *The Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales, A.D. MCLXXXVIII*, Sir Richard Colt Hoare (ed and trans), vol 1 (London, 1806), 62).

54–5 CLIS: MS 3.42 p 157

Of the thirty-five tune names in this list (the four measures in the middle of the list are not separately identifiable) at least eleven are well known as broadside ballad tunes or dance tunes, including 'John come kiss me now,' 'Sellinger's Round,' 'Loth to depart,' 'The hunt's up,' 'Greensleeves,' 'Sydanen,' 'Fortune my foe,' '(Saturday night and) Sunday morning,' '(Upon) Saint David's Day,' 'Lusty gallant,' and 'Wilson's wild.' Most of the rest are clearly dance tunes rather than ballad songs, many of them designated by type of dance, such as the three galliards and the jig. Several of these appear in lute books of the period, such as the 'Chi passa' and 'Passim measures' galliards, and 'Rogerio,' all of which appear in the Marsh Lute Book (Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin: MS Z3.2.13); 'Light of love,' which appears in the Margaret Board Lute Book (private collection of Robert Spencer); and 'Blame not my lute,' which is found in the Giles Lodge Book (Folger Shakespeare Library: MS V.a.159). Versions of 'John come kiss me now,' 'Sellinger's Round,' 'Loth to depart,' 'The hunt's up,' 'Calino,' the 'Spanish Pavane,' and 'Wilson's wild' all appear in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: Music MS 168). The 'King of Denmark's Galliard' is better known as the 'Battle Galliard.' 'O God that art my righteousness' appeared in Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke* (London, 1603; *stc*: 21128). There are also several overlaps with the tune list in UWB: MS Gwyneddion 4 (under the Salusbury of Lleweni, Denbighshire, household, pp 153–5). Although it is predominately an English list at least three of the tunes have Welsh associations: 'Sydanen,' a common Welsh referent for Queen Elizabeth, 'Farewell Ieuan Glyn Tiny,' and '(Upon) Saint David's Day' (though the latter tune was popular in England as well and appears in John Playford's *English Dancing Master*, Wing: P2477). Powell provides a further scrap of information with an alternate title to 'Sydanen': on pp 35–6 he gives a set of words by Lodowick Floyd of Radnorshire to 'the tune of Siddanen or a smale thrid of silke.' On this text and other 'Sydanen' ballads, see Sally Harper, "A Dittie to the tune of Welsh Sydannen": a Welsh image of Queen Elizabeth I,' *Journal of Renaissance Studies* (forthcoming 2005).

55–6 TNA: PRO STAC 5/W38/27 item 4 single sheet

John Games was no stranger to Star Chamber litigation. He was also a defendant in five other suits between 1575 and 1593, including a case brought by William Howell in 1592, in the bill of complaint of which he is described as ‘a gentleman of greate countenance in that countrey/ well allyed and kynned and having manie lewde and evill disposed persons his followers & servauntes being altogether disposed to quarrelles/ brawles; affrayes and other disorders...’ (TNA: PRO STAC 5/H47/29). Elizabeth’s previous general pardon (see p 56, l.5) was promulgated by the parliament of 19 February 1592/3–12 April 1593 (35 Eliz I, chapter 14; *Statutes of the Realm*, vol 4, pt 2, pp 883–8).

57 BL: Cotton Domitian A.I ff 72–2v

The archbishop’s entourage approached Abergavenny from the monastery of Llanthony along the River Grwyne Fawr, down the south slope of the Black Mountain. The road from Llanthony to Abergavenny runs along the west (Brecknockshire) side of the river until shortly before it joins the Hereford–Abergavenny road, where it crosses the river at Pont Esgob (Bishop’s Bridge, presumably named for Bishop Baldwin’s crossing). The wood in which Richard de Clare was murdered on 15 April 1136, traditionally known as Coed Dial (‘the wood of revenge’), lay about a mile north of the bridge on the west side of the river, in the parish of Partrishow. (See further Giraldus de Barri, *The Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales*, A.D. MCLXXXVIII, Sir Richard Colt Hoare (ed and trans), vol 1 (London, 1806), 95–6.)

58 NLW: NLW MS 9051E single sheet

Herbert was appointed lord president on 8 April 1550 and, although the manuscript is undated, he likely issued these instructions soon after his appointment. The sheriff and justices are further instructed to enforce the Statute against Rogues, Vagabonds, and Unlawful Games (that is, gambling) and to punish ‘tellers of newes berers of tales secrete whisperers of the kynges or the consaille Doinges.’ The upper right corner of the sheet is torn, affecting a few lines of the heading.

60 BL: Cotton Vitellius A.VI f 14

The subject of Gildas’ invective was Maelgwn Gwynedd, whom Gildas calls Maglocunus. His regnal dates are given as approximately 534–49 by historians of the ninth to twelfth centuries. Research is in progress on the more accurate dating of Gildas’ work and of Maelgwn’s reign; see David N. Dumville’s ‘Gildas and Maelgwn: problems of dating’ in Michael Lapidge and David Dumville (eds), *Gildas: New Approaches* (Woodbridge, Suff, 1984), 51–9. It has long been understood that Gildas’ work must be used with care by the historian, for it presents several problems. First it survives only in manuscripts of the eleventh century and later, and agreement is not complete on the work’s authenticity. Second, even if it is not a later forgery, Gildas is hardly an impartial observer. His polemic seems likely to have a measure of hyperbole to it, yet even so, underlying his strident tone of voice (and ignoring his offended morals), within it can be seen a possible glimpse of the sixth-century Welsh court poet declaiming panegyric. Gildas would call it flattery, and it is so no less nor more than the poetry of the court poets in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, or the bards of the gentry in the sixteenth. On Gildas’ use of the word ‘neuma’ in this passage and its possible implications for his knowledge of Greek, see Lapidge’s essay ‘Gildas’s Education and the Latin Culture of sub-Roman Britain’ in the same volume, p 39, n 67.

60–1 GAS: X/QS/1654/93 single sheet

Although this presentment is not directly connected with the play performed in Dolbenmaen three months later, it provides a full explanation of the affray that disrupted the play and brought several

members of the audience before the court of quarter sessions. The dispute involved a contested right-of-way over the lands of Ellis Wynne; the play took place in the house of the other party to the dispute, Hugh ap William ab Evan. The farmhouse of Derwyn Fechan, or Derwyn Bach, survives today (see Figure 2a). A full description of its construction is in *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Caernarvonshire*, vol 2 (London, 1960), 71, and its floor plan appears also as Figure 2b above.

65–6 GAS: X/QS/1654/100 single sheet

This deposition preserves an extraordinary and very rare description of a naive audience member's reaction to a small group of professional players and their doubling of parts, with attendant costume changes. The clear reference in the articles of misdemeanour to the actors as 'persons vnknown disguised in chaunge of apparell' (p 65, ll.8–9) suggests that at least a part of the legal action may have been intended to establish whether they were in contravention of the laws against going about disguised in order to commit a crime. The deponent's claim that although the actors were strangers they remained recognizable as the same three persons despite their changes of apparel would suggest that he is countering such a claim. The deposition was printed with a brief discussion of the case by Williams, 'Anterliwt Derwyn Fechan.' According to John Ogilby's *Britannia depicta* (London, 1675), 174 and plate 87, the town of Dolbenmaen (Ogilby's 'Dalbenmer') lay along the highway running south from Caernarfon to Harlech.

66 GAS: X/QS/1654/96 single sheet

This sheet also contains a draft of the previous deposition, here represented by excerpction dots (l.11). Although also in poor condition its tears are in different places and allow reading the missing sum from the end of the deposition as 2s 6d. Two further draft depositions, printed here, are written across the (badly damaged) bottom third of the page and do not survive in fair copy.

67 NLW: Clennau Letters 121–240 single sheet

The dispute with Harry Lloyd (l.20) concerned the sale of a tithe, as is made clear by a letter from Lloyd's brother David Lloyd ap Hugh of 18 August 1607, in which he apologizes for his brother's unkindness and discourtesy (NLW: Clennau Letters 231). T. Jones Pierce transcribed 'Lute' (l.19) as 'flute' but there is no question that this reading is incorrect (*Clennau Letters and Papers in the Brogyntyn Collection*, NLW Supplement, series 4 pt 1 (1947), 67).

67–8 NLW: NLW MS 9052E f [1]

The site of Mr Pagett's school has usually been transcribed as 'Bedford,' as in Ballinger's *Calendar of Wynn Papers*, no 180. The manuscript reading is clearly 'Tedford' (see p 67, l.36), but there was no such place and Tedford is most likely a mistake on the writer's part for Bedford.

70–1 NLW: NLW MS 9054E f [1]

Robert Wynn's younger brother Roger, the tenth of Sir John's twelve children, died in 1617 (p 71, ll.7, 19). Ballinger has misread the date of this letter as 1611, and its number is therefore out of the chronological sequence (Ballinger, *Calendar of Wynn Papers*, no 572). Sir Roger Mostyn (p 71, l.12) was married to Robert's sister Mary; his sister Elizabeth's first husband was Sir John Bodfel (p 71, l.13). Sir William Jones (p 71, l.18) was Robert's great-uncle; he was the father of Sydney, second wife of Robert's uncle Richard Wynn, archdeacon of Bangor.

71 NLW: NLW MS 9053E single sheet

The document is undated; Ballinger (*Calendar of Wynn Papers*, no 472) dates it [1607?], but in the light

of the later letters discussing the purchase of the trumpet in 1619, it seems more likely to date from the first half of that year. The part of the list printed here is in the hand of Sir John Wynn; the first part, in another hand, consists of a brief list of herbs, vegetables, and fruit to be purchased. William Camden's *Britannia siue florentissimorum regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate chorographica descriptio* (see ll.28–9) was first published in 1586 (STC: 4503) and went through five further editions before 1619, as well as an English translation in 1610. Raleigh's 'Cronycles' (l.29) could refer either to *The discoverie of the large, rich, and bevvtiful empire of Guiana* published in 1596 (STC: 20634) or, perhaps more likely, to *The history of the world* published in 1614 (STC: 20637) with a further edition in 1617. 'thomy' Mostyn (l.31) was the son of Sir Roger Mostyn, Sir John Wynn's son-in-law, and his daughter Mary. Sir Robert Bannister (l.32) and John Hare (l.33) were business colleagues of Sir John's. Bannister clearly had strong court connections; in item 446 he is described as being 'in progress with the king' (Ballinger, *Calendar of Wynn Papers*). Mr Fyshburne (l.37) first appears in the Wynn letters in 1614 as an agent for the transferring of money to Italy, where Sir John's son John Jr. needed further funds for his grand tour. Sir Baptist Hicks (l.37) was a cloth merchant worth £20,000; in 1604/5 a match was proposed between Sir John Jr. and one of Hicks' two daughters, but Hicks refused the match feeling that Wales was too far from London (Ballinger, nos 332, 334–5).

72 NLW: NLW Additional MS 467E single sheet

The document is undated; Ballinger (*Calendar of Wynn Papers*, no 1473) dates it merely [1611–26]. It seems very likely, however, to deal with the same purchase of a trumpet as the previous undated note and the following letter, which is dated 15 June 1619. Both the undated notes should probably be dated to some time earlier in the same year. Owen Wynn (l.4) was Sir John's third son.

Howell Jones (l.6) appears to have been a family servant, possibly a trumpeter, as the instrument with Sir John's arms on its banner was being made for his use. Reference is also made to him in William Wynn's letter of 15 June (p 73, l.25). When Sir John was the defendant in a court case in January 1614/15, his examination took place before a Howell Jones at Jones' house in Llanrwst (NLW: Additional MS 466E/682), but it is a common name and it is very unlikely that this is the same person. Ballinger (*Calendar of Wynn Papers*, p 453) indexes them together.

72 CLIS: MS 4.69 ff [1v, 2]

Sir John's route from London to Gwydir took him by the most direct route available, directly northwest: first to St Albans, then through Daventry to Coventry, Hampton in Arden, and Shrewsbury.

72–4 NLW: NLW MS 9056E ff [1–1v]

If the undated document NLW: Additional MS 467E (p 72) refers to the purchase of the same trumpet, then the brother to whom William Wynn refers is likely Owen. It is not clear what the relationship of Edmund Vaughan (p 72, l.33) to the Wynn family was; in 1626/7 he acted as a witness to Sir John Wynn's will (NLW: NLW MS 9051E, item 1518). The most likely candidate for 'mr. Baylie' (p 73, l.8) is John Bayly, eldest son of Lewis Bayly, bishop of Bangor. From 1618 John held several benefices in Anglesey and Denbighshire, as well as (from 1620) the precentorship of Bangor, through the patronage of his father. Thomas Cromwell (1594–1653; see p 73, l.15) became Baron Cromwell in 1607. Sir Francis Darcy (p 73, l.22) was the father of Anne, wife of Sir Richard Wynn. Peter Drinkwater (p 73, l.23) was one of the agents of the Gwydir estate; Howell Jones (p 73, l.25) was likely Sir John's trumpet player (see endnote to NLW: NLW Additional MS 467E single sheet, above). Sir Lionel Cranfield (1575–1645; see p 74, l.1) had been one of the masters of the Court of Requests since 1616 and in 1619

became master of the Court of Wards and Liveries. It was doubtless in these capacities that the Wynn brothers, all students in the Inns of Court, were eager for his patronage. Cranfield became earl of Middlesex in 1622.

74–5 NLW: NLW MS 9057E f [1]

Mary Bodfel (p 75, l.5) was Sir John's granddaughter by his youngest daughter, Elizabeth, and her husband, Sir John Bodfel of Bodfel, Llŷn. The 'Mistres Wynne' (p 75, ll.5–6) may have been her aunt, Anne, wife of Sir John's heir, Richard. Sir John took considerable interest in the education of the members of his family; he established a 'schoole chamber' at Gwydir, and his interest in this music teacher may be a part of his effort to staff it (Jones, *Wynn Family of Gwydir*, p 147).

75–6 NLW: NLW Additional MS 466E single sheet–single sheet verso

This is clearly the second page of a two-page letter, beginning, as it does, in the middle of a thought. Negotiations for a union between Prince Charles and the Infanta Maria were opened in 1616 and continued until 1618, when they were abandoned (see p 75, l.39–p 76, l.7). The negotiations were resumed in 1623, at which time Charles visited Madrid, passing through Paris where he met his future wife, Henrietta. The Spanish visit was not a success and Charles quickly returned to England.

76–7 NLW: NLW MS 9059E p [1]

Richard Piggott (p 77, ll.2, 6) was rector of Llanwrin, the closest village church to the Gwydir estate; Dr John Davies (p 77, l.3) was rector of Mallwyd, Meirioneth; see Ceri Davies (ed), *Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd: Welsh Renaissance Scholar* (Cardiff, 2004). Rowland Pugh (p 77, l.5) of Mathafarn, Montgomeryshire, was one of the local gentry in Sir John's circle. Thomas Mostyn (p 77, l.19) was the son of Sir Roger Mostyn and Sir John Wynn's daughter Mary, and thus was William Wynn's nephew.

77–8 NLW: NLW MS 9061E single sheet verso

This is presumably the trumpet that Sir John had purchased through his son William in 1619.

78 NLW: Wynnstey (1952) Box 106/item 99 mb 1

The frequency with which Sir John's trumpet appears in the records would suggest that it was a prized possession; its prominence near the top of his probate inventory would seem to confirm this. Sir John was clearly a very wealthy man; the total value of the inventory was £4,155 18s 10d, including some £250 in cash about the house. There is no question that the date of the probate inventory, a year after Sir John's death, is correct. The signature of the registrar Edmund Woodhall at the foot of the roll is dated 24 May 1628.

78–80 Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale: ms 1394 (U119) pp 49–50, 60–2

Although the more Latin common spelling for Ceredigion would have been 'Ceretica,' most scholars since Baring-Gould have agreed that 'Coritica' is simply a variant. Some possible confirmation is provided by Brioc's route on his return home (chapters 21–2) in which he travels 'ad flumen Scene.' 'Scian' is an Irish word for sword or knife, and it is therefore equivalent to the Carmarthenshire river Cleddau (ModW 'cleddyf' meaning sword or knife) with its fine harbour at Milford Haven and extensive navigability, which would provide the most sensible route to Cardiganshire from Brittany (S. Baring-Gould and J. Fisher, *The Lives of the British Saints*, vol 1 (London, 1907), 289–93). Brioc's plea for his countrymen's conversion ('Quae licet ... possunt,' p 79, l.28–p 80, l.2) appears to be loosely based on the Psalms, especially borrowing from Ps 113B.4–8 and Ps 134.16–18. His appeal to his father to convert, 'Aspice

pater ... non potest esse' (p 80, ll.3–6), is a pastiche of biblical quotations, owing most to 2 Mc 7.28 and Tb 13.4, although also influenced by verses like Neh 9.6 and Is 51.6.

81 NLW: Peniarth MS 20C p 191 col 2–p 192 col 1

Rhys ap Gruffudd (1131 or 1132–97), generally known as the Lord Rhys, 'Yr Arglwydd Rhys,' was the son of Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr and Gwenllïan, daughter of Gruffudd ap Cynan. He succeeded to the rule of Deheubarth in 1155 on the death of his brother Maredudd, who had during the previous decade assisted his half-brothers Cadell and Anarawd in driving out the Norman overlords, the Clares and the Cliffords. Rhys reluctantly did homage to Henry II in 1158 with an agreement that saw much of his land in Ceredigion and Ystrad Tywi transferred to the Crown and himself deprived of the title 'king.' Rhys re-took much of this territory in 1164–5 and, in a second agreement with Henry, was allowed to retain the land, as well as being appointed chief justice of South Wales. His court at Dinefwr became the most culturally advanced in Wales, adopting Norman fashion in many aspects but keeping native Welsh traditions alive as well. Rhys' eisteddfod is discussed in J.E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Yr Arglwydd Rhys ac "Eisteddfod" Aberteifi 1176: Y Cefndir Diwyllïanol,' Nerys Ann Jones and Huw Pryce (eds), *Yr Arglwydd Rhys* (Cardiff, 1996), 94–128.

84–6 CLIS: MS 3.25 pp 314–19

The plaintiff, Hugh David Vaughan (p 84, l.31), witnessed several wills in the parish of Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn between 1607 and 1627. He was probably the Hugh Vaughan of the Llwynnewidion estate whose will, made on 1 April 1640, was proved in 1642 (TNA: PRO PROB 11/188, ff 109–11v). Both Vaughan and Harry Morgan (p 84, l.31) are listed in the 1613 and 1627 lay subsidy rolls (TNA: PRO E 179/219/84, 87).

87 NLW: Peniarth MS 158B p 20

The poet Dafydd ab Edmwnd (fl 1450–97; l.25) was born a member of the Hanmer family in the parish of Hanmer, commote of Maelor Saesneg, Flintshire. He also lived for some time at Pwll Gwepa in the parish of Northop, Flintshire, from which his mother came. He was responsible for extensive revision of the twenty-four canonical metres, making them considerably more complex and restrictive and requiring great technical virtuosity on the part of the poet. His revisions form the basis of Welsh poetry in strict metre to the present day.

Gruffudd ap Nicolas (fl 1425–56; l.27) served as steward for the lordship of Dinefwr under Henry VI, and as sheriff of Carmarthen in 1436. Dafydd ab Edmwnd composed a eulogy to him at his death. His stormy career is discussed by Ralph Griffiths in 'Gruffydd ap Nicholas and the Rise of the House of Dinefwr,' *NLWJ* 13 (1964), 256–68, and 'Gruffydd ap Nicholas and the Fall of the House of Lancaster,' *WHR* 2 (1964–5), 213–31.

The site of Gruffudd's eisteddfod is not entirely clear in these documents, though Dafydd Bowen has confirmed that it must have been at Carmarthen rather than Dinefwr, suggesting further that it may have been in Gruffudd's castle ('Dafydd ab Edmwnd,' pp 441–8, especially 442–3). Further references to the Carmarthen eisteddfod are found in the elegies to Dafydd ab Edmwnd by Lewys Môn and Tudur Aled.

88–91 NLW: Peniarth MS 267 pp 53–64

The text is written in John Jones' 'dotted' orthography, indicating palatalized consonants by a dot under the letter (over for 'p'), aspirate 'l' with a dot below, and 'w' by 'u' with a dot. Jones' orthographic experiments are discussed by Nesta Lloyd, 'A History of Welsh Scholarship in the first half of the

Seventeenth Century, with special reference to the writings of John Jones, Gellilyfdy,' DPhil thesis (Oxford, 1970), 324–5.

Only the first of the englynion is given in full; for the others the first two or three words are given and a blank is left for the rest of the text, which has not been filled in. These can be completed from NLW: NLW MS 3039B (formerly Mostyn 131), pp 41–2. This manuscript is also in the hand of John Jones and is dated 30 March 1636. The text in italics is added from NLW: NLW MS 3039B.

to p 89, l.33:

*Melin a glin, ac aelwyd // a ffont,
a ffentann, a chronglwyd:
mvrddvn, a choes a morddwyd.
a gweddi lawn, a gwydd lwyd./*
(A mill and a knee, and a hearth and a font,
And a mantelpiece, and a roof,
A ruin, and a leg and a thigh,
And a full prayer, and a grey goose.)

to p 90, l.3:

*Pais las, gown glas, rac gloysion // mynych,
a menic pwr leision:
kappan, godre llydan llon,
glas, ag ysane gleisionn./*
(A blue petticoat, a blue gown, frequently blue ones,
And pure blue gloves,
A cap, a wide pleasant hem
Of blue, and blue socks.)

to p 90, l.9:

*Dwr, tan, awyr, ser, terra, //a/main,
a wnaeth mab Maria:
angylion nef, plant Efa,
gwyllt, gwar, gwellt, gwydd, nos, dydd, da./*
(Water, fire, air, stars, earth, and stone
Did Maria's son create;
The angels of heaven, the children of Eve,
Wild, tame, straw, woodland, night, day, goodness.)

to p 90, l.23:

*Cam oedd ir Gutto, roi kadair // ir gwr,
am ganv ton devair:
a chwedi, rhoddir gadair,
dwyyn dwy bynt, ne dair./*
(It was an injustice for Guto to give the man a chair
For singing a two-word measure,
And after, having given the chair,
To steal two pounds, or three.)

to p 90, l.25:

*Deuair am gadair, ac vn // om gene,
a genais i, Ddvw llvn:
ag or ddevair, gwrdd oeddyn,*

taer wyd, ni wyddyt ti /r/ vn./

(Two words for a chair, and one from my mouth
I sang, by God's visage,
and of the two words, they were strong,
you are earnest, but you didn't know one.)

to p 91, l.6:

Pysgottwr uy mewn pais gwta // rvdd,

ar oddec pwll Gweppra:

pyscodwr, swydd wr sy dda,

pyscottwr wy, yn pysgota./

(I am a fisherman in a short red smock

On the bank at Pwll Gweppra,

A fisherman, a good job for a man;

I am a fisherman, fishing.)

The poet Llawdden, or Ieuan Llawdden (p 90, ll.14, 18, 21), was originally from Llchwyr, Glamorgan, but lived at Machynlleth, Montgomeryshire. Iolo Morganwg claimed that he wrote a treatise on the strict metres called 'Dosbarth Llawdden,' but like many of Iolo's claims there is no contemporary evidence to confirm it (see *Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales*, p 356). The harper Cynwrig Bencerdd (p 91, l.9) came from Holywell, Flintshire. Rhys Bwtting (p 91, l.10) of Prestatyn, Flintshire, was better known as a harp player.

91-2 Huntington Library: EL 7288 ff [1-1v]

Although an execution is undoubtedly a public performance, and there is clearly a mimetic aspect to a cross-dressed woman acting as a (male) executioner, it is not normal REED policy to include accounts of public executions. I have included this record, however, because of the significant number of records from Wales that deal with cross-dressing as an aspect of other performative activities (see, for example, Wrexham, Denbighshire, pp 136-8 and the related endnote). Sir Marmaduke Lloyd (1585-c 1651; p 91, ll.23-4) of Maesyfelin, Cardiganshire, took his BA from Oriel College, Oxford, in 1603, entered the Middle Temple the following year, and became a barrister on 3 November 1608. He was appointed to the Council in the Marches in 1614 and in the same year became king's attorney for Wales and the Marches, a position he held until 1622. He was knighted on 7 April 1622. He served as recorder of Brecon (1617-36), puisne justice of Chester (1622-36), and chief justice of the Brecknock circuit (1636-45). A staunch royalist he was captured at Hereford on 18 December 1645 and held for two years.

92-102 TNA: PRO STAC 8/287/22 sheet [23]

I have included the complete text of this lengthy bill of complaint for several reasons, all deriving from the fact that the record as a whole presents more questions than answers. First is the nature of the play itself. The bill contains no indication of the content of the play, which offered such offence to the 'trewe Christian protestantes' of Llanelli (p 99, ll.38-9). The sectarian note would suggest a recusant bias, unless it is read with the implication that all Protestants would be offended by such a play. If this is the case, however, the question immediately arises of how the play could be presented in the church, under what auspices, and with what means of access? Similar questions arise if the play is thought to be Catholic. In that case the most likely subject to give offence would be one dealing with the death of the Virgin Mary; the Assumption play was the first to be excised from the Chester cycle in the city's attempts to make their play palatable to the ecclesiastical establishment (R.M. Lumiansky and David Mills,

The Chester Mystery Cycle: Essays and Documents (Chapel Hill and London, 1983), 189–90). With no answers to these questions it is important to provide all possible information about the participants, in the hope that further information on them may surface from other sources. Their other alleged crimes may perhaps provide a route to a clearer understanding of their position in the community, their religious background, and the reasons why a group portrayed in the bill as thugs and criminals should be presenting a play in a church.

Although the document uses the standard formula reference to ‘your Maiesties laste gracious generall & free pardon’ (p 102, ll.14–15), James did not in fact issue a general pardon until 1605–6, covering offences committed before 25 September 1605. Elizabeth’s last free and general pardon was promulgated by the statute of 19 December 1601 after the earl of Essex’s rebellion. It covered offences up to 7 August 1601 (*Statutes of the Realm*, vol 4, pt 2, pp 1010–14, 1126–31).

The animosity of two of the defendants toward English settlers seems to have been long-standing. In 1598 charges of assault and sequestering of livestock were brought against David Philip Owen (clearly the same name as ‘Bowen’) and Francis Elider. The complainant was Robert Craven, late of Llanelli, who by that time had moved to Boutham, Lincolnshire; the bill of complaint indicates that the reason for the assault was that Craven was English (TNA: PRO STAC 5/C2/29).

105–6 NLW: Peniarth MS 194A single sheet

Lewys Morgannwg (p 105, l.37), also known as Llywelyn ap Rhisiart, was one of the greatest of the mid-century Welsh poets. He spent most of his life as an itinerant bard, writing principally under the patronage of Sir Edward Stradling of St Donat’s, Glamorgan, and the widespread Herbert family; over a hundred of his poems survive. James Vaughan of Hergest, Kington, Herefordshire (p 105, l.36), was one of the nine children of Watkyn Vaughan, one of the principal patrons of Welsh bardic poetry in the late fifteenth century. James, his heir, continued this tradition of patronage. The third commissioner, Hugh Lewis of Harpton, Herefordshire (p 105, l.36), married Sybil, daughter of James Vaughan’s younger brother, Roger.

106 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/1/2/36 single sheet

Rhisiart Prydydd Bregb of Llandrillo-yn-Rhos, Denbighshire, had previously been arrested in Flintshire as a vagabond in 1547 (p 158, l.2); after this second arrest in 1553 his status seems to have risen somewhat, since he graduated as a temporary apprentice at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 177, l.37).

106–10 NLW: Peniarth MS 178 pt ii pp 56–62

The regulations governing the bardic circuit (‘cwsr clera’) are set out in the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan (see p 162, ll.7–14, 31–3; p 164, ll.25–35; p 165, l.30; p 166, ll.18–20; p 174, l.40–p 175, l.4; and p 175, ll.13–17). It has proved possible to identify some, but not all, of the persons and places visited by Rhys Cain. Most of the places lie along the two sides of the English-Welsh border between Flintshire, Denbighshire, and Shropshire, with occasional forays into nearby parts of Montgomeryshire and Merioneth. Place-name identifications are given, where possible, in the footnotes to the document.

It is clear that the accounting was not all written at the same time, and that Rhys returned to it to add further information to entries already written. Thus there are frequent places where information appears in the same hand but in slightly different inks. The accounting is far from perfect. Rhys’ first two running totals are off by a few pennies, the following two are correct, and from that point on they begin to diverge seriously from the correct sum. It does seem likely from the layout of the entries that some entries were added after the running totals were entered. The Myddelton family (p 107, l.4) purchased Chirk Castle, Denbighshire, in 1595. Richard Myddelton (c 1508–75) was governor of Denbigh

Castle and was succeeded in the office by his son. The Thelwall estate (p 107, l.5) was at Plas-y-ward, just north of Ruthin. Rhys would have been welcomed either by Simon Thelwall (d. 1586) or by his son Edward (d. 1610). There was also a branch of the family at Bathafarn Park, Denbighshire. 'mr Turbige' (p 107, l.6) may have been Robert Turbidge or his son (also Robert), who lived in Cae'rfallen, Denbighshire (DRO: DD/PP/177). 'Owen llwyd' (p 107, l.8) has not been identified; it is a common name and appears with some frequency in records of the period but there is no way to distinguish which one Rhys visited.

If, as is common, 'sir' is a clerical title then 'sir Robert S.' (p 107, l.10) may be Robert Salusbury, vicar of Rhiwabon in 1578, sixth son of Sir John Salusbury; if it represents a knighthood it is more likely to refer to Sir Robert Salesbury (d. 1599) of Bachymbyd, Denbighshire, and Rûg, Merioneth. 'Arglwyddes llwyd' (p 107, l.11) may refer to the wife of Sir John Lloyd of Bodidris y Traean, Flintshire, later Denbighshire (FRO: D/TR/1). Richard Parry (p 107, l.13) was bishop of St Asaph from 1604–23. The identification of the dean of St Asaph (p 107, l.15) is dependent upon the date of the document; from 1560–87 it was Hugh Evans; from 1587–1634 Thomas Banks (see p 201). Smith ('Smyth,' l.17) is a less common name in Wales than in England, but records in the Denbighshire Record Office provide numerous examples. Mr 'Conwy' (p 107, l.18) was likely a member of the Conway family of Soughton, Flintshire, or possibly the John Conway (d. 1606) of Botryddan, Flintshire, who was sheriff of Flintshire in 1585 and 1600. 'Arglwydd Esgob' (p 107, l.19) clearly refers to the bishop of St Asaph; from 1573–1600 this was William Hughes, from 1601–4 William Morgan, and from 1604–23 Richard Parry, who appears earlier under his own name (l.13). Mr Morgan (p 107, l.20) may have been the Edward Morgan of Golden Grove, Flintshire, who appears frequently in documents from 1588 on. The Mostyns (p 107, l.21) of Mostyn Hall, Flintshire, were the county's most prominent family.

Plas Teg (p 107, l.27) was the Trevor family estate in the parish of Hope, Flintshire. The Plas Teg house (which still stands) was built by Sir John Trevor in 1610, but documents in the Flintshire Record Office show that a previous house of the same name also occupied the site (D/PT/440, D/PT/444, and D/PT/446 – leases of 1595 and 1599). 'Roger Evtyn' (p 108, l.1) was likely a member of the Eaton family of Rhiwabon. Although Richard Wynn (p 108, l.3) may have been a member of the important Wynn family of Gwydir, Caernarvonshire, he was clearly not the son of Sir John Wynn, who lived from 1588–1649 and would have been too young to receive Rhys. 'mr owen vachan' (p 108, l.5) might have been John Owen Vaughan of Llwydiarth, Montgomeryshire, who was sheriff of Montgomeryshire in 1583. There are several possibilities for 'Trevor' (p 108, l.11), and it is not even clear whether it is a personal or a place name. There is a Trevor parish in Denbighshire and the principal Trevor families lived at Bryncunallt and Allington, Denbighshire; the politician and soldier Sir Richard Trevor of Allington (1558–1638) would be the most obvious candidate, although he appears below under his own name (p 110, l.1).

A John Vaughan (p 108, l.17) is recorded in the parish of Henllan, Denbighshire, in 1625 (DRO: BD/A/127), but again it is a common name. Llwynymaen (p 108, l.20) was a tref in the parish of Oswestry, Shropshire; it might also refer to the manor house of that name a mile south of Oswestry, described c 1700 by the Oxford scholar and naturalist Edward Lhuyd as one of the principal seats and houses of Wales. Although money was received from a Mr Hanmer later in the list, this 'hanmer' (p 108, l.25) is likely to be a receipt in the parish of Hanmer, Flintshire. A William Jones (p 108, l.27) is recorded in Burton, Denbighshire, in 1625. Mr Hanmer (p 109, l.8) was a member of the large Hanmer family, which resided at several sites in the county of Flintshire. The principal residence was at Hanmer, Flintshire, with branches of the family at Bettisfield, Fens, and Halton, Flintshire, as well as at Pentrypant, Shropshire. 'mr william lloyd' (p 109, l.4) may have been the son of Elisau ap Wiliam Lloyd of Rhiwedog, Merioneth, whose marriage feast is documented in the Merioneth records in 1555. An

Edward Price (p 109, l.13) of Leeswood, Flintshire, is recorded in documents dating from 1607 and 1628 (FRO: D/PT/516–24).

Thomas ap John (p 109, l.14) resided at Llanymynech on the Montgomeryshire-Shropshire border. 'Die gwyl dduw' (p 109, l.18, 'the feast of God') probably refers to the feast of Corpus Christi; 'Gwyl vylling' (p 109, l.20), the feast of St Moling (also known as Mylling) was on 17 June. St Moling also gave his name to the parish of Llanfyllin, Montgomeryshire. The place name Llanrhaeadr (p 109, l.23) is a common one; there are two in Denbighshire and one in Montgomeryshire. 'Di[e] gwyl drunio' (p 109, l.25) is certainly a reference to a saint's day and probably refers to the feast of St Dwyn, 25 January. Sir Richard Trevor (p 110, l.1; 1558–1638) of Allington, Denbighshire, and Plas Teg, Flintshire, was a prominent politician and soldier with extensive administrative experience in Ireland. Bryncunallt (p 110, l.10) is a tref in the parish of Chirk, Denbighshire; this reference is more likely to the manor built by the father of Sir John Trevor, d. 1453. Morgan Broughton (p 110, l.13) of Marchwial, Denbighshire, lived in Shocklach, Cheshire, until 1590. He was referred to frequently in documents dating from 1589 to 1619 (DRO: D/PT/337–43, D/MT/967), and appears as plaintiff in the Star Chamber case for Llwynon, Denbighshire, on pp 121–6. The manor of Emral (p 110, l.18) in the parish of Worthenbury, Flintshire, was the seat of Sir Roger Puleston (d. 1618); the Myddelton accounts preserve frequent references to the estate. 'Die gwyl Vihangel' (p 110, l.21) refers to the feast of St Michael, 29 September. 'mlowel' (p 110, l.21) likely refers to Blodwel Fawr or Blodwel Fechan, just over the Shropshire border.

111–13 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/6/1/61 single sheet

Elizabeth's Statute against Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars was first enacted in 1572 (14 Eliz 1, chapter 5) as a thorough revision of the earlier statute on the relief of the poor (5 Eliz 1, chapter 3). The new act targeted 'all Fencers Bearewardes Comon Players in Enterludes & Minstrels, not belonging to any Baron of this Realme or towards any other honorable Person of grater Degree' (*Statutes of the Realm*, vol 4, pt 1, p 591). The legislation also cited a variety of other occupations, such as fortune-tellers, jugglers, pedlars, tinkers, and 'Petye Chapmen,' as well as people of sound body who could do labour but refused to do so. The statute was reissued in an expanded form in 1597–8 (39 Eliz 1, chapter 4). These names are followed by a second listing of eighty persons also bound over as above ('vt supra') but at a different (and earlier) court session (held at Wrexham assize in October 1580). Since it is not clear whether this 'vt supra' indicates that these eighty persons were bound over on the same conditions as the original list of twelve, we have not included them here.

114–15 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/24/2/17 f [1]

The examination is taken at the Wynne family estate of Voelas in the parish of Pentrefoelas, Denbighshire. The decedent in the case, Richard ap Hugh, labourer, was, like the witnesses, from the parish of Ysbyty Ifan, Denbighshire. No further documents dealing with this case survive.

116 DRO: BD/A/1 f 88v

Sir Peter Mutton (ll.8–9) of Llannerch, Denbighshire, was one of the most prominent Welsh lawyers of the early seventeenth century. After study at St Alban Hall, Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn he was called to the bar in 1594. His connections with Wales remained close: he was clerk of the Crown in Denbigh and Montgomery in 1605, and by 1609 had been appointed king's attorney in Wales and the Marches. In 1622 he was appointed chief justice of Great Sessions on the North Wales circuit.

116–17 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/6/5/52 ff [2–2v]

The heading to this document is misdated as 4 March; Shrove Tuesday in 26 Elizabeth 1 fell on 3 March.

117–18 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/8/1/25 single sheet

There is some ambiguity concerning the location of the house of Roger ap Thomas ap Harry in which the events took place: the examination took place in Llandyrnog, which was also the parish of the examinant, Robert ap David ap Penet. The two boys, Rhys ap John ap Robert and John Fowlke, were both from Aberchwiler, Denbighshire. The location of the house is not identified. Item 26 in the same file is the bond of £10 put forward by John ap Robert of Aberchwiler, Denbighshire, father of Rhys ap John ap Robert, toward the prosecution of John Fowlke. Since this is only a procedural document it has not been included, but the fact that the bond was filed in Llandyrnog may indicate that the death took place there.

118 TNA: PRO SC 2/217/14 mb 32d

A previous marginal entry in this list of goods, leaving a pig to the rector of Llanfwrog, identifies the probable parish of the deceased.

119–20 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/17/5/34–7 ff [1–2]

The heading to the examinations notes that the deceased, Robert ap Thomas, was a slater. In addition to the examinations printed here five further depositions appear in the case file. Since none of them include information beyond that given by Anne Jones and Lowrie verch Thomas, and none of them mention the drummers, fiddlers, and players, they have not been included.

121–3 TNA: PRO STAC 5/R10/32 single sheet

Llwyn-on is a mile and a half east-southeast of Wrexham. Elizabeth's previous general pardon (p 123, l.2) was issued on 4 August 1597. Morgan Broughton (p 122, l.6) was one of the patrons visited by Rhys Cain on his 'cwrs clera' (see p 110, l.13); Edward Brereton (p 122, l.8) was the son and heir of Owen Brereton (d. 1595) of Borras Hall, Denbighshire, and was appointed high sheriff for the county in 1598. His eldest son, Owen, died in 1603. A document from the Brereton household at Borras appears on p 139.

127 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/19/3/23 ff [2–2v]

The interrogatories can be dated by the following set of examinations (Great Sessions 4/19/3/24–5) that began on 3 April 1630, although these contain no further information on Hugh Jones' rhymes. The court clerk changed his mind about including all the terms of abuse that Hugh Jones used against his neighbours, merely summarizing them as 'seuerall names of disgrace.' The excised words are quite legible however. Jones' abuse tends toward animal images: 'Dyrin lleden' (l.20; ModW 'duryr') is 'flatnose,' and 'Chwanen' (l.21) is a flea, still used as a term of abuse in modern Welsh for persons of severely diminished height. 'Gellach' (l.22; ModW 'gelach') is also a derogatory diminutive, 'little leech,' and 'Cromicke' (l.22; ModW 'crwmach') refers to someone who is humpbacked. A 'Bystach' (l.23; ModW 'bustach') is a bullock, referring to someone large, stupid, and obtuse.

The seventeen articles were submitted by Robert Wynn, claiming 'that the said hugh Iones is a Common quareller affraye maker, drunckard, adulterer, libeller, ¹detractor & traducer of his neighbours/¹good name and fame and a common disturber of his *Maiesties* peace....' Further information presented against Jones indicates that he was a churchwarden of the parish of Nantglyn, Denbighshire, whose house adjoined the churchyard, and that he kept an alehouse there with 'drinkinge, roaringe, swearinge and swaggerringe' during the time of divine service. Only the fourteenth article, which is concerned with Jones' libellous rhymes against his neighbours, is printed here; the other sixteen concern assaults and affrays conducted at Llanfair, Ruthin, St Asaph, Denbigh, and Nantglyn. The following document

for Rhosllannerchrugog also concerns the misdeeds of a Hugh Jones eight years earlier, but it is a common name and there is no way to be certain it is the same person.

127–8 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/17/5/32 ff [1–2]

The examination of Anne verch William is found at Great Sessions 4/17/5/33 but sheds no further light on the maypole. The examination of William David is followed by a list of twelve further members of the cutpurse ring; in the heading to the examination David's home parish is given as Curneth, Denbighshire.

129 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/4/6/36 single mb

I have included this document despite the high level of ambiguity of the phrase 'ad ludendum in nocte' (l.22), which could refer to just about any kind of playing, as well as gambling.

129–30 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/16/4/75 single sheet

This is one of a very unusual series of twenty-five presentments from Denbighshire parishes and townships, likely a response to some administrative pressure. John Lewis the crwth player (p 130, l.3) was from Anglesey. It is not possible to ascertain the professions of the other persons listed; this information is frequently missing.

130 BL: Additional MS 53,725 f 68v

Whitelocke's companions include Sir Thomas Brereton of Hadley, Cheshire, who was sheriff of Flintshire from 13 November 1625 to 5 November 1626 (l.13) and Thomas Jukes of Guilsfield, Montgomeryshire, the high sheriff of the county (l.20). Jukes, previously of Buttington, Montgomeryshire, also served as sheriff in 1602 (W.V. Lloyd, 'Sheriffs of Montgomeryshire,' *Collections Historical and Archaeological Relating to Montgomeryshire* 4 (1871), 396). Whitelocke's host Edward Watis (l.21) was appointed to the Council in the Marches of Wales on 21 February 1622/3 following the death of Sir Edward Littleton (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic. Edward I, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I*, vol 10 (London, 1856–72), 495). Sir Francis Newport (c 1555–1623; l.10) built his house at Eyton on Severn in 1595; he served as MP for Shropshire in 1593. Aside from Whitelocke's description there is no further evidence of the Ruthin waits, although Richard Williams of Ruthin, musician, gave evidence in a Great Sessions case involving the cutting of his wife's purse on 3 February 1598/9 (NLW: Great Sessions 4/11/1/42–5).

130–3 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/23/5/8–12 ff [1–2v]

Several other documents on this case survive though there is no further mention of Ruthin's maypole. Though there is no docket list and thus no indication of sentence, the coroner's inquest is Great Sessions 4/25/5/76, and the indictment of the ap Rhys (or Price) brothers for manslaughter is 4/23/5/40. Ten further examinations of witnesses are given in the remainder of this booklet, 4/23/5/13–14, and 4/23/5/16. Recognizances for all the witnesses survive at 4/23/5/52–9. There is no recognizance for John ap Morris, who was clearly held in custody along with Thomas and Rowland ap Rhys. Talsarn Street, where the maypole was set up, was also known as Welsh Street, as is indicated in the 1632 enfeoffment of a burgage (DRO: DD/WY/1547). It is now called Well Street.

136–8 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/23/1/20 single sheet

Biddings were common in southwest Wales though much of the evidence for them derives from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Usually associated with weddings they were occasions on which gifts were presented to young couples recently (or about to be) married. A 'Bydding spinning' (p 136,

l.17), then, would seem to be such an event at which spinning was done for the benefit of a newly married couple. It was common at weddings in South Wales for the bidder – the new husband – to wear flowers in his hat; this may be reflected here in the delivery of the ‘Poessy’ (p 136, l.17), which in this case seems to have been much more elaborate since it required two people to deliver it.

Cross-dressing was commonly a feature of midsummer dancing activities in northeast Wales, especially after the Restoration. A strikingly similar series of events, lacking only the unfortunate death of one of the spectators, took place in July and August of 1620 in Bunbury, Cheshire. As in the Wrexham case cross-dressing, a large floral garland, and a sword-dance were all linked. First, on a Sunday in July, Richard Coddington, dressed as a woman, acted as a messenger to one Elizabeth Symme, ‘to bringe a present of Cheryes to the sayd Elizabeth where shee sate as Ladye of the game readie to receive them.’ Coddington was followed by ‘a great trayne of rude people tumultuously gadding after him.’ Second, on 25 July (a Thursday), ‘Thomas Broocke & Thomas Manninge in womens apparell dancing like women after one Peacocke a fidler.’ They were followed ‘by William Arrowsmyth and Richard Stubbs both of them in disguised apparell with naked swordes in theire handes daunsing with those that were in womens apparell, a great multitude of disordered and rude people gadding a longe after them.’ Finally, on 5 August, Thomas Symme gathered ‘a greater multitude, by carrying about a great & large garland [for th] decked with flours ribbandes tinsell & scarfes for the making whereof money was gathered: & Richard Vernon a piper hired, & soe riotinge from on towneshipp to an other, men and women promiscuously & lasiviously daunsed about Thomas Symme (as about a maypole) bearinge vpp the garland’ (TNA: PRO CHES 24/115/4; Elizabeth Baldwin, Lawrence M. Clopper, and David Mills (eds), *Cheshire*, REED (forthcoming); Elizabeth Baldwin, *Paying the Piper: Music in Pre-1642 Cheshire* (Kalamazoo, Mich, 2002), 51–3). Although not all elements of the Wrexham affair appear on the same occasion, the conjunction of sword-dancing and cross-dressing indicates that the events were closely related. The messenger delivered cherries rather than the posy, which in Bunbury appeared as a part of the dancing on the third occasion; the Bunbury messenger was not involved in the dancing. Despite these differences there is little question that the two events are representative of the same tradition. The Bunbury events do not seem to have been associated with a wedding since Elizabeth Symme is described in the document as ‘notoriously suspected of Adulterie.’

Since the Wrexham case, unlike the Bunbury one, concerns an accusation of murder to which the dancing, the posy, and the cross-dressing were incidental, some details, such as the presence of a musician, are missing. Two further examinations (4/23/1/20) give some further details of the case but do not refer to Parry’s actions; John Hobson of Wrexham, barber, notes that he was called to dress the wound but that ‘he would not meddle with yt for yt was past his skill to cure the same.’ A recognizance naming all the witnesses in this case except William Parry (who was presumably in custody) sheds no further light on the details (4/23/1/57). The bill of indictment is at 4/23/1/74 but does not mention Parry’s dancing. The coroner’s inquest reached a verdict of murder against Parry, as is clear from the list of prisoners in the following gaol delivery document (4/23/1/84).

138–9 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/5/2/20 single sheet

The series of presentments lists five further persons arrested for wandering abroad. These may have been itinerant rhymers or performers like Owen ap Thomas but this is not clearly indicated in the document.

141 NLW: Chirk Castle F12734 f [20]

The dating of this document is not clear. The sheet begins with a series of dated entries in December 1622, followed by seventeen payments of which only two are dated (12 September and 14 March respectively), with the undated payment to Price’s harper (l.12) lying between them. The year is not

given and it seems more likely that the two dates are 12 September 1623 and 14 March 1623/4 rather than September and March of the previous year. Sir Richard Price married Hester, daughter of Sir Thomas Myddelton's brother Hugh, founder of the New River Company, who was created baronet in 1622 (J.E. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire Families* (Horncastle, 1914), 285).

146–50 NLW: NLW MS 5390D pp 50–5

The bride was Sir Thomas Myddelton's daughter, Elizabeth; the groom, George Warburton of Arley, Cheshire (p 147, l.35). Christian, Lady Eversfield (1599–1660; p 148, l.25), was the second daughter of Sir Robert Napier of Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire. She was married to Sir Thomas Eversfield of Denne, in the parish of Horsham, Sussex; her sister Mary (1598–1675) became the second wife of Sir Thomas Myddelton. Elizabeth Warburton (d. 1650; p 148, l.29) was the widow of Peter Warburton of Crowley, Cheshire, and was the mother of the groom. Mistress Eyton (p 149, l.27) was most likely the wife of Sir Gerard Eyton of Bangor Is-coed, Flintshire. His son Kenrick was a close friend of the Myddelton family and was a member of the Council in the Marches. See Myddelton, *Castle Accounts*, p 57, n 190.

Sir Edward Broughton (p 149, l.1) of Plas Isaf and Marchwiall Hall, Denbighshire, was married to Frances, the aunt of Sir Edward Tyrrell (1573–1656) of Thornton, Buckinghamshire; Hester, Tyrrell's elder daughter, was married to Sir Thomas Salusbury of Lleweni, Denbighshire, the author of the antimasque. Margaret Myddelton (p 149, l.13) was the first wife of Sir Thomas Myddelton. Mistress Stringer (p 149, l.37) has not been identified with certainty although Margaret, great-granddaughter of the executed Thomas Salusbury, married Peter Stringer, draper, of Chester. Helen Warburton (p 150, l.20) was clearly an elderly member of the groom's family. The Myddelton family is outlined in Myddelton, *Castle Accounts*, fold-out between pp 26–7.

The text has been corrected in several places by a second writer, who also wrote the opening Latin verse and the title (p 146, ll.22–3, 25–7). The same hand apparently identified most of the speakers in the blank spaces provided. A blank space was left before the eleventh speech (p 150, l.11) but no new speaker is identified; possibly Mistress Stringer continued to speak. These additions and corrections may be authorial as the hand seems to be that of Sir Thomas Salusbury, whose signature also appears at the beginning of this antimasque (p 146, l.24).

151 NLW: Chirk Castle F12572 f [74]

Gruffydd Phylip (d. 1666; 'Griffith Phillip,' l.23) was a member of the well-known 'Phylipiad Arduwy' family of Merioneth poets. His father, Siôn, graduated at the 1567 Caerwys eisteddfod (see p 177, l.27 and p 180, l.6) and is likely to have been Gruffydd's principal teacher. The bulk of his poetry was written to the Vaughan family of Corsygedol, Merioneth; no poems by Gruffydd to members of the Myddelton family survive. Gwyn Thomas notes, 'In an englyn he describes himself as the last of the Welsh professional poets, and he was so regarded by some of his contemporaries' (*ODNB*).

152 NLW: Wynnstay MS 92 f 97v

Sir John's Christmas payments include several to well-known performers. 'Iohn Broynock' is the staunchly Catholic Siôn Brwynog, who is listed as a master poet in NLW MS 17,116B (p 168, l.8), in which 'Iohn tvdyr' also appears (l.9). 'Iohn ap Saunder' is the 'sion ap sander' who is listed as instructable apprentice c 1550 (p 167, l.36).

153 NLW: Lleweni MS 869 f 1

The family Glynne of Glynllifon, Caernarvonshire, was by the end of the fourteenth century one of the most important families of northwest Wales. By the late sixteenth century branches of the family

were established at Lleuar, Caernarvonshire, and at Plasnewydd and Nantlle in the same county. On the death of Edmund Lloyd of Glynllifon in 1541, his son William took the surname Glynllifon. In 1567 William was one of the commissioners of the Caerwys eisteddfod, and he died in 1594. Both he and his son Thomas Glynne were talented poets. Thomas Salusbury's friend ('glynne,' l.7) could have been either of these or a member of one of the branch families.

153 CCLO: MS 184 single sheet verso

Sir John Salusbury (l.17) was himself a poet of some note and many of his poems appear in this manuscript. These verses for his wedding to Ursula Stanley (l.17), illegitimate daughter of Henry Stanley, thirteenth earl of Derby (l.18), were written by his uncle, Roger Salusbury (l.19) of Bâch-y-graig, Denbighshire. The masque took place at Berain, the estate of Sir John's mother, Katheryn of Berain (l.15), to whom the 'Poysie' is being presented. Katheryn's fourth (and last) husband was Edward Thelwall of Plas-y-ward, Denbighshire. The speaker is William Wynn of Melai (l.16), Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, Denbighshire, husband of Katheryn's daughter Mary by her second husband, Sir Richard Clough, and brother-in-law to Roger Salusbury, whose wife was Mary's sister Ann. Salusbury's 'doulfull mynde' (l.24) may well have been caused by the execution, three months earlier, of his brother Thomas in connection with the Babington Plot (J.E. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire Families* (Horncastle, 1914), 222–3, 376).

153–5 UWb: MS Gwynedd 4 p 130

There are approximately eighty-two tunes in this list; a complete count is not possible since there are many deletions and additions, and some tunes appear to be listed twice. At least thirty-nine of them are known from other sources, with a further fourteen likely known under different titles. Most of these are listed in Claude Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1966). Some of them also appear in later sources, such as John Playford's *The English Dancing Master* of 1651 (Wing: P2477). The tunes will be discussed by Sally Harper in 'An Elizabethan Tune List from Lleweni Hall, North Wales,' which will appear in the *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* (2006). Harper discusses each of the tunes in detail, giving concordances to other contemporary and later sources. As she points out many of the tunes have theatrical associations; at least ten of them appear to have been connected with the actors Richard Tarlton and Edward Alleyn, while several others seem to have been ceremonial dances from the Inns of Court. The list seems to have been compiled over a period of time; the names of six tunes have been added in the spaces between the lines of the list after its completion, most of them in the second column. They are 'pegi ramsdale' (p 154, l.6), 'soing of weetes' (p 154, l.10), 'Sasnet' (p 154, l.20), 'the sycke man^e's health' (p 154, l.22), 'tom duf' (p 154, l.25), and 'the milner' (p 154, l.30), subsequently crossed out (since it appeared in the list twice) and replaced by the insertion of 'nwecast.'

155 UWb: Gwynedd 4 p 133

The Anglesey crwth player Lewis Penmon and the harper Robert Peilin were reputed to have been among James I's musicians (see p 402, endnote to NLW: Cwrtmawr MS 34B pp 25–6). Peilin, John Llivo, and Huw Pennant also appear in the list of musicians who played at Prysaeddfed, Anglesey, at Christmas 1594/5 (see p 52, ll.30, 33). Many of the names have been rewritten to the right of the list in a nineteenth-century hand. Although the final digit of the date has been lost in a hole, the same antiquarian also rewrote the heading to this list below the original, giving the full date as 1595. The list will be discussed by Sally Harper, 'An Elizabethan Tune List from Lleweni Hall, North Wales,' *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* (forthcoming 2006).

155–6 CCLO: MS 184 single sheet–single sheet verso

The dating of this poem is uncertain; the honorific in the heading (p 155, ll.28–30) would suggest that it was composed (or at least written down) after Salusbury's appointment as privy council deputy lieutenant for Denbighshire on 13 April 1597 and certainly before his knighting in June 1601. Although there was no lack of persons named Robert Chester (p 156, l.19) in the late sixteenth century none of them can be connected with the man who wrote English poems for the Salusbury household and who, from the evidence of his poems, spent much of his time at Lleweni. See Carleton Brown (ed), *Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester*, *Early English Text Society*, es, 113 (London, 1914), xlvii–liv.

156–7 CCLO: MS 184 f 49v

This set of accounts concerns the fees paid by Sir John at his knighting in June 1601. See further J.F. Maule, 'Sir John Salusbury's Family in Oxford, Christ Church Ms 184,' *Notes and Queries* 229 (September, 1984), 407–8.

157 NLW: NLW MS 5390D p 491

The account is in the hand of Sir Thomas Salusbury though the header reads 'per William Salusbury.' There is no indication of the location of the payments; their appearance in what is essentially a household book would suggest that they relate to the Lleweni estate.

157 NLW: Peniarth MS 103D p 66

This entry is in the hand of the harper Wiliam Penllyn (l.27; see p 425, endnote to NLW: NLW MS 17,116B ff 73–3v, 74–5). Its dating is a problem since Wiliam only notes that Christmas was on a Friday that year. This leaves three possible choices in the period: 1551, 1556, and 1562. Bethan Miles has suggested that the latter date is most likely but her argument rests on the identification of this Tomas Grythor (from Cegidfa, that is Guilsfield, Montgomeryshire) with the Thomas Grythor who was listed as temporary apprentice in the Aberffraw list of c 1560, who came from Llansannan, Denbighshire (p 169, l.8; see Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' p 206).

157–8 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/966/6/174 single mb

Gaol Files 4/966/6/174 and 4/966/6/175 contain two versions of the same bill. Unfortunately the order in which these two versions appear in Gaol Files 4/966/6 is the opposite of the order in which they must have been drafted. The version written on the recto of the single membrane of 4/966/6/175 has been declared void at the foot of the membrane in favour of the new version in 4/966/6/174. We have therefore chosen to print only the later copy of the bill. The original bill contained the names of three of the four men whose indictment is recorded on the verso of 4/966/6/175: Hugh Dawnsiwr's name is the one omitted. The original also contained the names of seven other defendants, all described as vagabonds (Robert Clare, John Fydler, Thomas Grythor, Fulk Fydler, John Hudoll, William Bedo, and Thomas ap Rhys). The last three men are also named in a list of vagabonds 'cawlyng them selyffes mystreller' in Denbighshire in 1553 (p 106, ll.23, 34–5), as is Rhisiart Prydydd Breg (‘Rychart brydydd brith,’ p 106, l.30). Rhisiart also occurs (as ‘Rissiart brydydd brith,’ p 177, l.37) in the graduates' list of 1567. His name, meaning ‘the speckled poet,’ is given a spelling closer to its Irish cognate ‘breach’ here, which may perhaps represent a more guttural North Walian pronunciation. The word could mean that the poet had salt-and-pepper hair, that he had freckles, or that he was dressed in motley; it has a secondary meaning of ‘poor, base, dubious,’ but it is unlikely that a poet would use this meaning in his name.

The various spellings of ‘Dawnsiwr’ clearly indicate Welsh usage; the word ‘dawnsiwr’ (‘dancer’) is

first recorded around the end of the previous century. In Gaol Files 4/966/6/174 Hugh Dawnsiwr's home is located incorrectly; Beaumaris is in Anglesey (as it is given correctly on p 158, l.18, in the indictment), not in Denbighshire ('in Comitatu predicto,' p 158, l.2).

158 NLW: Peniarth MS 73 p 6

There is no evidence of an eisteddfod in 1577 and Hywel's name does not appear among the graduates of the 1567 eisteddfod though this does not, of course, mean that he was not there. The evidence of his surviving nineteen poems makes it clear that his associations were with Flintshire, and thus he probably came from Bangor Is-coed, Flintshire, rather than Bangor, Caernarvonshire. The earliest of his datable poems concerns the sheriff of Flintshire in 1540. The date 1577 was added in a box to the right of the penultimate line in the same hand as that of the poem's text.

159-65 BL: Additional MS 19,711 mbs 2-12

The so-called Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan was most likely compiled in connection with the Caerwys eisteddfod of 1523, though many of its provisions may date from the Carmarthen eisteddfod of 1451 or earlier; as Dafydd Bowen says, 'mai un o brif amcanion yr eisteddfodau a gynhaliwyd yng Nghaerfyrddin tua 1450 ac yng Nghaerwys yn 1523 a 1567/8 ydoedd diogelu detholusrwydd yr alwedigaeth.' ('One of the principal intentions of the eisteddfodau held in Carmarthen around 1450 and in Caerwys in 1523 and 1567/8 was to protect the selectivity of the calling'; Bowen, 'Graddedigion Eisteddfodau Caerwys,' p 129). The document was clearly intended to stem the depression of the bardic order by exerting control over those who wished to call themselves bards through education and formal grading, eliminating those untrained rhymers and hacks who attempted to eke out a living by calling themselves 'bards.' The document deals with all aspects of the profession: the precise details of the training of a bard, the profession's morality, and the structure of fees that might be charged. The 'statute' was associated with the name of Gruffudd ap Cynan, the ruler of Gwynedd from 1081 to 1137, most likely in order to give it the appearance of historical authenticity.

While many of the statute's provisions were practical some clearly bore no fruit. The direction that an eisteddfod should be held every three years for the purpose of ranking and graduating bardic trainees went no further, and the next documented eisteddfod was held in 1567. Enid Roberts has shown that the choice of Caerwys as the site for both these eisteddfodau may have been due in part to traditional associations with Gruffudd ap Cynan, but it is more likely to have derived from the close association of the Mostyn family with the two meetings. Richard ap Hywel, under whose patronage the first eisteddfod was held, was the head of the Mostyn family and in 1523 was under-sheriff of Flintshire. The bard Tudur Aled (d. 1526), mentioned in the proclamation that precedes the series of regulations, also had close connections with the family (Roberts, 'Eisteddfod Caerwys 1567,' pp 23-61, especially p 29).

See pp cxvii-cxix for a discussion of the pre-1600 bardic MSS of the 1523 version of the statute.

In the translation of this document the technical terms of Welsh poetry and music have with a few exceptions not been translated, since their English equivalents are for the most part unhelpful. Their meanings are discussed in the introductory note to Appendix 2 (pp 273-4) and in the Welsh Glossary.

The passage on p 165, ll.8-10, presents a problem. According to the text the appropriate fee for both a master craftsman and an apprentice of the master craft should be two score. But two score what? The reference to a sum of money in the preceding paragraph is to 81d, but 40d would make the fee for the master the same as that for the lower level of instructable apprentice (that is, 3s 4d) as indicated in the following paragraph. Given the level of fees indicated elsewhere in this and the following documents, 40s seems far too much.

166–7 NLW: Peniarth Ms 155B pp 90–4

This addition provides extensive further discussion of the remuneration due to poets and musicians on various occasions and concludes with a list of the graduates from the 1523 eisteddfod. This list as it stands gives only the harp and crwth players; it is likely that the list of graduating poets has been lost (Thomas, *Eisteddfodau Caerwys/The Caerwys Eisteddfodau*, pp 82–3).

The harper Dafydd Nanklyn (p 167, l.30) came from Nantglyn, Denbighshire, near Ruthin. 'Edward Sirk' (p 167, l.31) is unlikely to be the Edward Cherke who left a small body of poetry toward the end of the sixteenth century, since there is no evidence he was a musician as well (Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' pp 253–5); he is probably the same as the 'edward cherke' listed among the notable harpers in NLW: NLW MS 17,116B, f 61v (see p 28, l.39). 'Thomas amhadoc' (ap Madog) is mentioned in the same manuscript (see p 29, l.8).

There appear to have been at least three crwth players named Edward in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, and it is not clear which one this 'Edward grythor' (p 167, l.31) may be. He is clearly not the Edward Grythor Hir who graduated as instructable apprentice (see p 179, l.4; Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' p 161). The provenance of Morus 'llanvair' is not certain since the place name 'Llanfair' occurs in several counties. Hwlcyn Llwyd (p 167, l.34) must have been fairly young at the 1523 eisteddfod, at which he graduated as apprentice of the master craft, the highest level of apprenticeship. By the 1567 eisteddfod he had attained the grade master teacher of the harp (see p 180, l.19) and was listed under the more formal 'Howell' Llwyd ('Hwlcyn' being a hypocoristic form of 'Howell') in version 'A' (p 178, l.2). He also appeared as 'hoell' in the Lleweli Christmas account of 1555 (p 152, l.31). Ieuan Delyniwr (p 167, l.34) also appears in the later Aberffraw list (p 168, l.17); his son Edward graduated as a master harper at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 178, l.6).

Although there were at least three crwth players by the name Ieuan Grythor (p 167, l.34), this one is unlikely to be the Ieuan Penmon who graduated in the second Caerwys eisteddfod (p 178, l.30 and p 180, l.37). The most likely candidate is Ieuan Grythor Caereinion, who is mentioned in NLW: Peniarth Ms 313, p 172 (Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' p 162). It is not possible to tell whether Dai Maessmor (p 167, l.34) and Huw Menau (p 167, l.36) were harp or crwth players, though Dai likely came from the Merioneth tref of Maesmor and Huw must have come from the area of the Menai Strait in Anglesey or Caernarvonshire. Although two crwth players named Rhys graduated at the second Caerwys eisteddfod in 1567 (p 179, ll.6–7), this earlier minstrel (p 167, l.36) was unlikely to be connected with them. Tudur Aled wrote a series of satirical englynion to him, which Catrin Davies has dated c 1513 (Catrin T.B. Davies, 'Cerddi'r Tai Crefydd,' MA thesis (University College of North Wales, 1973), 78). It is not possible to tell whether Bili ab Owain or Siôn ap Saunder (p 167, l.36) were harp or crwth players, but Siôn is certainly the 'Iohn ap Saunder' who was paid at Lleweli at Christmas 1555 (p 152, l.31).

168–70 NLW: NLW MS 17,116B ff 73–3v, 74–5

This list of poets, harpers, and crwth players represents the degree status (as defined in the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan) prior to the Caerwys eisteddfod of 1567. It thus overlaps substantially with the list of graduates on that occasion (see pp 176–9 and 179–81).

The list has been placed among the Flintshire records because of its clear relevance to the 1567 eisteddfod, although it names performers from much of north and central Wales. The names in the list are arranged under the headings of the traditional bardic 'provinces': the northern province of Aberffraw, roughly equivalent to the ancient kingdom of Gwynedd and named for the Anglesey site of the palace of the kings of Gwynedd; and the central province of Mathrafal, roughly equivalent to the ancient kingdom of Powys and named for the Montgomeryshire commote of Mathrafal, later called Caereinion. The list is incomplete both at the beginning and end, and names are missing for the southern province

of Dinefwr, roughly equivalent to the ancient kingdom of Deheubarth and named for the Carmarthenshire home of the kings of Deheubarth. Although the first two sections of the list do not indicate which province they refer to, the provenance of individual performers makes it clear that Aberffraw is meant. The list apparently dates from a few years before the 1567 eisteddfod; most of the performers whose names appear in both this list and that of the 1567 graduates are cited here at a bardic level one grade below that at which they graduated in 1567.

Lewch (p 168, l.6) is otherwise unknown. The poet Lewis ab Edward (fl 1560; p 168, l.7) from Bodfari, Flintshire, graduated as master poet at the 1567 eisteddfod. He wrote poetry to a number of North Welsh families. Along with Simwnt Fychan and Siôn Tudur he attended the wedding feast of Elisau ap Wiliam Lloyd of Rhiwedog, Merioneth, to Elizabeth, daughter of Owen Vaughan of Llwydiarth on 20 October 1555 (pp 210–14). The three poets composed satirical englynion at the feast as a 'roast' of the senior poet Gruffudd Hiraethog, who was the teacher of both Lewis and Simwnt. Siôn Brwynog ('Iohn brwynog,' p 168, l.8) came from the township of Brwynog in the parish of Llanfflewin, Anglesey, the son of William ap Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. He wrote poetry to a variety of North Wales patrons, as well as to Henry VIII and Mary. He wrote no poems to Elizabeth, perhaps because he was a firm Catholic. His name does not appear in either of the eisteddfod lists; he may have died before 1567. Siôn Tudur (c 1522–1602; 'Iohn tvdyr,' p 168, l.9) spent his early life as yeoman of the guard and yeoman of the Crown, first to Edward VI, then to Queen Elizabeth. After about 1566 he returned to Wales where he wrote poems to over sixty North Wales families. His poetry can be found in Enid Roberts (ed), *Gwaith Siôn Tudur* (Cardiff, 1980). He graduated as apprentice of the master craft at the 1567 eisteddfod. His home was at Wigfair in the parish of St Asaph, Flintshire. Both Siôn Brwynog and Siôn Tudur also appear in the list of minstrels paid at Llewini at Christmas 1555 (p 152, ll.30–1). Simwnt Fychan (c 1530–1606; p 168, l.10) lived in Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, Denbighshire. An antiquarian copy of his bardic licence is printed on pp 181–2. Many of his poems were written to his patron, Simon Thelwall of Plas-y-ward, Ruthin, Denbighshire, though he also wrote to other members of the gentry; his 'awdl' to Piers Mostyn was printed in Siôn Dafydd Rhys' grammar in 1592 (STC: 20966). Simwnt also wrote a bardic grammar around 1570 though it is largely a compilation of earlier material. He graduated as master poet at the 1567 eisteddfod. 'morys ap Ieuan ab eginio' (p 168, l.11) is better known as Morus ap Dafydd ab Ifan ab Einion, or by his toponymic, Morus Dwyfach, after the Caernarvonshire river now called Dwyfach. He graduated at the 1523 eisteddfod though his grade is unclear, and he appears to have been the household bard at Cefnamwlch, Anglesey. He died in 1590. Hwlcyn Llwyd (p 168, l.14) graduated as apprentice of the master craft at the 1523 eisteddfod; in the 1567 list of graduates, version 'A,' he appears as 'Howell' Llwyd, under which name he also appears in the Llewini Christmas account of 1555 (p 152, ll.31). The Anglesey harper Siôn ap Rhys ('Iohn ap Rys,' p 168, l.15) graduated as master harper on the same occasion (p 178, l.3 and p 180, l.17); he is not the same person as 'Iohn ap Rys gyttyn,' who appears in this list (p 168, l.27) and whose parish is given as Llanddyfnog, Denbighshire. Wiliam Penllyn (fl 1550–70; p 168, l.16) is primarily known as a harper although he wrote some poetry as well. The well-known Robert ap Huw manuscript (BL: Additional MS 14,905) includes Robert's transcription of parts of Wiliam's music book. He described taking part in Christmas festivities as one of a group of four harpers and four crwth players at Moeliwrch, in the parish of Llansilin, Denbighshire, c 1562 (see p 157, ll.18–28); he graduated as master harper at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 178, l.4 and p 180, l.18). Ieuan Delyniwr, harper (p 168, l.17), graduated as apprentice of the master craft at the 1523 eisteddfod (p 167, l.34).

Robert ap Howell Llanvor was the son of Howell Llanvor, who appears in the list of notable crwth players, harpers, and poets in NLW: NLW MS 17,116B (pp 28–9); Robert came from Pwllheli, Caernarvonshire. Lewis ap Jenkin (p 168, l.19) has not been identified. Although several performers named Dafydd

(Dai is the diminutive or familiar form) appear in the eisteddfod graduation lists, it is not possible to tell which one Dai Maenan (p 168, l.20) is. He came from Maenan, Caernarvonshire. '(blank) ap Iohn ap Res' (p 168, l.21) was probably the son of Siôn ap Rhys, noted above, and may be the same as the Dafydd Llwyd ap Siôn (or John) ap Rhys in the lists of graduates (p 178, l.5 and p 180, l.22). The harper Thomas Anwyl (p 168, l.22) of Maenan, Caernarvonshire, graduated as master harper at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 178, l.9 and p 180, l.21). 'Iert vab Ieuan' (p 168, l.23) is likely to be Edward ab Ieuan who graduated at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 178, l.6 and p 180, l.23); he was the son of Ieuan Delyniwr who graduated at the 1523 eisteddfod (p 167, l.34). The harper Ieuan Penllyn of Caerwys (p 168, l.24) graduated as apprentice of the master craft at the 1567 eisteddfod. 'ylisav' (p 168, l.25) may be the Ellis Griffith, harper, who graduated as instructable apprentice at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 178, l.19 and p 181, l.20), and 'llwelyn' (p 168, l.26) may be the harper Llywelyn Hwssman, who graduated as apprentice of the master craft at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 178, l.15), according to the 'A' version of the list. John ap Rhys Gutun (p 168, l.27), a Denbighshire harper, is not the Siôn ap Rhys, harper, of Anglesey who graduated as master harper at the 1567 eisteddfod. He is very likely the brother of the Robert ap Rhys Gutun who appears as a crwth player below (p 169, l.5). 'Robert lloyd vab hwlkyn lloyd' (p 168, l.28) is clearly the son of Hwlcyn Llwyd above.

Ieuan Penmon, Siôn Ednyfed, and Thomas Môn (p 169, ll.2–4) all graduated as master crwth players at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 178, ll.30–1, 34 and p 180, ll.37, 40–1). Ieuan was an Anglesey minstrel and the father of Lewis Penmon, who appears in the list of Welsh musicians at the court of James I (pp 35–6; Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' pp 208, 245–7). Siôn Ednyfed is named in Siôn Tudur's poem on poets and minstrels, which dates from before 1580. According to a poem of Siencyn ap Wiliam Siôn the Anglesey crwth player Thomas Môn was a member of the household of William Glynne (Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' pp 209–10). The crwth player Robert ap Rhys Gutun (p 169, l.5), probably the brother of John ap Rhys Gutun above, came from Llanddyfnog, Denbighshire. Siôn Tudur describes him as heir to the estate of 'Pereion,' and his name appears in several poems as well (Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' pp 211–14). He graduated as master crwth player at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 178, l.32 and p 180, l.39). Thomas ap Rhys Lloyd should not be confused with the 'tomas llwyd' who graduated as instructable apprentice at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 179, l.1); Thomas Grythor Dall (p 169, l.7), the blind crwth player, graduated as master crwth player on the same occasion (p 178, l.33–p 180, l.42). A note in a different hand in the 'B' version of the list of graduates indicates that he came from Ruthin, and thus would have been in the province of Aberffraw (Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' pp 217–19). A second Thomas Grythor Dall (p 170, l.6) from the province of Mathrafal is listed below. There are several other crwth players named Thomas who graduated at the 1567 eisteddfod, and it is not possible to distinguish which one the Thomas Grythor on p 169, l.7, is, except that he clearly came from Llansannan, Denbighshire.

Gruffudd Hiraethog (p 169, l.11) was one of the most celebrated poets of the mid-sixteenth century. Most of his surviving poems were written under the patronage of Dr Ellis Price of Plas Iolyn, Denbighshire. Huw Arwystli (p 169, l.12), from Trefeglwys in the Montgomeryshire cantref of Arwystli, wrote poetry to a number of the local gentry (J. Afan Jones, 'Gweithiau Barddonol Huw Arwystli,' MA thesis (University of Wales, 1926)). Morgan Elfael (fl 1528–41; p 169, l.13) wrote poetry to several families of the South Wales gentry; the Radnorshire poet and soldier Hywel ap Mathew (d. 1581; p 169, l.14) was a staunch Catholic and was present at the siege of Boulogne in 1544. His genealogical manuscripts formed the basis for the work of his pupil, Lewys Dwnn. Wiliam Llŷn (1534 or 1535–80; p 169, l.15) studied with Gruffudd Hiraethog and wrote poems to patrons covering the whole of North Wales, as far east as Shropshire and as far south as Brecknockshire. He spent the last two decades of his life in Oswestry, Shropshire, which he mentions in a poem of 1561 (J.C. Morrice (ed), *Barddoniaeth Wiliam Llŷn* (Bangor, 1908), xviii). The Oswestry parish register notes the christening of his son, as well as his own death on

31 August 1580 and the deaths of both his children. Rhys Cain was among his students and was the recipient of his books in his will (Morrice (ed), *Barddoniaeth Wiliam Llŷn*, p xx). Two manuscripts of the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan are in his hand, BL: Additional MS 19,711 and NLW: Mostyn MS 78. He graduated as master poet at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 177, l.17 and p 179, l.33). 'owen ap syr Ieuan' (p 169, l.16) is unknown. Ieuan Tew (fl 1560–90; p 169, l.17) was known as Brydydd Ieuan ('the young poet') to distinguish him from the Carmarthenshire poet of the same name who flourished in the early fifteenth century; he graduated as instructable apprentice at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 177, l.31 and p 180, l.9). The harper Rhys Wynn (p 169, l.20) of Ysbyty Ifan, Denbighshire, was one of the performers listed by Wiliam Penllyn as present at the Christmas celebrations at Plas Moeliwrch, Denbighshire (see p 157, l.27). The harper David Lloyd (p 169, l.21) from the Montgomeryshire commote of Cedewain should not be confused with several poets of the same name. Among these Dafydd Llwyd ap Siôn ap Rhys (d. 1619) of Henblas, Llangristiolus, Anglesey, may have graduated from St Edmund Hall, Oxford. He was also a scholar and linguist. He was likely the son of the 'Iohn ap Rys' (p 168, l.15) who appears in the Aberffraw portion of this list.

Lewis ap Howell Wynn (p 169, l.22) is not known unless he is the same person as the Lewis Llanvor who appears in the 'B' list of 1567 graduates. The harpers Huw Dai (p 169, l.23) and Rhisiart Glynne (p 169, l.24) graduated as instructable apprentices at the 1567 eisteddfod (see p 178, l.16; p 178, l.14 and p 180, l.27); Huw also took part in the Christmas festivities at Plas Moeliwrch (p 157, l.22). The harper Huw ap Morus (p 169, l.25) graduated as instructable apprentice in 1567 (p 178, l.17 and p 181, l.17). John ab Edward (p 169, l.26) was unlikely to be the harper Siôn Newbrough, probably from Newborough, Anglesey, who graduated as instructable apprentice at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 178, l.20 and p 181, l.19), since he is listed as coming from the province of Mathrafal, while Anglesey was in the province of Aberffraw. The harper Siams Morlas (p 169, l.27) graduated as instructable apprentice at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 178, l.18 and p 181, l.18); the harper Ieuan ap Maredudd (p 169, l.28) of Chirk, Denbighshire, graduated as temporary apprentice at the same time (p 178, l.23 and p 180, l.33). The crwth player James Eaton (p 169, l.31) of Maelor, Flintshire, graduated as master crwth player at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 178, l.29 and p 180, l.36). Excerpts from his will are printed on p 182; he died between 19 January 1569/70 and 19 June 1570 and his death was noted by Siôn Tudur in his elegy on poets and minstrels, written before 1580. Although his name does not appear in the list of graduates at the 1567 eisteddfod, Morus Grythor's name appears (p 170, l.1) as one of the four crwth players who appeared at Plas Moeliwrch, at Christmas, perhaps in 1562 (p 157, l.24).

Edward Grythor (p 170, l.2) graduated as instructable apprentice at the 1567 eisteddfod. In the same position in the Peniarth MS 132B list of graduates he appears as Edward Grythor 'hir' ('the tall'). He is clearly not the same person as the Edward Grythor (p 167, l.31) who attained the grade of master crwth player at the 1523 eisteddfod. The crwth player Robert ab Ieuan Llwyd (p 170, l.3) graduated as instructable apprentice at the 1567 eisteddfod (p 179, l.2 and p 181, l.3). He came from Wrexham and his death is recorded in Siôn Tudur's elegy on poets and minstrels, written before 1580 (Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' p 230; Enid Roberts (ed), *Gwaith Siôn Tudur*, vol 1 (Cardiff, 1980), 555–8). One of the pedigrees in Gruffudd Hiraethog's book (Peniarth MS 176, p 244) gives fuller information on Wiliam Goch (p 170, l.4), listing 'Wiliam goch grythor ap Hywel ap Ieuan Madog.' Wiliam was one of the four crwth players at the Plas Moeliwrch Christmas celebrations (p 157, l.23). Since he came from the province of Mathrafal 'thomas ddall grythor' (p 170, l.6) was clearly not the famed blind crwth player of Ruthin, who is listed above under the province of Aberffraw. Several other crwth players named Tomas are listed among the graduates at the 1567 eisteddfod but none of them is noted as being blind.

170–1 Evans: *Report*, vol 1 pp 291–2

There has been much discussion of the date of the second Caerwys eisteddfod. This commission gives 1568 as the date but many of the other documents give 1567. Several of the documents giving the date 1567 are in the hands of persons known to have participated in the eisteddfod (such as Wiliam Llŷn), so it seems preferable to accept that date. The dispute over the date is contained in the following articles: Bowen, 'Graddedigion Eisteddfodau Caerwys,' pp 129–34; Harries, 'Ail Eisteddfod Caerwys,' pp 24–31; and Bowen, 'Ail Eisteddfod Caerwys,' pp 139–61. The arguments are summarized by Thomas, *Eisteddfodau Caerwys/The Caerwys Eisteddfodau*, pp 84–95.

172–6 NLW: Peniarth MS 158B pp 81–9

The later version of the statute is distinguished from the earlier by changes in the requirements for the various bardic degrees, probably brought about in connection with the 1567 eisteddfod. In the translation of this document the technical terms of Welsh poetry and music have with a few exceptions not been translated, since their English equivalents are for the most part unhelpful. Their meanings are discussed in the introductory note to Appendix 2 (pp 273–4) and the Welsh Glossary. Several poets, including Siôn Mawddwy (pp 202–3), wrote satirical englynion about the 'ofergerddwyr' (vain, pointless performers), that is, pipers, fiddlers, and taborers (see p 176, l.24). See 'Detholiad o Englynion,' *BBCS* 15 (1953), 186–7; NLW MS Peniarth 313, pp 50, 146, 215.

The surviving pre-1600 MSS of this version are discussed in *The Documents*, pp cxvii–cxviii, cxx.

176–9 NLW: Peniarth MS 132B pp 59–63

Many of the persons mentioned in this document and the following one can be identified, though for some of the graduates their presence in these lists is the only information surviving. Those performers and poets who appear both in the pre-1567 Aberffraw/Mathrafal list (pp 168–70) and in this list of graduates are identified in the endnote for the former.

William Mostyn (d. 1576; p 177, l.8) was MP for Flintshire in 1554 and 1572 and served as high sheriff of both Flintshire and Caernarvonshire. Biographical information on the members of the commission is given by Roberts, 'Eisteddfod Caerwys 1567,' pp 38–47. Piers Mostyn (c 1495–1579/80; p 177, l.8) was the third son (second surviving) of William Mostyn's grandfather, Richard ap Hywel. He established the branch of the family at Talacre, Flintshire. Owen Vaughan (p 177, l.8) of Llwydiarth, Montgomeryshire, was the father of Elizabeth, whose wedding on 20 October 1555 brought a gathering of poets together at Rhiwedog, Merioneth (see pp 210–14). Siôn ap Wiliam ap Siôn (d. 1573; p 177, l.9) of Ysgeifiog, Flintshire, appears to have had a reputation as a fine judge of poetry, since Wiliam Cynwal commented on it in his elegy on Siôn, 'Mawr na welir mvrn alaeth' (NLW: Peniarth MS 72, p 117). Siôn Lewis Owain (p 177, l.9) of Llwyn, Dolgellau, Merioneth, along with his father and brother, was the subject of poems by Owain Gwynedd. The son of Morris Griffith (p 177, l.9, called in the 'B' version 'yr aer,' 'the heir') married Grace, the daughter of William Mostyn. Simon Thelwall (1526–86; p 177, l.9) of Plas-y-ward, Ruthin, Denbighshire, was called to the bar in 1568 after studying at the Inner Temple. He was MP for Denbigh Boroughs in 1553 and 1571, high sheriff of the county from 14 November 1571 to 25 December 1572, and a member of the Council in the Marches. Simwnt Fychan (p 177, l.18) seems to have left the service of the Mostyns in favour of the Thelwall family around 1560, after the death of Gruffudd Hiraethog. John Griffith of Caerwys ('Sion gruffudd Sarssiant,' p 177, l.10; d. 1580), serjeant at arms to Henry VIII, served as sheriff of Flintshire in 1547–8, 1556–7, 1564–5, and 1571–2, and as MP for the county in 1559 and 1571. Robert Puleston (1526–83; p 177, l.10) of Plas-ym-Mers, near Wrexham, Flintshire, served as sheriff of Denbigh from 23 November 1558 to 8 November 1559 and was MP for Caernarvon Boroughs from 1547 to 1552 and for Denbighshire in

1553 and 1571. Sir Evan Lloyd ('Ieuan llwyd,' p 177, l.10; d. 1586/7) of Bodidris, Llanarmon-yn-Iâl, Denbighshire, married Elizabeth, the sister of William Mostyn. He served as MP for the county in 1584. A zealous Protestant he participated in the 1582 and 1584 trials of Richard Gwyn (White) who was martyred following the second trial. William Glynne (d. 1594; p 177, l.10) of Glynllifon, Caernarvonshire, was prominent in Caernarvonshire politics and was the cousin of Robert Puleston. Although he was not formally a member of the bardic order he was a poet of some importance.

Owain Gwynedd (fl 1550–90; p 177, l.19) wrote poems to a variety of North Welsh gentry, especially to the family of Lewis Owen of Dolgellau, Merioneth, baron of the Exchequer for North Wales, who was murdered by the notorious 'Gwylliaid Cochion' ('Red Bandits') of Mawddwy in 1555. No details are known of Owain Gwynedd's life though he conducted a well-known poetic contest with Wiliam Llŷn. One of the texts of the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan (NLW: Llanstephan MS 195) is likely in his hand. Lewis Menai (p 177, l.23) of the tref of Crochancaffo in the parish of Llangeinwen, Anglesey, wrote poems to a number of North Wales families, including the Maurices of Clennau, the Vaughans of Llwydiarth, and the Rhydderchs of Myfyrian. Huw Llŷn (fl 1552–94; p 177, l.24) may possibly have been Wiliam Llŷn's brother though the name may merely indicate provenance. Among his poems that survive is one to Walter Devereux, eighteenth earl of Essex. In addition to North Wales families Huw wrote poems to such South Wales dignitaries as George Owen of Henllys, Pembrokeshire, and Gruffudd Dwnn of Ystradmerthyr, Kidwelly, Carmarthenshire.

Wiliam Cynwal (d. 1587 or 1588; p 177, l.25) of Ysbyty Ifan, Denbighshire, was a student of Gruffudd Hiraethog and wrote poems to a variety of North Wales families. He also wrote a flying poem ('ymryson') with Edmwnd Prys, who composed an elegy on him after his death. Bedo Hafesb (fl 1568–85; p 177, l.26) of Montgomeryshire wrote an 'ymryson' poem with Ieuan Tew (see previous endnote), from which it appears that he had served as a serjeant at Newtown, Montgomeryshire. Fourteen of his poems survive. Siôn Phylip (c 1543–1620; p 177, l.27) of Mochras, Ardudwy, Merioneth, was a member of a remarkable family of poets, known as 'y Phylipiad Ardudwy.' He was a student of Wiliam Llŷn. Close to two hundred of his poems survive, written in honour of a wide variety of North Wales families. Huw Cornwy (fl 1580–96; p 177, l.28) likely from Llanfair-yng-Nghornwy, Anglesey, wrote poems to several Anglesey families, including the Meyricks of Bodorgan and the Rhydderchs of Myfyrian. Ieuan Tew (p 177, l.31) wrote 'ymryson' verse with Bedo Hafesb, Wiliam Cynwal, and Siôn Phylip.

Huw Ceiriog (fl 1560–1600; p 177, l.32) of Denbighshire wrote poems to Simon Thelwall of Plas-y-ward, Ruthin, Denbighshire, as well as to John Salusbury of Lleweni, Denbighshire. Huw Pennant (fl 1565–1619; p 177, l.33) left a large quantity of verse to the North Wales gentry though virtually nothing is known of his life. Dafydd Alaw (fl 1550; p 177, l.36), from Anglesey, may have been a student of Lewys Môn. His surviving poetry is principally addressed to prominent Anglesey families of the period from about 1535 to 1570. 'Rissiat brydydd brith' (p 177, l.37) was arrested as a vagrant in 1547 (p 158, ll.2, 19). His name does not appear in the 'B' version of the list. In the 'B' version the name 'Edwart Huw o bennllyn' (p 177, l.38) is replaced by 'Edwart Brynlllys' (p 180, l.14); it is not clear whether or not they may be the same person.

Hwmffre Goch (p 178, l.8), a harper, would not have been the 'wmffre grythor' who took part in the Christmas festivities at Plas Moeliwrch, Denbighshire (see p 157, l.24). 'Robert llwyd' (p 178, l.12) could be either the Robert ap Siôn Llwyd who took part in the Christmas festivities at Moeliwrch (p 157, l.22) or Robert Llwyd ap Hwlcyn Llwyd (p 168, l.28), who appears in the list of c 1560. 'Howell' Llwyd (p 178, l.2) appears in version 'B' of this list under the more commonly used form of his name, Hwlcyn, but at the same grade of attainment (p 180, l.19). Llywelyn Hwssman (p 178, l.15) is otherwise unknown though he may be the 'lluwelyn delyniol' who appears in the c 1560 list (p 168, l.26). Ellis Griffith (p 178, l.19) may be the 'ylisav dylynior' who appears in the Aberffraw list (p 168, l.25). Of Siôn Newbrough

(p 178, l.20) nothing further is known, other than his likely provenance from Newborough, Anglesey. 'Iewys merain' (p 178, l.24) of the township of Berain (see p 180, l.32) in the parish of Llanefydd, Denbighshire, is otherwise unknown, though perhaps was connected to the bard-friendly Berain household. Gwalchmai (p 178, l.25), who is listed in version 'B' of the list as 'Gwalchmai ap dafydd' (p 180, l.34), is otherwise unknown. The name of Rhisiart Llwyd (p 178, l.26) does not appear in the 'B' version.

William Ednyfed (p 179, l.5) may have been the brother of Siôn Ednyfed, who is noted in the previous endnote (Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' p 208; Enid Roberts (ed), *Gwaith Siôn Tudur*, vol 1 (Cardiff, 1980), 555–8). Siôn Ddu Grythor (p 178, l.35 and p 181, l.1) appears in the Aberffraw/Mathrafal list as 'Iohn ddu grythor,' but only in the version of NLW: Peniarth MS 169, p 353. He is also mentioned in a poem attributed to Wiliam Llŷn (Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' p 231; J.C. Morrice (ed), *Barddoniaeth Wiliam Llŷn* (Bangor, 1908), 204). Tomas Llwyd of Powys (p 179, l.1) is probably the same person as 'Thomas Kegidfa' who occupies the same position in version 'B' of the list (p 181, l.5); Cegidfa is Guilsfield, Montgomeryshire. He is also likely the Tomas Grythor of Cegidfa who appeared at the Moeliwrch Christmas celebrations (p 157, l.25). It is clear from the other manuscripts of version 'A' that 'tomas vychan grythor' (p 179, l.3) is the same person as Thomas Grythor Bach in version 'B' (p 181, l.7). He was the subject of a pair of satirical poems by Wiliam Cynwal and Simwnt Fychan (Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' pp 221–9). 'Edwart grythor hir' (p 179, l.4) cannot be positively identified; at least three and possibly four crwth players by the name of Edward are known (p 167, l.31; p 170, l.2; p 179, l.4; and p 181, l.4). It is not possible to tell which one of them was also known as 'the tall' (Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' p 217).

'rry[s]¹ grythor o lann Sanan' (p 179, l.6) and 'rrys grythor o geric i drvdion' (p 179, l.7) are distinguished by their parishes, Llansannan and Cerrigydrudion. In addition to the Rhys Grythor who graduated as instructable apprentice at the 1523 Caerwys eisteddfod (p 167, l.36), these two Denbighshire minstrels both graduated in 1567. It is not possible to distinguish between them although one (or both) of them achieved considerable fame or notoriety. Several bards wrote poetry to Rhys Grythor, often satirical, including Siôn Tudur and Wiliam Cynwal. A number of manuscripts preserve witty anecdotes about him, in one of which he is called 'a merry conceited fellow' (Roberts (ed), *Gwaith Siôn Tudur*, vol 1, p 948; Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' pp 164–89, where both the poems and anecdotes are printed). Only one Rhys Grythor appears in the 'B' version of the list, where he is called 'Rhys grythor hiraethog' (p 181, l.6), the commote which includes Cerrigydrudion. The two Conways, Rhisiart (p 179, l.9 and p 181, l.11) and Robert (p 179, l.10 and p 181, l.13), may have been brothers and may also have been related to James Conway, harper (see p 52, l.37). Nothing further about them is known although a 'Ricus Conwey de Wrexham' appears in the Denbighshire Gaol Files in 1600 (NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/11 item 138; Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' pp 237–8).

179–81 NLW: NLW MS 872D pp 473–5

The second version of the list of graduates differs from the first primarily in the order in which names are listed. Comparison of the two lists is aided by the grouping of the graduates both by mode of performance (poet, harper, crwth player) and by the various degrees of attainment. With the exception of seven cases where the names are quite different, the principal difference between the lists is the order of the names within the groups. Those graduating are identified in the previous endnote. The section listing the harpers graduating as instructable apprentices has been added at the end of the list, and direction to it is inserted at two places. A few names are unique to this version of the list. The crwth player Siôn Alaw's name (p 181, l.12) only appears in the NLW: NLW MS 872D copy of the list. He was a member of the household of Sir Rhisiart Gwyn of Hirdre-faig, Anglesey, under whom he also served as a soldier in Ireland. He received a payment by the Lewis family of Prysaeiddfed, Anglesey, on 5 February 1594/5 (p 53, l.1; Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' pp 231–2). The unnamed crwth player identified only as 'Crythor

llwyd Marchedd' (p 181, l.14) appears only in the 'B' version of the list. Nothing further is known about him (Miles, 'Swyddogaeth,' p 238). The right marginale 'Cais yn godre'r ddalen nesaf' (p 180, ll.30–1m) indicates that the following section should be inserted from the end of the list.

182 NLW: St Asaph Probate Records 1569/R.2 f 6

The crwth player James Eaton graduated as master crwth player and teacher, the highest level of accomplishment, at the 1567 eisteddfod; he appears in both versions of the list of graduates as 'Siamys Eutun' and 'Siams Eutyn' (p 178, l.29 and p 180, l.36). There appears to be an error in the transcription of this register copy of the will, with the name of the 'crowther' to whom Eaton's crwth is left omitted.

182–3 BL: Additional Ms 15,038 ff 96v–7v

This text represents a substantial revision of the section of the later text of the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan, which deals with bardic remuneration (p 175, l.19–p 176, l.2).

183–5 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/974/6/55 ff [1–2]

The special watch described in the heading to this document was appointed 'for the stay of passengers and all maner of straungers,' an important concern since Caerwys lay on the principal route between London and Holyhead, from which passage could be found to Ireland. The heading also notes that the watch was appointed 'at the tyme of the treasons comitted by Percy, and Catesby'; these treasons were, of course, the Gunpowder Plot of 5 November 1605. Robert Catesby and Thomas Percy were among the original group of Catholic conspirators and both were killed resisting arrest after the discovery of the plot.

185–8 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/976/4/37 ff [1–1v, 2–2v]

This is not the end of the case, nor of the criminal career of Fulk Rutter, as documents filed at the following sessions (July 1613) show. A petition from Fulk Rutter to Sir Richard Lewkenor, chief justice for Chester and Flint, requests a continuance in his charge of murdering Richard Mathews (which he denies), so that further examinations of witnesses can be taken. Lewkenor granted the request in a note dated 25 September 1612 (4/976/5/31). The indictment for murder appears in 4/976/5/90, and Rutter's name appears on the gaol delivery list for the July 1613 sessions. A further petition addressed to the king by Tobias Mathews of Lleweni, Denbighshire, brother to Richard Mathews, outlines the details of the alleged murder in Caerwys on 11 July 1612 but notes that the coroner's inquest had returned a verdict of manslaughter. A reply at the bottom from Roger Wilbraham, dated 20 June 1613, directs from the king that the justices of assize for Flint 'take extraordinary care that Iustice be donne herein without delay' (4/976/5/32). Harry ap John Tailor did not escape the law either; in a recognizance dated 8 April 1613 his licence to keep an alehouse is revoked (4/976/5/59), and on the docket for the following session of October 1613 he appeared accused of 'abusing the Watch' and lost his bond, requiring a further payment of £20 to regain his licence (4/976/6/30).

188–9 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/976/1/51 f [1]

Both the writ of 'venire facias' (NLW: Great Sessions 4/976/1/74) and the gaol delivery list (4/976/1/77) identify Flint as the site of the sessions. From the signatures it appears that the body of the letter is in the hand of William Moris. Henry Birkenhead (p 189, l.24), to whom the reply is addressed, was justice of the peace for Chester and prothonotary for the counties of Chester and Flint. Sir Richard Lewkenor (p 189, l.30) was chief justice for Chester and Flint, and his name, as well as that of John Lloyd (p 188, l.35), appears on the 'nomina ministrorum' list (4/976/1/75). The writ that he ordered

does not appear in the surviving documents of either the April or October sessions for 1611 and the case may have been dropped. Three of the corrections to the body of the text (identified here as interpolations) seem to be in the same hand as the reply.

190–3 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/975/1/1–2 ff [1–2v]

The proceedings of the coroner's inquest into the death of John Thornton, which was held on 1 October 1607, are at 4/975/1/53; the document does not mention the dancing and so has not been included.

193 PRO: D/BJ/2/10 f [1]

Broughton, a township in the parish of Hawarden, is about two miles southeast of the town of Hawarden. The charge is brought as a violation of article 13 of the current series of visitation articles.

194 TNA: PRO CHES 24/114/2 single sheet

In TNA: PRO CHES 24/114/3, a list of indictments at the sessions held at Chester on Monday, 13 April 1618, William Barrowe, constable of Ness, Cheshire, is listed as being bound over to the next sessions for punishment for resorting to Holywell.

195–6 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/22/3/32 ff [1, 1v]

A safeguard (p 195, l.29) was an outer skirt, worn to protect a good skirt while riding. Five further depositions accompany those of Henry David and Jane Moris; none of them discuss further his profession of harper. The writs of subpoena for Henry ap Robert, Griffin ap Thomas, and Jane Moris give no further information on the case (Great Sessions 4/22/3/101 and 103); no gaol delivery list or docket survives for this sessions. The frequent error of 'ap' (son) for 'verch' (daughter) suggests that the clerk of the court was not a Welsh speaker. In the depositions on f [2] the error has been corrected; since all the other female names in the depositions for this case are given with surnames (Jane Moris, Elizabeth Williams), it is possible that the clerk misheard 'Florence Parry' as 'Florence ap Harry.' Since the defendant Henry David identified Florence as his concubine in his deposition there is no question of her gender.

199–200 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/974/8/69 f [2]

The phrase 'play place' (p 199, l.35) appears occasionally in the Great Sessions examinations, though in most other cases it is made clear in the document that the 'play' involved is football. Here, however, that would seem less likely since the 'play place' is defined as an 'Arbor' (p 199, l.35) and therefore an area unsuitable for games or sports needing open space. The writ of summons in the case also survives as Great Sessions 4/974/8/67. This document begins with one further deposition; it does not mention either the play place or the trumpet and therefore has not been transcribed.

200 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/974/8/70 f [1]

This document is clearly a continuation of one of the previous documents since it has no heading indicating the place, date, and officiating justice for the examination of Bartholomew Key. Although it is in the same hand as item 68 it is more likely to be a continuation of item 69 since the heading to that document indicates that it is a series of examinations taken at one time, rather than the single examination specified in the heading to item 68.

201–2 NLW: NLW Additional Ms 466E f 1

Sir Roger Mostyn writes to his father-in-law, Sir John Wynn, concerning his son Thomas and a proposed match with one of the daughters of Sir Richard Molineux. As an intermediary Mostyn proposes sending

Thomas Powell of Horsley, Denbighshire, who was sheriff of Denbighshire from November 1615 to November 1616 ('my cosin powell,' p 201, ll.34, 38–9). The letter is undated but a letter at NLW: Additional MS 466E/638 that discusses the same marriage negotiations, clearly at an earlier stage, is dated 23 January 1613/14.

The grammar school at Hawarden (p 202, ll.10–15) was established under the will of George Ledsham, steward of the Inner Temple, in 1606 (W. Bell Jones, 'Hawarden Grammar School,' *JFHS* 6 (1916–17), 63–4). The Ruthin grammar school was founded in 1574 by Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster and a Ruthin native (p 202, ll.15–17). In 1595 the school received royal patronage following a petition to the queen by Goodman (A.H. Williams, 'The Origins of the Old Endowed Grammar Schools of Denbighshire,' *DHST* 2 (1953), 31–8). A school (other than the cathedral choir school) may well have existed at St Asaph (p 202, ll.17–20) in the early sixteenth century, but if it did it did not survive the injunction of Bishop Thomas Goldwell in 1556, 'That no scole be hereafter kept in ony church.' However, the St Asaph school was re-established in 1561 under Bishop Thomas Davies, at which time the diocesan council replaced the office of 'Lady-prest' with a schoolmaster (Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol 4, pp 145, 229).

Sir Roger writes from Cilcen (p 202, l.24), in the parish of Betws Abergele, Denbighshire. Holmes (p 202, l.7), whose first name is not known, was a tutor in the employ of Sir Roger. A further letter from Sir Roger to Sir John Wynn of 24 November 1612(?) discusses the possibility of Holmes' leaving and the need for a new tutor if he does (NLW: NLW Additional MS 9054E/606).

205 NLW: NLW MS 13,068B f 40

This poem and its brief introduction constitute the sole historical source for a bardic meeting in South Wales during the sixteenth century, though it has generally been presumed that such meetings must have been common. Sils ap Siôn wrote numerous poems to William Evans, who served as chancellor of the diocese of Llandaff from 1550 and treasurer of Llandaff cathedral from about 1558 to his death about 1589. The bulk of these poems dates from the 1580s, and the approximate date of the meeting has been inferred from this. On the basis of this record the antiquary Iolo Morganwg devised an elaborate fantasy of regular eisteddfodau in Glamorgan, beginning with a bardic chair 'established' by William Evans in 1558 and held each year on the feast of St Teilo (9 February) and on Whit Monday. Iolo claimed to have dated the meeting in this record to 1564 and listed the participants (see Appendix 5, p 305). For a previous eisteddfod, supposedly held by Evans in 1561, Iolo also composed poems intended as bardic counsel. The largest collection of Iolo's work is in the Llanover C manuscripts in the National Library of Wales (especially MSS 13,087–162). Further, see Dafydd H. Evans, 'Bywyd a Gwaith "Gyles ap Sion" o Radur Ucha,' *Studia Celtica* 26/7 (1991–2), 80–124; Ceri W. Lewis, 'The Literary History of Glamorgan from 1550 to 1770,' *Glamorgan County History*, vol 4, *Early Modern Glamorgan*, Glanmor Williams (ed) (Cardiff, 1974), 546–7.

205–6 Merthyr Mawr House ff 13v–14

The case that John Stradling describes in this volume concerned the ownership of a tract of waste or common land lying between both the Stradling's Merthyr Mawr House and Candleston Castle, owned by Sir William Herbert, and the sea. About 1568 a quarrel began between Herbert and Watkin Lougher, of the neighboring manor of Newton Nottage, over the rights to this land. Sir Thomas Stradling was called in to mediate but promptly asserted his own claim to the land. His claim was strong enough that the matter was dropped but was revived several times over the ensuing twenty-five years, forcing his son Edward Stradling around 1592 to sue before the Council in the Marches for a writ of possession. John Stradling's relationship to Sir Thomas was complex: Thomas was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Edward

Stradling (1529–1609); Edward's wife was Agnes (1547–1624), daughter of Sir Edward Gage, and they had no children. They adopted John Stradling, son of Francis Stradling of St George, Bristol, who inherited the estate on Sir Edward's death in 1609. The title page of the manuscript clearly defines John's purpose in telling the story:

The storie of the Lower Borowes,
parcell of the lordship of Merthermawre:

Contayninge a description therof, with an abstract or capitulation of all the occurrences and accidentes that haue happend, duringe the tyme of the seuerall suites both at ye Common lawe, and Counsell in the Marches of Wales, for the right title and possession of the same landes, Aswell betwene Sir *William* Harbert knighte, and Watkin Lougher, esquier: As also betwene Sir *Edwarde* stradlinge knighte, and ye sayd Sir *William* Harbert knight, Griffith williams esquier, Edmond vann *gentleman*, and Iohn Hancock warrener, by the meanes & procurement of ye sayd *Griffith Williams*, tenant to Sir *William* Harbert of ye ferme of Cauntleton.

Composed ye sixt day of Aprill .1598.

Opus quatuor dierum.

With an appendix, seruinge for ye better confirmation of the truth of the storie, and the equitie of Sir *Edwarde* stradlinges cause in that behaulfe.

Wherunto ys added in the beginnunge, a perfect mappe or platt of the lower Borowes with the bowndaries thereof: And in the end, an Abstract or Breuiat of the Lorde of Merthermawres Recordes, Euidences, witnesses and prooffes, for his righte, title and interest to that lande.

Beaupré (p 206, l.1), in the parish of St Hilary, was the seat of William Bassett, who was sheriff of Glamorgan in 1558. 'Cywydd,' 'awdl,' and 'englyn' ('Cowydh, odle or englyn,' p 206, l.5) are the three principal forms of Welsh poetry. It is clear that Meurig Dafydd did not hold a permanent grudge against William Bassett; his elegy for Bassett is found in NLW: NLW MS 13,086 (formerly Llanover MS B 6), ff 116–19.

The story of the heraldic advice given to Edward III by the Flemish nobles led by Jacob van Artevelde of Ghent (see p 205, ll.34–6) is told by Froissart, who calls him 'Jakemars d'Artevelle.' The verbal correspondences are close enough that it is very likely that Stradling knew the story from the English translation of Froissart's *Chronicles* (Chapter 43) by John Bourchier, Lord Berners, first published by Richard Pynson in 1523 (STC: 11396) and reissued twice before the composition of 'The Lower Borowes' in 1598.

206 WGAS: B/S Corp C 1 p 2

The names of the common attorneys for 1617–18 are not given at the beginning of the volume; a previous entry on p 1 gives the burgesses' receipts at Michaelmas. From 1618 the accounts include regular payments to the organist and for maintenance of the organ. The windows are frequently reglazed in years when there is no receipt from the players for having broken them (1619–20, p 25; 12 May 1630, p 131; 1632–3, p 151). Glazing for the windows continues to be paid for in the second volume of

the Common Attorneys' Accounts (C 2) when the players no longer appear (as in 1638–9, p 22; 1642–3, p 44). In 1619 the windows were barred (p 26) but this does not seem to have eliminated breakage.

207 WGAS: B/S Corp C 1 p 26

The tantalizing references to the windows in the Swansea townhall that were broken on a regular basis by stage players never include any identification of these performers, unless the payment to John Scott, James Leighton, and 'the Rest of ther company' might refer to them.

210–14 NLW: Peniarth ms 81 pp 127–33

This wedding at the Lloyd family manor of Rhiwedog, in the parish of Llanfor, near Bala, achieved some notoriety at the time. A number of poets attended, including Gruffudd Hiraethog and three younger poets, Lewis ab Edward, Simwnt Fychan, and Siôn Tudur, the first two of whom (at least) were Gruffudd's students, and all three of whom appear in the graduation lists for the 1567 eisteddfod (p 177, ll.16, 18, 22; p 179, ll.32, 35; and p 180, l.3). At the wedding feast the three younger men composed satirical englynion ('cyff clêr,' literally 'a butt of bards') as a 'roast' of the senior poet, which thus represent an unusual example of a bardic poem (or series of poems) whose performance can be both dated and localized. Such poems were a common feature of weddings; the poems were composed on a set theme and are generally not known for their subtlety. Payment for participation in a 'cyff clêr' is discussed explicitly both in the earlier version of the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan as well as in the schedule of fees that accompanies some manuscripts of the later version (see p 165, ll.5–7 and p 183, ll.7–9). Elisau ap Wiliam Lloyd was county sheriff from 9 November 1564 to 15 November 1565.

The present document is the only evidence for the wedding feast and includes the full text of the poems, which have been edited in modernized versions by Bowen, *Gwaith Gruffudd Hiraethog*, pp 451–5. On pp 128–9 of the ms the englynion have been separated by lines of dots or horizontal rules.

The poem is based on very elaborate word-play, much of which cannot be adequately translated, so the English version on pp 371–5 is an approximation of its literal sense. Through the Welsh Glossary I have tried to give some idea of the range of meaning of some of the words on which puns are based. There are several candidates for 'evnydd' (p 211, l.23), but given the Merioneth location of the event, it is most likely Einudd Bach ap Brochwel, who is noted by Peter Bartrum as a 'genealogical link in the line of princes of Meirionydd: father of Ednyfed' (*A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A.D. 1000* (Aberystwyth, 1993), 232). Edward Huw o Benllyn ('edw hww,' p 214, l.30) graduated as temporary apprentice at the 1567 eisteddfod (see p 177, l.38). Dafydd Bowen suggests that 'hits aled' (l.33) probably refers to the poet Hits or Hityn Grydd, whose single surviving poem is indexed at Maldwyn 44778 at the National Library of Wales. Bowen further notes that it is possible that Hits and Edward Huw were also participants in the event, whose contributions have since been lost (Bowen, *Gwaith Gruffudd Hiraethog*, p 544).

215–18 HRO: AL19/3 ff 51v–2

The Benedictine house of St Mary was founded in 1130 as a cell of St Vincent's, Le Mans. It was never a large house; at its dissolution it housed four monks. Since the unnamed nobleman whose concerns led to this inquiry was able to promise the priory £20 a year 'de castro de Abergavenny,' he must have held the castle and lordship of Abergavenny. This would identify him as John Hastings, 2nd Baron Hastings, who had livery of all his father's lands in 1313 and lived until 20 January 1324/5.

218–19 TNA: PRO E 315/117 sheets [2–2v]

Although the final decree in this case has not survived the parish application appears to have been

successful since the bells, which had been seized by the ecclesiastical commissioners, were still in the parish church in 1555 (TNA: PRO E 117/13/70, f 15v).

219–20 BL: Cotton Domitian A.1 f 74v

The Roman amphitheatre at Caerleon was intended for military exercises but Gerald considers it among the 'loca theatralia' (p 220, l.8). There is no evidence that Roman amphitheatres were used, either during the Roman period or later, for theatrical performances.

220–1 HRO: HD4/1/177 f [206v]

The pole on which George Llewellyn was carried into the church was very likely a cowl-staff, one of the traditional elements of a charivari. The Puritan Philip Stubbes cited carrying on a cowl-staff as a common punishment for failing to give money to a lord of misrule or similar figure (*The Anatomie of Abuses* (London, 1595), 108; *STC*: 23379). For a cowl-staff case in a nearby Herefordshire parish, see David N. Klausner (ed), *Herefordshire/Worcestershire*, REED (Toronto, 1990), 72.

221–2 HRO: HD4/1/172 ff [171v–2]

The location of 'Butholl' (p 221, l.30) is not certain. There is a Buckholt Wood on the outskirts of Monmouth and Howell's offence seems to have taken place in Monmouth parish, which was in the diocese of Hereford. Technically in order to be prosecuted there, Howell would also have had to come from a locality within diocesan jurisdiction, otherwise his presentment would probably have been dealt with in whatever diocesan court his home parish was subject to. It is also possible that 'Butholl' may have been a tref within the large parish of Shirenewton, where there is a Buckwell, a Batwell, and a Bullyhole. However, the parish of Shirenewton was not within the diocese of Hereford and thus is much less likely to have been Howell's home parish.

The exact date for this court session, its location, and its court personnel cannot be determined. The previous court heading, on f [164], was for a session held on 7 May 1621 in the Hereford Cathedral consistory before surrogate judge Gabriel Wallwin and recorded by registrar Thomas Crumpe, part of a series of proceedings arising from an episcopal visitation held in April of the same year. Clearly this heading does not apply to this prosecution of an event that took place on 20 May 1621. Likely, blank or partly blank sheets in a registrar's booklet were used to record later proceedings than those that the booklet was intended to cover.

222–3 BL: Cotton Domitian A.1 ff 77–7v

It is very likely that Colt Hoare is correct in his identification of this river as the Ebwy, just west of Newport, since (at least in 1806) it was supported by other place-name evidence in the area. The River Pencarn formed the boundary between the parishes of Newport and Basaleg (Giraldus de Barri, *The Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales*, A.D. MCLXXXVIII, Sir Richard Colt Hoare (ed and trans), vol 1 (London, 1806), 130).

225–9 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/135/1/9–13 ff [1–4v]

Robert ap David ap John (p 225, l.18) is identified as coming from the commote of Caereinion, Montgomeryshire. Although the harp that he was repairing certainly seems possible in a Welsh context, it may perhaps not have been a musical instrument at all. The *OED* lists as a secondary meaning, 'a screen or sieve used in sifting and cleansing grain from weed-seeds, etc.' This meaning, however, is not attested before 1768 and then as Scottish usage.

All the townships mentioned in the case lie in the large parish of Guilsfield. The case continues on the following documents: items 12–13, examination of Maredudd ap Richard; item 15, articles of inquiry; item 16, interrogatories of Siân Furnifall of Burgedin, Anne Furnifall of Burgedin, and John Elke. None of these documents makes further mention of the harp.

230–5 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/154/2/23–7 ff [1–2v, 7v–7, 3v–3, 5–6, 4]
Morris dancing does not seem to have been a popular pastime in Wales. It was, however, extremely popular in Herefordshire and Shropshire, and Bwlchycibau is only five-and-a-half miles west of the Shropshire border. The documents concerning this case have also been printed in Chapman, *Criminal Proceedings in the Montgomeryshire Court of Great Sessions*, pp 62–5. For Herefordshire and Shropshire morris dancing traditions, see David N. Klausner (ed), *Herefordshire/Worcestershire*, REED (Toronto, 1990); J. Alan B. Somerset (ed), *Shropshire*, vol 1, REED (Toronto, 1994); and more generally John Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing*, SEED (Toronto, 1999). Most of the depositions agree that one of the injured parties was named William Davies, but the first deposition of Thomas Evans (p 233) variously calls him William and Richard, likely a confusion either on the part of the court clerk or Evans himself. The witnesses' examinations appear to have become scrambled before they were mounted and bound. The five items consist of seven unnumbered sheets, two of which were written on one side only, and two others of which appear from their contents to have been bound in reversed (so that the original recto is now the verso). Those are f [7] (item 27) and f [3] (item 24) – f [7v] is the continuation of the deposition starting on f [2v], so it is likely an original recto, and f [3v] is the opening of a series of depositions, so it too is likely originally a recto. The filing endorsement on the lower third of f [7v] also shows that at one time ff [1, 2] and [7] were together in that order and that f [7] was already reversed when it was made, since it refers to four out of the five 'suspects' examined therein and was made after the sheets were folded with a document fold that put the lower third of f [7v] on top. The original order would have been ff [1, 1v, 2, 2v, 7v, 7] (examination of suspects), ff [3v, 3, 5, 5v, 6, 6v (blank)] (deposition of witnesses), and ff [4, 4v (blank)] (deposition of doctor). Item 54 is the jurors' presentment of Lumley Williams, Solomon Pugh, Griffith Pugh, David Pugh (crossed out), Evan Pugh, John Davies, John Tomley, Hugh ap John, John Tomkins (crossed out), Richard Owen and Ellen, his wife, and William Prinallt. Item 61 is the gaol delivery file noting those of the defendants who were in custody. Since both of these documents are procedural and contain no references to the morris dancing, they have not been included.

235 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/154/2/39 f 1v
This may not be the same group of morris dancers as in the previous document. Although the dates are the same Caersŵs is about twenty-four miles southwest of Bwlchycibau, and thus would be a good day's journey away.

236 HRO: HD4/1/213 ff 158v–9
The dates on these four cases are somewhat problematic. The first offence is dated Easter Sunday 1606 (20 April), and Thomas ap Griffith appeared before the court on 5 and 24 September 1606. However, this raises a puzzle about the court data and acta information, which is found on f 125; it is very likely that a reference to a court at a later date has been lost, since the court date given here (15 January 1605/6) antedates both Thomas ap Griffith's offences and his court appearances.

237–8 NLW: Great Sessions Prothonotary Papers 13/10/15/[57] ff [1–2]
Howell Porter frequently appears as an attorney in the records of the Montgomeryshire court of great

sessions. In addition to his slanderous verses here he was also a minor poet; two poems of his are listed as 9563 and 9564 by Maldwyn at the National Library of Wales. The case is discussed by Suggett, 'Slander in Early Modern Wales,' p 126.

239–41 NLW: Peniarth Ms 98A pp 24–7

This charming poem is unusual as a record but the site of the maypole is clearly given as Llanidloes, Montgomeryshire, suggesting very strongly that it was Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd's reaction to a specific event. Records of folk customs and entertainments involving maypoles are extremely rare before the sixteenth century however; whether or not it concerns a specific occasion in Llanidloes, Gruffudd's poem clearly indicates a well-known tradition.

The name 'Tegfedd' (p 241) appears in several sources, including two documents in the Book of Llandaff (J. Gwenogvryn Evans (ed), *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâu* (Oxford, 1893), 199, 273). Her name is also preserved in the place name Llandegfedd, Monmouthshire ('Llandegeueth' in the *Book of Llan Dâu*, p 321). The most likely identification is Tegfedd, the sister of St Tydecho, a sixth-century saint whose cult was centred around the area of Mawddwy in Merioneth. No vita survives for Tydecho but a poem in his praise by the fifteenth-century poet Dafydd Llwyd of Mathafarn (in the parish of Llanwrin, Montgomeryshire) notes that he lived as a hermit with Tegfedd and was frequently harassed by Maelgwn Gwynedd. On one occasion Tegfedd (like the birch tree) was abducted by Cynon, a local chieftain, and his men. She was returned to her brother after her abductors were struck blind. (S. Baring-Gould and J. Fisher, *The Lives of the British Saints*, vol 4 (London, 1907), 283–5; on Maelgwn, see p 407, endnote to BL: Cotton Vitellius A.vi f 14.)

241–2 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/139/2/58 f [1]

This examination was held before John Pryce 'conserning one Purse with v li. & aboutes ij s. or iij s. taken oute of the briches of one Richard arnewey...' Although camels were an unusual and exotic sight they were by no means unknown. The royal collection of animals included at least one camel from 1235, when Henry III received one as a gift from the emperor Frederick II; in 1623 Charles I was given five camels from Spain (Daniel Hahn, *The Tower Menagerie* (London, 2003), 14, 107). The presence of Henry VIII's camelward in Plymouth in 1520–1 suggests that the royal animals may also have travelled (John Wasson (ed), *Devon*, REED (Toronto, 1986), 220–1).

242–3 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/152/6/7 single sheet—single sheet verso

Item 6, the examination of the defendant Arthur Watkin, contains no reference to the music and has not been included. The examination of Edward Watson at the end of item 7 has been omitted for the same reason. Watkin may have still been in trouble with the law more than fifteen years later; his name appears among the wanted in two writs of *capias* dated 26 April 1656 and 19 September 1657 (Great Sessions 4/155/2/37 and 4/155/3/9).

243–4 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/136/3/29 ff [1–1v]

Pentreheylin Hall and Rhysnant are both in the large parish of Guilsfield. It is not entirely clear whether it was a clock or a cloak that was to be put to use in the Christmas game. It is, of course, also possible that the Christmas game itself was a product of the defendant's imagination.

244 HRO: HD4/1/212 single sheet

This leaf is a loose sheet tipped into the volume between ff [73] and [74], among cases considered at a

session of 18 September 1605. However, that date probably does not apply to it. The court proceedings arising from article 1, the only one of relevance here, have not been found, but proceedings arising from other articles, involving a disputed pew, are recorded in HRO: HD4/1/214, p 308. Those proceedings were first launched at a session of 31 October 1606 before James Bailey, vicar general of the bishop of Hereford. Therefore, the most logical date for the minister's presentment was probably earlier that same month and it is so dated here.

244 TNA: PRO PROB 10/255 f [2]

The document is edited from the fair copy in TNA: PRO PROB 10/255 rather than the later register copy entered in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury book, PROB 11/111. There are only minor orthographic differences between the two copies. The 'booke of martires' (l.38) was presumably a copy of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, first published in 1563. By 1607 the work had been printed five times (*src*: 11222–6).

245 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/149/2/27 single sheet

Item 110 is the recognizance of Evan ap John; since it is procedural only and contains no reference to his profession, it has not been included.

245–6 NLW: Powis Castle Correspondence 345 ff [1v–2]

The letter is a copy; on f 1 is a copy of a letter to Thomas Wentworth, first earl of Strafford, in his position as lord deputy of Ireland. The date can be established by the reference in it to Herbert's son's recovery from illness; the beginnings of the recovery are mentioned in an earlier letter dated 23 November 1638 (W.J. Smith (ed), *Herbert Correspondence*, Board of Celtic Studies, History and Law Series 21 (Cardiff, 1963), 99, letter no 144). Francis Lloyd ('Cosen Lloyd,' p 245, l.32) was Lord Herbert's agent in Dublin. Lord Herbert's father, Sir William Herbert, was granted the lordship of Castle Island, Co. Kerry, from the estates confiscated from the earl of Desmond in 1579 (*Herbert Correspondence*, pp 8–11). The estate was leased in 6 James I (March 1608–March 1609) to Sir Thomas Roper who, in 1627, became Viscount Baltinglass. He died in 1637 and the lease of the estate passed to his wife (p 245, l.39), who died in 1640 (*Herbert Correspondence*, letter no 135). The town of Ballymacadam (p 245, l.37) was a part of the Castle Island estate and was the subject of a suit in 1635 by a group of 'pretenders' whose 'ancestors were in possession of the lands claimed at the time of Desmond's revolt' (*Herbert Correspondence*, p 13). Sir Maurice Eustace was prime serjeant at law for Ireland from August 1634 to March 1661; on 16 March 1639/40 he was elected speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and he was lord chancellor of Ireland from 9 October 1660 to 16 July 1665. As serjeant at law he was commonly known as 'Master Sergeant Eustace' (p 246, l.10). Thomas Dillon, 4th Viscount Dillon (p 246, l.13), was a member of the Irish parliament in 1639/40 and in 1640 became a member of the privy council of Ireland. Sir George Radcliffe (p 246, l.6), politician and lawyer, acted for Lord Herbert on numerous occasions; he managed Wentworth's affairs and followed him to Ireland following Wentworth's appointment as lord deputy in 1633. He was subject to articles of impeachment in 1639/40 for his association with Wentworth in the affair of the commission of defective titles, but the articles were quietly dropped in 1642.

247 BL: Cotton Tiberius B.XIII f 173v col 2–f 174 col 1

The commote of Cemais encompasses most of the northern part of Pembrokeshire, following on the east the border with Cardiganshire to Fishguard at its northern limit. Lying only a few miles from St David's the area would have provided a logical first stop on the tour.

248 PRO: Haverfordwest Records 3 f 4

Long William was the town's beadle and his livery was generally provided at the same time that new coats were made for the town's waits. A comparison of the costs involved in the making of these coats would indicate that Haverfordwest had two waits.

249 PRO: Haverfordwest Records 1984 f 1

Although the heading to these accounts indicates that they end on Michaelmas 1589, they in fact contain several entries dating later in the year, including the entry for Christmas 1589.

249–50 PRO: Haverfordwest Records 10 f 1

The accounts of William Walter, mayor of Haverfordwest, were submitted on Michaelmas 1592; the accounts following are those of the two serjeants, Richard Thomas and Owen Phillips, for the same year submitted on 9 November 1593. There is significant overlap in the payments for the various materials needed for the making of a total of eight coats, some of which (most likely two) were for the town's waits. Some of these payments were made in 1592–3, during the year in which Jenkin Davis was mayor. The 1592 appointment of Sir John Puckering ('mr pukrine, p 249, l.37), serjeant at law, as lord keeper is noted in an inventory appended to this account (see Charles, *Calendar*, p 216; Ballinger, *Calendar of Wynn Papers*, no 179).

250–1 PRO: Haverfordwest Records 13 f 2

Robert Devereux, nineteenth earl of Essex and Queen Elizabeth's favourite until his ill-starred rebellion of 1601, had strong local Pembrokeshire connections. The family owned extensive lands in the county, including the estate of Lamphey just east of Pembroke, once the palace of the bishops of St David's. A further payment of 10s 'to the Earle of Essex secretarie for his paines' (on f 3) may be connected to the visit of the earl's musicians.

Within three years of this account it appears that the city had ceased to employ waits. In the mayor's account for 1599–1600 (PRO: Haverfordwest Records 14, f 5) details are given for the costs of a coat being made for one Howell Cutler. Since they match those of previous accounts for Long William, the beadle, it seems likely that Cutler has replaced him in that office. Lacking are any mention of similar liveries for the waits, who may have ceased to be in the city's employ by 1600.

251 NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files (Additional) 33/6/14/11 f [2v]

The entry is administratively cancelled with a vertical stroke. An attached affidavit (f [4]) concerning Harry Batman's other offences is dated 13 January 1617/18.

252–3 BL: Harley MS 1319 ff 2v–3

It seems possible that Creton was a musician himself since he notes later in the chronicle that he accompanied Richard to Ireland in part because of his performing abilities, '... pour Rire & pour chanter' (BL: Harley MS 1319, f 14).

254–5 AN: Percy Letters and Papers, vol 5 ff 58v, 72

Perrot served as lord deputy of Ireland 1584–8, when he was recalled at his own request, having incurred the intense hatred of the archbishop of Dublin, Adam Loftus. He was made a member of the privy council in 1589, spending time in both London and Ireland until his arrest and imprisonment in the Tower for treason in March of 1590/1 on the basis of evidence originating from his secretary in Ireland,

Philip Williams, but likely originating from higher sources, possibly from Loftus or from Sir William Fitzwilliam, Perrot's successor as lord deputy (*ODNB*).

255 TNA: PRO E 101/525/24 f [7]

An earlier version of this inventory survives (TNA: PRO E 178/3355) but it contains no substantive differences from the final inventory and valuation in TNA: PRO E 101/525/24.

256 AN: Syon MS. Y III 1, box 2, envelope 4 ff [2, 8]

The manor of Picton (l.29) in the parish of Slebech, Pembrokeshire, was part of the Perrot estate. The bandora (l.30) was a large wire-strung plucked instrument with a flat back and top and scalloped sides, resembling a large guitar. Invented by the viol maker John Rose in 1562, the most common form had six courses. This peculiarly English instrument was an essential part of the so-called 'English' consort of treble viol or violin, flute, bass viol, lute, cittern, and bandora, although several English composers also wrote solo songs with bandora accompaniment. The instrument was particularly associated with the theatre during the period of its popularity, from about 1575 to about 1625.

256–67 NLW: NLW MS 2038D pp 129–39

The date of Rhys ap Thomas' celebrations is given correctly in the right margin by the writer ('anno vicesimo Secundo Henrici 7,' that is 1507), but wrongly by the second annotator as 1508.

Although a few marginal annotations are in the hand of the text, most are in one of three other hands. One hand has contributed the bulk, and a few only are written by the second (p 256, l.39–p 257, l.1 and p 257, l.4m) and third (p 261, ll.3–4m) hands. The participants in the festivities are identified in detail in Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, notes to pp 247–58. As Griffiths points out several persons are misnamed by the author of the 'Life,' including Sir Thomas Perrot and Sir William Wogan (p 262, l.27) for Sir Owen Perrot and Sir John Wogan; Griffiths also notes that 'Vaughan of Tretower' (p 262, ll.26–7) must have been one of the three sons of Sir Thomas Vaughan, Roger, Watkyn, or (perhaps most likely) his heir, Henry (*Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, p 247, n 47; p 248, n 49).

268 HRO: Probate Records 1590 32/2/58 ff [1–1v]

Isaac Owen, the source of John Owen's virginals, was a member of the Owen family of Brampton, Lincolnshire. Cole notes that several members of this family had been benefactors of Presteigne ('Hereford Probate Records,' p 48).

Glossaries: Introduction

The purpose of the glossaries is to assist the reader in working through the text. The criteria for the selection of glossary entries are discussed below under the headings Latin Glossary, English Glossary, and Welsh Glossary. The glossaries include words found in records printed or quoted in the Records, Introduction, Appendixes, and Endnotes. Definitions are given only for those senses of a particular word that are used in the records printed in this collection. For every word, sense, and variant recorded the glossary cites the earliest example occurring in the Records as a whole. Because of the arrangement of the collection, the first occurrence chronologically may not necessarily be the first occurrence in page order, and the other occurrence(s) indicated by 'etc' may in fact precede the first occurrence in page order. Page order has only been used if there are two earliest occurrences in different documents assigned to the same year. In such cases the chronologically first occurrence that also appears earliest in page order is given. If a glossed word occurs twice in a single line, superscript numerals are used after the line number to distinguish the occurrences. Within references, page and line numbers are separated by an oblique stroke. Words occurring within marginalia are indicated by a lower-case 'm' following the page and line reference. Words occurring within collation notes are indicated by a lower-case 'c' following the page and line reference to which the collation note applies. Manuscript capitalization has not been preserved; however, if proper names are glossed, they are capitalized in accordance with modern usage. Half-brackets used in the text to indicate insertions, and italics used to indicate expansions, are ignored.

There is no glossary for the Anglo-Norman documents. Although sufficiently involved to qualify for translation by REED guidelines, they contain no vocabulary not found in standard reference works. Bibliographical information for the appropriate dictionaries will be found below under Works Consulted.

Latin Glossary

Words are included in the Latin Glossary if they are not to be found in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (*OLD*), now the standard reference work for classical Latin. Words listed in the *OLD* whose meaning changed or became restricted in medieval or Renaissance usage are also glossed. Special attention has been paid to the terminology of drama, music, and pastimes, especially in the excerpts from the work of Gerald of Wales. If a word is found in the *OLD* but appears in the text in an obscure spelling or anomalous inflectional form for which the *OLD* provides no cross-reference, that word has been included and its standard lexical entry form indicated, without giving a definition. If the spelling variants or anomalous inflectional forms have been treated as scribal errors and more correct forms given in textual notes, the forms thus noted are not repeated in the glossary.

Most of the Latin words used in the records are common classical words whose spelling has changed, if at all, according to common medieval variations. The results of these common variations are not treated here as new words, nor are forms of glossed words resulting from such variations normally cross-referenced. These variations are:

- ML *c* for CL *t* before *i*
- ML *cc* for CL *ct* before *i*
- ML *d* for CL *t* in a final position
- ML *e* for CL *ae* or *oe*
- ML *ff* for CL *f*, common in an initial position
- ML addition of *h*
- ML omission of CL *h*
- ML variation between *i* and *e* in unstressed medial positions, especially before another vowel
- ML *n* for CL *m* before another nasal
- Intrusion of ML *p* in CL consonant clusters *mm*, *mn*, *ms*, or *mt*
- ML doubling of CL single consonants
- ML singling of CL double consonants

No attempt has been made to correct these spellings to classical norms; rather, scribal practice has been followed in such cases. We have also not treated as significant variations caused by the hyper-correction of 'm' to 'n' before certain stops, eg, 'nanque' rather than 'namque.' Where the same word occurs in spellings that differ according to the list above, the most common spelling (or the earliest, when numbers of occurrences are roughly equal) is treated as standard and used for the headword. However, we have conformed to the practice of the *OLD* as regards 'i/j' and 'u/v' variation: in this glossary only the letter forms 'i' and 'u' are used. If a noun of the first declension appears primarily in texts whose writers consistently used classical orthography, its genitive singular is listed as '-ae'; otherwise the ML '-e' is used. All listed variant spellings will be found under the headword, at the end of the definition, set apart in boldface type. Where the variant spelling would not closely follow the headword alphabetically, it is also listed separately and cross-referenced to the main entry.

It is difficult to know in some cases whether certain words are being used in a CL sense or in one of the modified senses acquired in Anglo-Latin usage during the Middle Ages. In these circumstances the range of possibilities has been fully indicated under the appropriate lexical entry. (When it seems useful to indicate the possibility that a given sense was intended in a given passage, even if no certainty exists, a '?' is added after the appropriate page and line reference under that sense.) Unclear, technical, or archaic terms, especially those pertaining to canon or common law, performance, and music, are usually given a stock translation equivalent but receive a fuller treatment in the glossary.

As a rule only one occurrence of each word, or each sense or form of each word, will be listed; 'etc' following a reference means that there is at least one more occurrence of that word, sense, or form in the collection. The one occurrence listed is either the sole occurrence or the first chronologically. Multiple occurrences of each sense may be listed for words defined in more than one sense; in fact all possible occurrences of a given sense may be listed if it is difficult to distinguish the senses in context.

All headwords are given in a standard dictionary form: nouns are listed by nominative, genitive, and gender; adjectives by the terminations of the nominative singular or, in the case of adjectives of one termination, by the nominative and genitive; verbs by their principal parts.

English Glossary

The English Glossary is not meant to be exhaustive but only to explain words, senses, or spellings apt to puzzle users not familiar with markedly provincial Late Middle and Early Modern English. Accordingly words and senses given in *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (NSOED) have nearly always been passed over, along with their obvious derivatives. Abbreviations have also been omitted if they are still current or widely known, as have most forms whose only difficulty is a false word division (such as 'amerry' for 'a merry' or 'alitle' for 'a little'), most errors corrected in the footnotes, and most matter corrected and replaced by the original scribe. No attempt is made to gloss words left incomplete by damage to the source texts.

Readers are also expected to recognize such spelling variations as 'a/ai/ay,' 'a/au,' 'ar/er,' 'c/s,' 'ea/e/ei,' 'e/i,' 'ie/e(e),' 'i/j,' 'i/y,' 'oa/o/oo,' 'o/ou,' 'o/u,' 's/z,' 'sch/sh,' 'u/v,' and the presence or absence of final 'e' in the contexts where they commonly occur in older literature. Readers are presumed to have read enough old-spelling texts to recognize forms in which the definite article is fused with a following noun (such as 'thone' for 'the one' and 'thelme' for 'the elm'), know the values of 'þ,' 'ȝ,' and 'y' used for 'p' (as in 'yat' for 'that' and 'yey' for 'they'), and recognize commonly occurring spellings that are nearer to their Old English or Old French originals than the modern standard forms, such as 'murther' for 'murder' and 'autoryty' for 'authority'; Renaissance etymological or pseudo-etymological spellings such as 'accompt' for 'account,' 'aucthorized' for 'authorized,' 'hable' for 'able,' and 'maynteignance' for 'maintenance'; and older grammatical forms such as 'prayen' for 'pray' and 'saïen' for 'say.' Also normally left unglossed are examples of 'his' as a spelling for the possessive suffix, as in 'St. George his Knights' for 'St George's knights,' and of the so-called 'endingless possessive,' such as 'this examinant request' for 'this examinant's request' and 'the countesse of lester dump' for 'The Countess of Leicester's Dump.' The latter usage remained common in the English dialects of North Wales and the north Midlands into modern times (see Wright's *English Dialect Grammar*, p 387).

A slightly fuller treatment has, however, been given to certain words and phrases likely to hold special interest for users of a REED volume. These are chiefly terms for musical instruments (eg, 'crowth,' 'viall di gambo') and costume and fabrics (eg, 'darinckes,' 'frise'), as well as the specialized vocabularies of popular custom and pastime (eg, 'byddinge spinninge,' 'guyser'), dance (eg, 'pauine'), and the performing arts (eg, 'atcane,' 'pencars').

Normal headword forms are the uninflected singular for nouns, the positive for adjectives, and the infinitive for verbs, but nouns occurring only in the plural or possessive, adjectives occurring only in comparative or superlative forms, and verbs occurring only in one participial or finite form are entered under the form that actually occurs.

The capitalization of headwords mostly conforms to modern usage. A word appearing in several noteworthy spellings is normally entered under the one most often found in the text or else – when two noticed spellings are equally or nearly equally common – under the one nearer modern usage, but a marginally less common spelling may be preferred to keep related forms together in the entry order of the glossary. Other noticed spellings are mostly entered in their alphabetical places and cross-referenced to the main entry. As a rule only the earliest occurrence is cited for each inflectional form entered and further occurrences are represented by 'etc,' unless the reader needs to be alerted that the sense in question applies in particular later passages. Two citations given without 'etc' imply that the form or sense in question occurs only twice. The figure (2) after a citation means that there are two occurrences in the same line of the text.

Where the definition repeats the headword in a different spelling, the latter is normally the entry

spelling in the *OED* and *NSOED* and further information can be found there. When that form is itself an archaism or ambiguous, a further brief definition usually follows. Any further citation of an authority or other succinct account of the glossarian's reasoning appears within square brackets at the end of the entry.

Welsh Glossary

The Welsh Glossary has been compiled using criteria similar to those for the Latin and English Glossaries. It is not intended to be exhaustive and, with the exception of some words of major importance in the documents or those used with an unusual meaning, only words are glossed here that do not appear in Evans and Thomas (eds), *Y Geiriadur Mawr*. A basic familiarity with the Welsh language is assumed, so words that appear in the text in a form affected by initial consonant mutation are glossed under the radical only. For substantives, singular and plural forms are separated by a semicolon. Alphabetization corresponds to normal Welsh usage, so 'c' and 'k' are treated as variants of the same letter, 'chw' appears as a separate letter following 'c/k,' and 'll' follows 'l.' 'Ngh' (and 'gh' when it represents 'ngh') follows 'g.' Middle Welsh and Early Modern Welsh spelling was highly eclectic and no attempt has been made to separate out such common variations as 'u/v/w,' 'a/e/y,' 'i/y,' 'd/dd,' 'o/au/aw,' 'r/rh,' or 'll/lh.' Thus the following variants are treated as orthographically the same, and the one that occurs first in the text will appear as the glossed headword:

c/k

cadair/kadair

d/dd

cerd/cerdd

lledf/lleddf

f/v

eisteddfod/eisteddvod

i/y

arwain/arwayn

ll/lh

lleddfon/lheddfon

r/rh/rr

rodd/rhoddd

ragor/rhagor/rragor

u/v/w/ŵ

penguastraut/penguastravt/pengwastraut

henwau/henwaŵ

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Abbreviations

abbrev	abbreviation	coll	collective
abl	ablative	comm	common gender
acc	accusative	comp	compound
adj	adjective	compar	comparative
adv	adverb(ial)	conj	conjunction
AL	Anglo-Latin	cp	compare
art	article	dat	dative
CL	Classical Latin	def	definite

E	English
F	French
f	feminine
gen	genitive
imper	imperative
imperf	imperfect tense
impers	impersonal
intr	intransitive
L	Latin
LL	Late Latin
m	masculine
ML	Medieval Latin
n	noun
NT	New Testament
nt	neuter
OT	Old Testament
pass	passive voice
pa t	past tense
pf	perfect tense
pfp	perfect participle

phr	phrase
pl	plural
poss	possessive
pp	past participle
ppf	pluperfect tense
ppl	participial
pr	present tense
prep	preposition
pron	pronoun
prp	present participle
sbst	substantive
sg	singular
subj	subjunctive
superl	superlative
tr	transitive
v	verb
vb	verbal
vb n	verbal noun
w	Welsh
wg	Welsh Glossary

Latin Glossary

ABIGAIL ANN YOUNG

- a, ab** *prep with abl* 1. by, by means of 78/24, etc; 2. in a particular direction, on 219/29; 3. from, out of (expressing separation or release) 247/15, etc; 4. from (of a point of origin) 3/6, etc; 5. from (of a point in time): **ab antiquo** of old 218/4; 6. (expressing a length of time) for 215/35², etc; *with adv a diu* 215/35 or *adiu est* 216/15 for a long time
- abbas, -atis** *n m* abbot, head of a monastery 215/19, etc
- abinde** *conj* from that time, thereafter 4/1
- absoluo, -ere, -ui, -utum** *v tr* to absolve, forgive a sin or the penalty or sentence for sin 235/32, etc
- absolutio, -onis** *n f* absolution, the formal assurance of forgiveness from sin or remission of a penalty, such as excommunication, incurred for committing a sin in ecclesiastical law 235/31
- accersitus, -a, -um** *adj* literally brought in from elsewhere, foreign, hence sought after, recherché 257/10
- actus, -us** *n m* literally action, activity, by extension act, a subdivision of a play 43/42
- ad inuicem** *prep phr* 1. mutually, together 79/14; 2. one from another 10/1 [see OLD inuicem]
- admonicio, -onis** *n f* formal warning given by a judge to a defendant at dismissal enjoining better behaviour in future 221/14
- adtunc** *adv* at that time, then 238/4
- aduentus, -us** *n m* 1. literally coming, arrival 57/23, etc; 2. by extension **aduentus Domini** literally the Lord's Coming, Advent, the liturgical season serving as a preparation for the celebration of the Incarnation at Christmas 216/24
- aer, aeris** *n m* air, hence breath, here in idiom **aerem impellere** to blow (eg, through a musical instrument) 3/15
- affatus, -us** *n m* conversation 7/16
- affinitas, -atis** *n f* affinity, connection, hence resemblance, similarity 10/29
- alia, -e** *n f* a game of chance played with dice on a board 216/27 [OLD alea]
- alienere** *var of* alienare [OLD alieno]
- aliqua liter** *adv* in any way 238/23
- allego, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to allege, to state or claim (something) formally in court as true or sufficient 235/32
- altare, -aris** *n nt* (Christian) altar, referring to a specific altar in a church or chapel 54/15
- Anglia, -e** *n f* England 57/17, etc
- Anglicanus, -a, -um** *adj* of or pertaining to England 158/4 or the English language 238/18
- Anglice** *adv* in the English language 9/14, etc
- Anglicus, -a, -um** *adj* of or pertaining to the English language 238/5
- Anglus, -i** *n m* Englishman, hence in *pl* the English, the English people 57/15, etc
- animal, -alis** *n nt* animal, beast, specifically domesticated or draft animal 21/21, etc
- annominatio, -onis** *n f* literally pun, here by extension play on words 9/2
- annuatim** *adv* yearly, on an annual basis 215/37
- annunciatio, -onis** *n f* announcement, annunciation, especially the annunciation by an angel to the Virgin Mary of the impending birth of

- Christ (Lk 1.26–38), commemorated liturgically on 25 March; *see* **festum**
- annus**, **-i** *n m* 1. year 79/3, etc; 2. *in various idioms*:
annus domini year of the Lord, AD 82/24, etc;
annus regni (*with ordinal number*) literally the Nth year of a reign, expressing the regnal year, 158/3, etc (*with 'regni'* understood 257/2m)
- antedictus**, **-a**, **-um** *ppp pass* said or stated before 236/36
- anterior**, **-oris** *compar adj* nearer, closer 12/17, etc
- apostolicus**, **-a**, **-um** *adj* literally of or pertaining to an apostle, apostolic, used with reference to St Peter and his successors as pope, papal 215/13, etc; *see also* **littera**
- apostolus**, **-i** *n m* apostle, one of the first followers of Jesus, often found in the names of saints' days or churches; *see* **festum**
- appensio**, **-onis** *n* fact of affixing, *here* a seal 218/6
- Appollonius**, **-ii** *n m* Apollonius Molon, a Greek rhetor, one of the teachers of Cicero 247/16
 [OCD APOLLONIUS (9) MOLON]
- archana** *var of* **arcana** [OLD arcanum]
- archangelus**, **-i** *n m* archangel, a member of the highest orders of angels; *see* **festum**
- archidiaconus**, **-i** *n m* archdeacon, cleric appointed by a bishop to assist him principally in administering justice and in supervising parochial clergy 247/11, etc
- archiepiscopus**, **-i** *n m* archbishop, the chief bishop of an ecclesiastical province 247/9, etc
- armiger**, **-eri** *n m* literally one who bears arms, in ML used as a title, esquire 237/8, etc
- armonia**, **-e** *n f* 1. harmony, the disposition of notes in a musical scale, *hence* the simultaneous combination of musical notes to produce chords, *here* in singing 10/17; 2. music, *here* singing accompanied by an instrument 14/15
- armum**, **-i** *n nt* weapon 223/1; as a symbol of conflict 260/1; *in idiom* **vi et armis** by force and arms, a legal fiction used in stating a charge or allegation of theft or trespass, irrespective of any actual use of force 158/7, etc
- arrectus**, **-a**, **-um** *adj* attentive, alert 60/7
- ars**, **-tis** *n f* 1. skill, craft 8/13, etc; especially that associated with a particular trade, *hence* **ars** ... **pelliparia** skimmers' craft 54/9; **ars sutoria** tailoring 54/9; **fabrica ars** blacksmithing 12/36; 2. *hence* an art, a branch of learning 12/35; *see also* **magister**
- articulum**, **-i** *n m* 1. article, a charge or list of charges laid against a person in court 236/27, etc; 2. article, part of a series of charges or allegations upon which witnesses are interrogated 196/37, etc
- artifex**, **-icis** *n m* craftsman, artisan, *by extension* the Creator 80/5
- asporto**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v tr* to carry away, take away, steal 217/5, etc
- assideo**, **-idere**, **-edi**, **-essum** *v intr* literally to sit near, sit by, *hence* to sit on a panel of judges in a hearing 217/18
- at** *conj* 1. (*expressing contrast*) but, however 80/20; 2. (*expressing added emphasis*) and, and in fact 129/20
- aucurrerunt** *var of* **accurrerunt** [OLD **accurro**]
- aula**, **-e** *n f* hall, dining area and centre of corporate activity in a royal or noble household 11/29, etc
- auretenus** *prep phr* *see* **auris** and **tenus** [OLD]
- autenticus**, **-a**, **-um** *adj* authentic, genuine 220/4
- b molle** *n phr* a note of the scale, B-flat, *literally* B lowered by a semitone 8/16, etc
- baiula**, **-e** *n f* stoup, a basin or other vessel to contain holy water 4/6 [*see* OEDO stoup *sb* 3]
- balliuus**, **-i** *n m* bailiff, a civic officer 42/24
- baptismus**, **-i** *n m* baptism, sacrament of Christian initiation 79/19, etc [ODCC BAPTISM]
- baptizatus**, **-a**, **-um** *ppp pass* having been baptized 79/18
- barbator**, **-oris** *n m* barber, one who practises minor surgery and dentistry as well as hair-dressing 288/7
- bardus**, **-i** *n m* bard, a poet and performer who composed and performed songs in praise of patrons and their families 8/32, etc
- barganizo**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v tr* to bargain 237/28
- basilica**, **-e** *n f* *literally* basilica, a church designed according to a late Roman Imperial style of

- public building, *here by extension* church, church building 53/20
- beatus**, -a, -um *adj* blessed, happy, used in reference to a saint 79/5, etc
- bellus**, -a, -um *adj* pretty, charming, *here as place-name element* **Bellus Mariscus** Beaumaris, a town in Anglesey 158/1
- benedico**, -icere, -ixi, -ictum *v tr* to bless 80/15, etc
- Benedictus**, -i *n m* St Benedict of Nursia, founder of western monasticism; *see* **ordo**
- beneficium**, -ii *n nt* benefit, freely bestowed gift: *with attr gen* **beneficium absolutionis** 235/31
- billa**, -e *n f* complaint, allegation: **billa uera** true bill, the decision of an inquest jury that a bill is sufficient for a valid indictment 158/15
- borealis**, -e *adj* northern 10/15, etc
- Brioccius**, -ii *n m* Brioc, name of a saint of Welsh origin 79/3, etc; *hypocoristic form of* **Briomaglus** 78/21
- Britannice** *adv* in the Welsh language 220/2, etc
- Britannicus**, -a, -um *adj* of or pertaining to Wales, Welsh 53/18
- Brito**, -onis *n m* an inhabitant of Britain, Briton, *hence* a Welshman 223/3, etc; **dextrales Britones** South Walians, especially those from Deheubarth 222/27
- Brittania**, -e *n f* Britain: **Maior Britannia** Greater Britain, the island containing England, Scotland, and Wales, as opposed to Brittany, or Lesser Britain 10/15
- buccinator**, -oris *n m* trumpeter (from *OLD* **bucina**, a curved trumpet or horn, probably originally made from the curved horn of cattle), *here* used to distinguish one who plays upon a curved wind instrument from one who plays upon a straight wind instrument 223/8
- buccino**, -are, -auī, -atum *v intr* to sound a trumpet or horn, to play a wind instrument 223/11
- burgensis**, -is *n m* burgess, one having the privileges, or freedom, of a city or town 42/24, etc
- burglaria**, -e *n f* burglary, felonious entry into a house by night 237/17
- burgus**, -i *n m* borough, a fortified town: **Nouus Burgus** Newport, name of a town in Monmouthshire 219/29, etc; (*written as one word*) **Nouusburgus** 222/21
- calamistra**, -e *n f* weaver's reed, a tool made of reed or cane used to separate the threads of the warp and beat up the weft while weaving 54/13 [*OEDO* reed sb¹ 10]
- caldarium**, -ii *n nt* cauldron, kettle or other vessel for heating water 12/30
- calex**, -icis *n m in CL* wine cup, *hence* (sacramental) chalice 216/42
- camera**, -e *n f* 1. room, chamber 14/2; 2. *specifically* a royal chamber 12/19; **kamera** 14/29 (*in sense* 2)
- cameratus**, -a, -um *adj* curved 4/6 [*see* *DML* **camuratus** and *OLD* **camur(us)**]
- campana**, -e *n f* bell, *here likely* a handbell 4/6
- cano**, -ere, **cecini**, **cantum** *v tr or intr* 1. to sing 10/11, etc; *hence* to chant (liturgically) 260/14; 2. to prophesy 9/23
- canonice** *adv* canonically, in accordance with a specific canon or with canon law in general 217/33
- canonicus**, -a, -um *adj* canonical, pertaining or appropriate to a specific canon or to canon law in general 217/39, etc
- canticum**, -i *n nt* (secular) song 78/29, etc; although the original *CL* sense of a sung passage in comedy was probably no longer meant, the negative connotations attached to comedy in the patristic period probably influenced the use of the word by the author of this saint's life
- cantilena**, -e *n f* popular or folk song, ballad, probably one having a refrain, often but not exclusively with negative associations (especially associated with dancing) 54/3, etc [*see* *REED* *Herefordshire/Worcestershire* *LG* **cantilena** and *EG* **carrall**, and *OLD* **cantilena**]
- canto**, -are, -auī, -atum *v tr* to sing, chant, *here* the context is clearly secular 12/9, etc
- cantus**, -us *n m* *literally* singing, *hence* an instance of such singing, a song 10/9, etc
- capcio**, -onis *n f* *literally* arrest, *here by extension* an arrest order 194/27

capellanus, -i *n m* chaplain, a priest serving or having charge of a chapel 215/30

captus, -us *n m* *literally* taking, grasping, *hence figuratively* understanding 60/7

carmen, -inis *n nt* song, poem (especially one intended to be sung) 9/1, etc

carucata, -e *n f* carucate, plough-land, a measure of area originally based on the amount of land that could be cultivated in a year using a single plough, usually reckoned as about 120 acres 216/2

castellum, -i *n nt* castle 197/41m

castrum, -i *n nt* *originally in CL* a military camp, *hence* a fortified town 53/21, etc, *or* its castle 219/27

catallum, -i *n nt* chattel, moveable property 111/25, etc

cathedra, -e *n f* *literally* a chair, often that of a teacher but here that of the victor in a poetic competition 22/13

cathedralis, -e *adj* of or pertaining to the see of a bishop or his church; *see ecclesia*

celebro, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* 1. to celebrate the Eucharist 12/27; 2. to celebrate or observe an event 79/5, etc

Cenomannensis, -e *adj* of or belonging to Le Mans, a diocese and monastery in Maine, France 218/2

certificatorius, -a, -um *adj* of or pertaining to a certificate, certificatory; *see littera*

certifico, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* *literally* to inform, *as legal idiom* to certify formally, eg, compliance with an order 220/27, etc

chorea, -e *n f* dance, originally a round dance, *here apparently* used to describe a country dance held out of doors 54/3

chorus, -i *n m* crwth, a plucked, and later a bowed, lyre 8/26 [*see* Bethan Miles and Robert Evans, 'Crwth,' *Grove Music Online*, L. Macy (ed) (accessed 18 May 2005), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>]

cibaria, -orum *n nt* *literally* provisions, food, *hence* meals 12/28

circumfero, -ferre, -tuli, -latum *v tr* to carry or move around, *in pass* to wind about, circle 54/3

Cisterciensis, -e *adj* of or belonging to Citeaux, Cistercian; *see ordo*

cithara *see cythara*

citharista, -e *n m* *literally* one who plays on a lyre, *hence by extension* harper 38/13

citherator, -oris *n m* *literally* one who plays on a lyre, *hence by extension* harper 289/11

cito, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to cite, issue a citation (to appear before an ecclesiastical court) 235/31m, etc

citra¹ *adv* (of time) past 215/36, etc

citra² *prep* *with acc* 1. on the near side of, on this side of 219/28; 2. without regard to, ie, to the exclusion of 7/20

Clara, -e *n f* Clare, name of a feudal honour in Suffolk; *see honor*

Clarensis, -e *adj* of or pertaining to Clare; *m subst* *as name element* Ricardus Clarensis Richard de Clare 57/16

claustrum, -i *n nt* cloister, the enclosed precincts of a religious house 216/21

clericus, -i *n m* cleric, one in holy orders 12/37, etc

clerus, -i *n m* clergy (as opposed to laity) 4/8

collocuntur *var* of colloquuntur [*OLD* colloquor]

colludo, -ere, -si, -sum *v tr* to play at (a game, sport, or other pastime) together 216/27

comedo, -edere, -edi, -essum *v tr or intr* 1. to eat 216/24; 2. *hence* to dine 79/15

comes, -itis *n m* 1. companion, comrade 79/4; 2. earl, a peer ranking above a viscount but below a marquess 289/8

comissionarius, -ii *n m* commissioner, *here* an officer of Star Chamber delegated to take sworn answers 105/6

comitatus, -us *n m* 1. accompanying escort or group, retinue 11/21; 2. county 157/39, etc

compareo, -ere, -ui *v intr* *literally* to appear, come into view, *hence as legal term* to appear before a judge 215/16, etc

compurgator, -oris *n m* compurgator, one who supports the oath of an accused party by his own oath; in ecclesiastical courts this process, called compurgation, was a means by which the accused could be cleared of a charge 236/32

concauitas, -atis *n f* concavity, curving inward 222/22

concrepo, -are, -aui, -atum *v intr* 1. (of instruments) to sound 8/16; 2. (of the human voice) to sing, chant 60/10

concretus, -a, -um *pfp pass* thoroughly tested or tried 9/1 [see *OLD* con- and cerno]

conditio, -onis *n f* 1. condition, stipulation (of a bond) 111/29; 2. station of life, status 237/31

conduco, -cere, -xi, -ctum *v tr* to escort (someone), to conduct 11/37, etc

confiteor, -fiteri, -fessus sum *v tr* to confess, *here* to make (a quasi-sacramental) confession of 80/7

conflictus, -us *n m* conflict, struggle 12/8, etc

consecratio, -onis *n f* *literally* the act of making holy, *here* consecration, the act of ordaining a bishop 218/8

consedeo, -ere, -sedi, -sessum *v intr* to sit down together 79/14

consistorialis, -e *adj* of or pertaining to a consistory court; **locus consistorialis** the site of such a court, consistory 221/2, etc

contenta, -orum *sbst nt* contents 215/28, etc

contineo, -inere, -inui, -entum *v tr* to keep, *hence in reflexive idiom sese in pedibus ...*

continere to keep one's feet 79/13–14

conuentualis, -e *adj* conventual, belonging to a religious community; see *ecclesia*

conuerto, -tere, -ti, -sum *v tr and intr* *literally* to turn around, change direction: *in various extended senses*: 1. to turn toward (a person) 80/3; 2. to turn (one thing into another), to change (one thing for another) 79/22, etc; 3. to undergo a religious conversion, convert 80/6

corda, -e *n f* string (of a harp or other instrument) 8/16, etc [*OLD* chorda]

cordetenus *adv* by heart 3/22

Coriticianus, -a, -um *adj* of or belonging to Ceredigion 78/21 [*var of DML* Kereticus]

cornicatio, -onis *n f* act of blowing a horn 3/7

cornu, -us *n nt* *literally* animal horn, *hence* a horn or trumpet, originally made from animal horn, used for military signals [*OLD* cornu], *here apparently* indicating an instrument used for entertainment or ceremonial purposes 3/5, etc

corona, -e *n f* crown: 1. *used literally, apparently here* one made of braided straw used in a representation of Christ's Passion 216/31; 2. standing symbolically for royal authority, the Crown 129/25

correctio, -onis *n f* correction, punishment for wrong-doing; see *domus*

credencia, -e *n f* credit, trustworthiness 237/14, etc

crispatus, -a, -um *adj* *either* caused or affected by vibration, as of the strings of a musical instrument, *or subtle* 8/13 [*cp OLD* crispo and *DML* crispare]

crucifixus, -i *sbst m* a crucified man, *here apparently* referring to one representing Christ in a mock crucifixion 216/30

crux, -cis *n f* cross: symbol of Christ's death or of the Christian faith, used as a sign of the wearer's commitment to join a crusade 222/19, etc

cubile, -is *n nt* bedroom 266/29

culpabilis, -e *adj* guilty (as a plea or verdict in a court) 217/11, etc

cultus, -us *n m* 1. religious practice, observance, worship 78/24; 2. *in idiom cultus diuinus* divine service, used collectively for the regular liturgical observance required of monks, nuns, and the regular clergy 216/1

curia, -e *n f* 1. royal court 247/20, etc; 2. law court 128/37

cymiterium, -ii *n nt* churchyard 54/3, etc

cythara, -e *n f* *literally in cl* a lyre 262/12 (*in form cithara*), *by extension* a harp 4/16, etc; **cithara** 13/21, etc

cytharizo, -are, -aui, -atum *v intr* to play the harp 7/21

Dacus, -i *n m* Dane 10/27

Danubia, -e *n f* Dean, name of a forest 219/27

datiuus, -a, -um *adj* dative, serving in an office at the pleasure of the one making the appointment; see *prior, -oris*

datus, -a, -um *pfp pass* dated (of a document or letter) 218/6; *hence fas sbst* date (of a document or letter) 216/35 [*OLD* do']

de *prep with abl* 1. (expressing motion) down

- from 216/31; 2. (expressing source, origin, or residence) from, of 12/13, etc (source); 57/24, etc (point of origin or residence); 3. (as name element, likely originally based on sense 2) of 288/7, etc; 4. (expressing motion or separation) from, away from 3/14, etc; 5. (in partitive sense) of, from 79/15, etc; 6. about, concerning 3/5, etc; 7. (expressing more remote connection) in regard to, for, of 22/12, etc; 8. substituting for CL gen 3/10m; acting as descriptive gen 217/1; 9. representing E 'of' in expressions in which CL would use an appositive 53/21, etc; 10. *in other idioms*: **de nocte** by night 217/7; **de nouo** anew, afresh 4/1, etc; *see also* **prouideo, queror**
- deambulo, -are, -aui, -atum** *v intr* to walk about 54/12
- debeo, -ere, -ui, -itum** *v intr* to be under an obligation (to do something), (I, you, he, etc) ought to (do something), should (do something) 80/12, etc; *hence by extension* (I, you, he, etc) must (do something) 247/22
- decanto, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to sing (a song or poem), perform 12/11, etc
- deductor, -oris** *n m* one who leads the way, a guide 57/19
- defamatio, -onis** *n f* bringing shame or ill-repute upon another, defamation 238/2
- denarius, -ii** *n m* a penny, one-twelfth of a shilling 288/20
- deprivo, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to deprive (someone) of (something) (*with de + abl*) 237/34
- depropero, -are, -aui, -atum** *v intr* to hasten (to do something) 223/14
- deputatus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* set apart for a certain purpose, deputed (used of persons or things) 7/18, etc; *hence m sg as sbst* a deputy judge, one delegated by a superior to hear cases on his behalf 236/26, etc
- desuper** *adv* (with reference to a previous topic) thereabout, about that 221/4
- detego, -gere, -xi, -ctum** *v tr literally* to uncover, expose, *here by extension* to detect, to allege formally before church authorities that a given person has committed a canonical offence 236/6, etc
- deterioro, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to cause damage or loss, to injure 238/25
- deuago, -are, -aui, -atum** *v intr* to wander about (with an intention of ill-doing implied) 216/18
- deuotio, -onis** *n f* piety, devotion 247/13
- deuoueo, -ouere, -oui, -otum** *v intr* to solemnly promise, vow 80/11
- dexteritas, -atis** *n f* right-dealing, honest conduct 237/23
- dextralis, -e** *adj literally* on the right-hand side, *hence* southern; *see* **Brito, Kambria**
- dictamen, -inis** *n nt* literary composition or style, art of composition 8/30
- dies, diei** *n m or f* 1. day 79/5, etc; 2. day of the week: ~ **Iouis** Thursday 215/14; ~ **Mercurii** Wednesday 42/23; 3. day, daytime (as opposed to night) 129/23; 4. day as a measurement of time 78/27, etc; 5. day set aside for a special purpose: ~ **penitencie** day of penance, a day, usually a Sunday, assigned by a church court for a penance, such as public confession, to be performed 220/26, etc; ~ **purificacionis** purification day, the day on which a woman who had recently given birth took part in a service of thanksgiving for the birth, so called because it originated in the *or* rite of purification after child-birth 288/19; 6. a saint's day: **sollemnis eiusdem dies** her solemn feast day (referring to St Elined's Day, 1 August) 53/25; 7. festival, celebration (whether secular or religious): **festi dies** feast days 54/5–6; 8. *in idiom nostri ... dies literally* our days, *hence* modern times, nowadays 44/5
- diffido, -dere, -sus sum** *v intr* to lack confidence (in a satisfactory outcome), to despair (of), *hence by extension* to be reluctant (to do something) 238/23
- dii** *pl form of deus [OLD]*
- dimissio, -onis** *n f* dismissal of defendant from further proceedings, usually upon payment of court expenses and/or a fine 236/26m, etc
- dimitto, -ittere, -isi, -issum** *v tr* 1. to let go of, give up 21/24; 2. to dismiss or release (an accused person) from court without further charges, punishments, or citations pending,

- usually upon payment of court expenses and/or a fine 236/13m, etc
- diocesanus**, -i *sbst m* diocesan, bishop of a particular diocese 215/29, etc
- diocesis**, -is *n f* diocese, administrative district under the authority of a bishop 215/30
- discerno**, -ernere, -reui, -retum *v tr* *literally* to distinguish (one thing from another), separate, *hence* to distinguish visually or mentally, to discern 8/22
- discipulus**, -i *n m* student 38/14, *hence* follower, disciple 80/14, etc
- dissolucio**, -onis *n f* dissolute behaviour, immorality, or an instance thereof 217/10
- districtus**, -a, -um *adj* strict, stringent 217/32
- disturbo**, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to disturb mentally, upset 12/21, etc; **disturpo** 22/11
- diuersitas**, -atis *n f* variety 78/28
- diuersus**, -a, -um *adj* 1. differing, different 10/1; 2. various, divers 14/34, etc
- diuerto**, -ere, -ti, -sum *v intr* to change course, turn aside 79/3 [*cp* *OLD* deuerto]
- diuinus**, -a, -um *adj* divine, pertaining to or suitable for God 53/18, etc; *see also* **officium**
- doctor**, -oris *n m* *literally* a learned person, *hence* doctor, one holding the highest academic degree in one of the superior faculties (eg, theology or law): **sacre pagine doctor** *literally* doctor of the sacred page, one holding a doctorate in theology 217/17, etc
- domina**, -e *n f* lady, honorific for royalty 129/17, etc
- dominicus**, -a, -um *adj* of or pertaining to the Lord 216/6
- dominus**, -i *n m* 1. lord (of a feudal holding) 57/18, master (of a villein or servant) 12/35, etc; 2. the Lord, title of God or Christ 80/8, etc (*see also* **aduentus**, **annus**); 3. Dom, honorific for Benedictine monk 217/16; 4. lord: honorific for bishop 217/15; honorific for ecclesiastical official or judge 235/33, etc; honorific for royalty 157/39, etc; honorific for peers 289/8, etc; 5. Sir: honorific for knight 288/7, etc
- domus**, -us *n f* (*domo* found as *abl sg*) 1. building, house, home 79/4, etc; *in various idioms*:
- domus correctionis** house of correction, gaol 247/37, etc; **domus lupinaria** *literally* house of prostitution, brothel 129/21; 2. religious house 215/13
- dormitorium**, -ii *n nt* room for sleeping, dormitory 216/31
- dulcisonus**, -a, -um *adj* having an agreeable sound, sounding sweetly 4/15
- dyapente** *var of* diapente [*OLD*]
- dyatessaron** *var of* diatessaron [*OLD*]
- Eboracum**, -i *n nt* York, name of a city 10/16
- ecclesia**, -e *n f* church: 1. a specific church or church building 53/22, etc; *in various idioms*: **conuentualis ecclesia** conventual church, church of a religious house 215/16; **ecclesia cathedralis** cathedral, a bishop's seat 217/29; 2. the Church as a corporate or spiritual body 268/12; *hence* **ecclesia Anglicana** the Church of England 158/4
- ecclesiasticus**, -a, -um *adj* ecclesiastical, of or pertaining to the church 60/8
- contra** *adv* on the contrary, conversely 80/11
- edictum**, -i *n nt* order, decree, edict, *here* used to refer to a form of citation (**per publicum edictum**) used as a final resort by ecclesiastical authorities when previous attempts to serve a citation personally and/or by ways and means had been unsuccessful or at least had failed to compel an appearance by the accused person; this decree was posted or proclaimed at the parish church of the accused 221/36, etc
- effero**, -rre, extuli, elatum *v tr* to lift up, raise, *hence* **uocem efferre** to raise one's voice (in song) 54/9
- eleccio**, -onis *n f* choice, election 217/39
- electiuus**, -a, -um *adj* chosen, elect; *see* **prior**, -oris
- elementarius**, -ii *sbst m* student of the basics (in any subject), *in particular* a student learning the rudiments of reading and writing, an elementary student 4/3
- elusus**, -i *sbst m* one who has been crushed or knocked down, *hence* a wretched or downcast person 80/17
- elocutio**, -onis *n f* verbal expression of an idea or

- thought: **de elocutione** *On Expression*, alternate title of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, a treatise on rhetoric long attributed to Cicero 10/4
- enormis, -e** *adj* literally exceeding the standard, excessive, hence outrageous, awful; *nt pl as sbst* outrageous actions, criminal acts 216/33
- enormitas, -atis** *n f* enormity, extreme outrageousness or wrong-doing 216/34
- enormiter** *adv* 1. extremely, excessively 3/21; 2. outrageously 216/17
- episcopus, -i** *n m* bishop, member of the highest of the major orders of clergy, the other two being deacon (*diaconus*) and priest (*presbyter* or *sacerdos*) 217/10
- erga** *prep* for, in preparation for (referring to a future event) 194/4
- erogo, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to bestow, grant 217/21
- eua, -ae** *n f* eve (of a festival) 258/27m, etc
- euangelium, -ii** *n nt* literally gospel, one of the four NT books narrating the birth, ministry, death, and resurrection of Christ; *in pl* a gospel book, ie, one containing all four canonical gospels, used in swearing oaths 4/9
- ewangelista, -e** *n m* evangelist, one of the traditional authors of the four canonical gospels; *see festum*
- exalo, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* literally to give off, exhale, hence **calorem exalare** to produce heat, to heat 220/12–13
- examino, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to examine (a person or a case) judicially, used of a judge 215/34
- excessus, -us** *n m* excessive behaviour, act of misconduct, crime 4/4
- excommunicatio, -onis** *n f* excommunication, ecclesiastical penalty under which the guilty party was punished by exclusion from the sacraments and especially the reception of communion 268/12m
- excommunico, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to excommunicate, impose the penalty of excommunication on someone 220/34, etc
- exhibitio, -onis** *n f* showing, presentation 8/2
- exploro, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to discover, find out 57/23
- extasis, -is** *n f* swoon, trance 54/4
- extorqueo, -quere, -si, -tum** *v tr* to obtain (something from someone), usually by force but here by persuasion 12/10, etc
- extraho, -here, -xi, -ctum** *v tr* 1. to draw out 54/11, etc; 2. hence by extension to copy out, make a copy of 229/36, etc
- exultant, exultantes** *var of* exsultant, exsultantes [OLD *ex(s)ulto*]
- exurgit** *var of* exsurgit [OLD *ex(s)urgo*]
- faber, -bri** *n m* artisan, particularly a smith 13/33, etc; possibly used as a surname 129/7
- fabricus, -a, -um** *adj* of or pertaining to an artisan, especially a smith, or his craft 12/36
- familia, -e** *n f* 1. household, an extended family group that includes everyone living under the authority of the head of the household 7/20, etc; 2. retinue, group of household retainers 57/24, etc
- familiaris, -e** *adj* of or belonging to the household or retinue 12/27; *comm pl as sbst* household members, retainers 12/1
- feliciter** *adv* literally happily, often used in ML in reference to saints, blessedly 53/19
- felix, -icis** *adj* literally happy, fortunate, successful, often used in ML in reference to saints and especially to martyrs, blessed 53/24
- feria, -e** *n f* a day of the week: **quarta feria** Wednesday 216/23
- festum, -i** *n nt* festival, feast, hence a specific feast day or festival: **festum Annunciationis Dominice** feast of the Lord's Annunciation, 25 March 216/5–6; ~ **Beati Michaelis Archangeli** feast of St Michael the Archangel, Michaelmas, 29 September 216/5; ~ **sancti Mathei Apostoli & Ewangeliste** feast of St Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist, 21 September 215/14–15
- festus, -a, -um** *adj* festive, festal; *see dies*
- fides, -ei** *n f* 1. belief, conviction, hence religious faith 158/4, etc; 2. oath: *in idiom* **facere fidem** to swear an oath 221/4
- fidicen, -inis** *n m* literally a lyre player, possibly a generic term for anyone playing a stringed instrument, by extension a harper or a fiddler 57/22

- fidicula**, **-e** *n f* *literally* a small lyre, *by extension* a small fiddle *or* a small harp 57/23
- flegma**, **-atis** *n nt* phlegm, sputum 60/9
- foramen**, **-inis** *n nt* *literally* an aperture, hole, *here* the opening, or bell, of a horn 4/15
- forisfactura**, **-e** *n f* forfeit 237/34
- Francia**, **-e** *n f* France 158/4, etc
- frater**, **-tris** *n m* brother: 1. *literally* 57/24, etc; 2. *by extension* a fellow member of the same community, *hence* member of a monastic community 215/18, etc, *or* fellow-countryman 79/25
- frenesim** *var of* phrenesim [*OLD* phrenesis]
- Gallicus**, **-a**, **-um** *adj* French 9/28
- gardianus**, **-i** *n m* churchwarden 235/29, etc
- generacio**, **-onis** *n f* a generation, *ie*, a group of people descended from the same parents and regarded as a single degree in the descent of a family 14/9
- generosus**, **-i** *n m* gentleman 113/19, etc
- gentilis**, **-e** *adj* gentile, *ie*, not Christian, pagan, *comm pl as sbst* pagans 78/30, etc
- gentilitas**, **-atis** *n f* state of being a pagan 78/23
- Gloucestria**, **-e** *n f* Gloucester, name of an earldom 289/8
- Glouernia**, **-e** *n f* Gloucester, name of a town and county 219/28
- Gordianus**, **-a**, **-um** *adj* of or belonging to Gordius, Gordian: **nodus ... Gordianus** the Gordian knot (*see next entry*), used proverbially to refer to any seemingly insoluble problem 261/5–6
- Gordius**, **-ii** *n m* Gordius, said to be a king of Phrygia who challenged Alexander the Great to untie a complex knot, which Alexander loosed by cutting instead 261/5
- gracia**, **-e** *n f* favour, goodwill, *hence* grace, divine favour 217/16, etc
- gracilis**, **-e** *adj* *literally* thin, *hence* (of sounds) thin, high-pitched, shrill 8/19
- graciose** *adv* in a pleasing or agreeable manner 247/15
- grossior**, **-ius** *compar adj* thicker 8/18
- Gualensis**, **-is** *sbst m* Welshman 57/23
- Gualinfordensis**, **-e** *adj* of or belonging to Wallingford, name of a feudal lordship in Oxfordshire 57/18
- Gwallia**, **-e** *n f* Wales 3/10, etc
- gyganteam** *var of* giganteam [*OLD* Giganteus]
- hebdomeda**, **-e** *n f* week, *hence* **hebdomeda Pasche** Easter week, *ie*, Easter Sunday and its octave 42/23
- Herefordia**, **-e** *n f* Hereford, name of a town and of a diocese 221/12
- Hibernia**, **-e** *n f* Ireland 158/4, etc; **Hybernia** 3/6, etc
- homo**, **-inis** *n m* 1. *literally* human being, person 79/17, etc; 2. *used as a synonym for* 'uir,' man, male human being 54/2, etc
- honor**, **-oris** *n m* 1. honour, esteem 60/12, etc; 2. (feudal) honour, a lordship made up of several manors: **honor de Clara** 57/16
- honorabilior**, **-ius** *compar adj* receiving greater honour, more honourable 11/27
- hospitium**, **-ii** *n nt* lodging, dwelling, home 11/42
- hospitor**, **-ari**, **-atus** *sum v intr* to lodge, reside 12/1
- Humbria**, **-e** *n f* Humber, name of a river in northern England 10/15
- humiliter** *adv* in a humble manner 79/16
- Hybernia** *see* Hibernia
- Hybernicus**, **-a**, **-um** *adj* of or pertaining to Ireland, Irish 3/8, etc
- hyemare** *var of* hiemare [*OLD* hiemo]
- hystorie** *var of* historie [*OLD* historia]
- iactus**, **-us** *n m* *literally* a throw or cast, *here* used of the movement made with a shuttle in weaving cloth 54/13
- ictus**, **-us** *n m* *literally* a blow, *here* used of the movement made with a weaver's reed in separating and beating up threads in weaving 54/14
- idolum**, **-i** *n nt* image, *hence* an image representing one of the pagan gods, an idol 79/28, etc
- impello**, **-ellere**, **-uli**, **-ulsum** *v tr* to push, drive, *hence* (of a breeze) to move by blowing, to stir 4/16; *see also* aer
- impetuose** *adv* in haste, impetuously 223/14
- improvisus**, **-a**, **-um** *adj* *literally* unexpected,

- unforeseen, *hence* (of persons) unprepared, not ready 57/25
- incongruus, -a, -um** *adj* incongruent, not fitting, inappropriate 79/16
- incontinentia, -e** *n f* (sexual) incontinence 217/10
- indempnis, -e** *adj* safe, harmless 8/13
- indies** *for* in dies [*OLD* dies]
- industriosus, -i** *subst m* an energetic person 264/5
- infra** *prep with acc* within 158/6, etc
- infrascriptus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* written within 218/5
- innouacio, -onis** *n f* renewal, repair 215/11
- innuo, -ere, -i, -itum** *v tr* to indicate, mean 197/23
- inquiens, -ntis** *prp* saying [*OLD* inquam]
- inquirō, -rere, -siui, -situm** *v intr literally* to inquire, investigate (eg, a crime or complaint) 215/33, *hence* to hold an inquest or other inquiry 157/39, etc
- insensatum, -i** *subst nt* poor judgment, senselessness 9/13
- instrumentum, -i** *n nt literally* tool, instrument, *hence* musical instrument 8/26; also **musicum instrumentum** 8/7, etc
- intromitto, -ittere, -isi, -issum** *v intr* to associate with, mix with (someone) 238/23
- inuicem** *see ad inuicem*
- iocosus, -a, -um** *adj literally* full of jokes, jesting, *here* describing a professional jester or buffoon: humorous, witty 247/20
- ioculator, -oris** *n m* juggler, entertainer 11/23
- iocus, -i** *n m in cl* jest, joke (usually verbal), *hence* amusement, sport, pastime (ie, not necessarily verbal humour) 79/26; *by extension* play, interlude 235/30
- istrio, -onis** *n m* entertainer, probably one whose entertainment included music of some kind 288/20
- iuratus, -a, -um** *ppf pass* sworn: used of a burgess' oath 42/25; *or* that required for a defendant's pleading in Star Chamber 121/8, etc; *or* that required of a witness in an inquiry 215/33
- iusticiarius, -ii** *n m* judge, justice (eg, of the peace) 111/21
- Iuuenalis, -is** *n m* a Roman cognomen or one of the holders of that name, especially the satirist D. Iunius Iuuenalis, Juvenal (fl c AD 110–27) 9/1m, etc [*OCD* JUVENAL]
- iuxta** *prep with acc* 1. next to, beside 21/26, etc; 2. according to 8/1, etc
- kalendae, -arum** *n f* calends, the first day of a month; in the Roman dating system all other days of a month were designated by counting backwards from three fixed points: its nones (the fifth or seventh day), its ides (the thirteenth or fifteenth day), and the calends of the following month 78/26, etc
- Kambria, -e** *n f* Wales 53/20, etc; **Dextralis Kambria** South Wales 223/1
- Kambricus, -a, -um** *adj* Welsh 7/20
- Kambrus, -i** *n m* Welshman, *hence in pl* the Welsh people 9/5
- kamera** *see camera*
- karissimi** *var of carissimi* [*OLD* carus]
- Kereticus, -a, -um** *adj* of or pertaining to Ceredigion 57/16
- laicus, -i** *n m* layman, one who is not in orders of any kind 216/19
- lanceola, -e** *n f literally* a small lance, *hence* a weaver's shuttle (from its shape) 54/13
- Llandauensis, -e** *adj* of or pertaining to Llandaff, a Welsh diocese 217/16
- le** form of the Romance definite art usually used to signal the beginning of an *E* word or phr in an otherwise *L* passage 288/10, etc; sometimes found as name element, eg, **Iorwerth le Goldsmyth** 128/35
- leuo, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr literally* to lift up, raise, erect, *in legal idiom* to raise or levy a fine or money posted as a bond in the event that specified conditions are not met 111/26, etc
- lex, legis** *n m* law, *here in idiom* **uadere sibi legem** to wage one's law, ie, to offer an oath of one's innocence, to be supported by the oaths of others, acting as compurgators 129/2¹, etc; *hence with* 'uadere' understood **lex iii manu** a law (to be waged) with three compurgators 128/35m; *by extension* the action of offering such an oath 129/2² [*see OEDO* wage *v*, wager *sb* 2]

- libero, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to deliver, hand over, give (eg, a payment) 288/19
- libra, -e** *n f* pound (currency denomination) 13/4, etc
- licencia, -e** *n f* permission, freedom (to do something) 12/35, etc
- ligeus, -i** *n m* liege, liege subject 237/10, etc
- limositas, -atis** *n f* muddiness 222/23
- lira** *see* **lyra**
- littera, -e** *n f* *literally* a letter of the alphabet 4/1, etc; *hence* (both *sg* and *coll pl*) letter, epistle 218/5; *in various idioms* **littere apostolice** papal letter 216/35; **littera certificatoria** certificatory letter, letter containing a formal certification as required by an ecclesiastical authority 215/25
- Londonum, -i** *n nt* London 8/17m
- ludimagister, -tri** *n m* schoolmaster 235/25, etc
- ludo, -dere, -si, -sum** *v tr or intr* to play, with various significances: 1. to play a sport or game, engage in a pastime 216/32?; *hence* to play, sport (used without specification, exact sense unclear) 129/22?; 2. to play a play or interlude 216/32?; 3. to play music 8/19; 4. to play a sport or game of chance, *hence* to gamble 129/22?; 5. *prp as sbst* player, participant in an unspecified sport or pastime 79/19
- ludus, -i** *n m* game, sport, play, pastime; with various significances (which are sometimes difficult to distinguish): *a.* game of chance or one on which wagers are laid (including some board games) 216/27; *b.* sport, (folk) game, popular pastime 78/29, etc
- lupinarius, -a, -um** *adj* of or pertaining to prostitutes or prostitution [*cp* **OLD** *lupanaris*]; *see* **domus**
- lusor, -oris** *n m* player, participant in a sport, pastime, play, interlude, or other entertainment, *here likely* a parish player 235/33, etc
- lusus, -us** *n m* 1. sport, (folk) game, popular pastime 79/21; 2. play, interlude 235/30, etc
- lyra, -e** *n f* *literally* lyre, *hence* harp 13/3¹, etc; **lira** 13/3
- magister, -tri** *n m* 1. one who has authority or rank, master, used as a title of respect with names, eg, of those who hold a MA degree 236/25, etc, *hence* referring to one holding a MA degree, *here* acting as a judge in a peculiar court 194/3; 2. **artium** ~ master of arts, one holding the highest degree obtainable in the arts faculty 221/13
- maior, -oris** *n m* mayor 42/23
- maior, -ius** *compar adj* greater (in size, dignity, or worth); *see* **Brittania**
- manucapio, -ere, manucepi, -tum** *v tr* to act as a pledge or guarantor, to offer (someone) bail 111/23, etc
- manucaptor, -oris** *n m* one who acts as a pledge for another's performance of a bond, task, or other obligation, guarantor 111/27, etc
- manus, -us** *n f* 1. *literally* hand 79/20, etc; ~ **miscere** to join battle, fight 44/6; 2. *by synecdoche* a person, *in particular* a compurgator; *see* **lex, purgo**
- manutencio, -onis** *n f* maintenance, support 237/29
- marca, -e** *n f* mark, currency denomination equal to 13s 4d 215/36
- mariscus, -i** *n m* marsh; *see* **bellus**
- martyrium, -ii** *n nt* martyrdom 53/24 [**ODCC** **MARTYR**]
- mediocris, -e** *adj* low, soft (used of volume of sound rather than pitch) 27/9
- melodia, -e** *n f* melody, music 60/8, etc
- menestralcia, -e** *n f* service due from a 'menestrallus,' usually referring to musical performance, *hence* **faciens menestralciam** doing or carrying out such service 289/8, etc
- menestrallus, -i** *n m* *literally* a servant (ultimately from **LL** 'ministerialis'); minstrel, performer, musician, often used of a musician who is a member of a household 288/8, etc; **principalis de menastrallis**, chief of the minstrels, is used to gloss **pencherd** on 14/18: *see* **WG penkerd**
- Meneuia, -e** *n f* St David's, name of a city and a diocese 247/9
- merces, -edis** *n f* *literally* a reward, *here* used for w 'amobyrt,' a fee paid to the lord (or the equivalent) at the first marriage of one's daughter 12/13, etc; *see* **WG amober**

meretrix, -icis *n f* a prostitute 216/19

meritum, -i *n nt* merit, deserts, *here* the usage reflects the view of late medieval piety that it was possible for the devout to appropriate merit from the good deeds of saints to effect cures and other benefits 53/27

Merlinus Siluestris, Merlini Siluestris *n m*

Merlin Silvestris, a legendary Welsh poet and prophet 222/26 [*see* *oclw* Myrddin]

miles, -itis *n m* *literally* soldier, warrior, *hence* knight 57/19

mimus, -i *n m* *originally in LL* performer, actor, especially in the often obscene farces and pantomimes of the later Roman stage [*OLD*], *hence in AL* performer, but probably one whose performance included music 158/7

miraculum, -i *n nt* miracle, wondrous act or sign 80/21

missa, -e *n f* mass, liturgical celebration of the Eucharist 12/27

moderatus, -a, -um *adj* restrained, moderate 262/13, *hence* low, soft (used of volume of sound rather than pitch) 12/20, etc

modernior, -ius *compar adj* more modern, more contemporary 223/8

modulamen, -inis *n nt* singing, the act of singing 10/10

modulatio, -onis *n f* 1. variation in the tone of a sound, modulation 10/25, etc; 2. (act of) singing or an example thereof, a song 54/9

modulor, -ari, -atus *v tr* to sing 60/8, etc

modulus, -i *n m* *literally* a (musical) interval, *hence by extension* a series of intervals making up a scale or tune, a measure of music 7/17, etc

modus, -i *n m* 1. means, manner 9/8, etc; 2. rhythmic pattern, measure, beat (in speech or music, *here* used of vocal music) 10/11; *see also* *uia*

mollis, -e *adj* *literally* soft, gentle, *by extension* of musical notes, lowered by a semitone; *see* *b molle*

monachus, -i *n m* monk 215/21, etc; **monacus** 216/39

monasterium, -ii *n nt* monastery, religious house for a community of monks 218/2

moror, -ari, -atus *v intr* to stay, reside 216/33, etc
munimentum, -i *n nt* *literally* defence, safeguard, *hence* muniment, a deed or similar document that supports a person or group in the possession of a right or property 217/1, etc

musicus, -a, -um *adj* 1. of or pertaining to music, musical 8/7, etc (*see also* *instrumentum*); 2. *f as sbst* music, primarily instrumental 8/17m

nanque *var of* *namque* [*OLD* *nam*]

natalis, -e *adj* of or pertaining to birth, *by extension* of or pertaining to Christmas: *nt sg as sbst* Christmas, the Christmas season 11/16

neuma, -atis *n nt* *literally* a musical note or phrase or a form of musical notation, *here by extension* a piece of music, music 60/8 [*see* *DML* *neuma* and *OEDO* *neume*]

nocturnus, -a, -um *adj* of or pertaining to night 216/18, etc; *nt sg as sbst* nocturns, the night office: it may refer to part of the office of matins, which despite its name was said at night, or collectively to matins and lauds, which were said consecutively at night or early in the morning 216/26

nodus, -i *n m* knot; *see* *Gordianus*

Norwagiensis, -is *sbst m* Norwegian, Norseman 10/27

notarius, -a, -um *adj* well-known 217/13 [*var of* *DML* *notorius*]

notarius, -ii *n m* notary, person authorized to draw up and attest to various public and legal documents, thus giving such documents an authoritative status at law 218/5

noto, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to report, ie, to a church court about a canonical offence 235/25

notula, -e *n f* *literally* (musical) note, *hence in coll pl* melody, tune 57/22

nouiter *adv* recently 13/33

nouus, -a, -um *adj* new; *see* *burgus, de*

nullatenus *adv* by no means 216/15, etc

obediencia, -e *n f* obedience, *here* used with special reference to the obedience owed ecclesiastical laws and canons or to one's ecclesiastical superiors 217/25

obiiceo, -icere, -eci, -ectum *v tr* 1. to expose (someone) to danger or the like (*with acc of person and dat of the thing threatened*) 264/1; 2. to bring a charge (against) (*with acc of charge and dat of person*) 236/27, etc

oblacio, -onis *n f* alms, offerings, gift 54/14

obsequium, -ii *n nt* service (eg, to an employer or lord), *hence by extension* (religious) service 53/18, etc

obseruancia, -e *n f* observance (of rules and the like) 216/14, etc

obstupeo, -ere, -ui *v intr* to be amazed, astounded 3/6

obtusus, -a, -um *adj* literally blunt, dull; (of sounds) dull or deep 8/18 [*OLD* obtusus, *DML* obtundere]

occo, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to cut (eg, a length of thread) 54/11

officialis, -is *n m* officer, official 11/6, etc

officium, -ii *n nt* 1. office, position of responsibility 21/23, etc; 2. a liturgical office: **diuinum officium** divine office, set of daily prayers and scriptural readings to be said by religious at the canonical hours 216/25–6

oppositus, -a, -um *adj* 1. opposite, turned or moving the other way 54/13; 2. situated opposite, facing, *hence nt sg as sbst* the other side (of) 11/29

oprobriosus, -a, -um *adj* insulting, taunting 238/1

optimas, -atis *n m* nobleman, lord 11/22, etc

opus, -eris *n nt* 1. work, labour 54/5; 2. action, deed 78/24, etc; 3. need 12/29; 4. use, benefit 111/26

ordino, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* 1. to order, direct 217/23, etc; 2. to admit to clerical orders, ordain 12/37

ordo, -inis *n m* 1. (clerical) order: **ordo sacerdotalis** priestly order 217/30¹; 2. religious order 216/20, etc; **Cisterciensis ordo** Cistercian order, a subdivision of the Benedictine order founded at Citeaux 217/17; **ordo Sancti Benedicti** order of St Benedict, the Benedictine order 217/30²; 3. judicial order 87/8m

organicus, -a, -um *adj* polyphonic 10/9, etc [*see next entry*]

organum, -i *n nt* 1. *in CL* a water-organ, *hence*

zabuli organum a sand-organ, instrument of sand, used as an insult 60/11; 2. *by extension* polyphony or an example thereof 8/13 [*see DML* and Fritz Reckow (with Edward H. Roesner), 'Organum: 1. Etymology, early usage,' *Grove Music Online*, L. Macy (ed) (accessed 2 June 2005), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>]

originale, -is *sbst nt* 1. source, origin 222/18;

2. complete, unexpurgated work: **originalia sanctorum** complete saints' lives 217/2

Oscha, -e *n f* the Usk, a Welsh river 219/29, etc

paena *var of* poena [*OLD* poena]

pagina, -e *n f* literally page (of a book), *here in idiom* **sacra pagina** the sacred page, ie, the Bible; *see* doctor

palacium, -ii *n nt* palace: *originally in CL* an imperial residence on the Palatine Hill, *hence* a sumptuous residence 220/5

pannus, -i *n m* a piece of cloth: **panni de serico** pieces of silk cloth 217/1

paralitice *adv* in the manner of one paralysed 3/16

paritas, -atis *n f* the state of being even, evenness 8/14

parochia, -e *n f* parish, the smallest distinct unit of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and Christian ministry, each parish having its own church, priest, warden, and tithes 86/40

parum *adv* (of time) not long, shortly 57/15

Pascha, -e *n f* Easter, festival celebrating the resurrection of Christ, kept on the Sunday after the full moon on or next following 21 March 11/16; *see also* hebdomeda

passio, -onis *n f* affliction, suffering 3/17

passus, -us *n m* passage, pass 57/19

patria, -e *n f* 1. native land, one's country 79/3, etc; 2. *hence by extension* county, land 11/31, etc

patro, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* literally to complete, accomplish, *hence* carry out, perform 80/22

pax, -cis *n f* peace, especially a state characterized by peaceful relations among neighbours or fellow townspeople 127/8; **pax ... regis** 158/8–9 or **regine** 129/25 the king's or queen's peace, the public peace that royal officers are charged with preserving and

- breaches of which are under the jurisdiction of royal courts
- peccatum, -i** *n nt* sin, offence against God or divine law 80/7
- peioro, -are, -auī, -atum** *v tr* to make (someone or something) worse, *hence* to harm, injure 238/20
- pelliparius, -a, -um** *adj* of or pertaining to a skinner or his trade; *see ars*
- penitencia, -e** *n f* penance, act of contrition or restitution imposed by ecclesiastical authorities upon persons guilty of canonical offences; in case of moral offences such as Sabbath breaking, penance often took the form of public confession on a set day or series of days 220/26, etc; *see also dies*
- penitencialis, -e** *adj* pertaining or appropriate to a penitent, suitable for penance 230/7, etc
- pensio, -onis** *n f* pension, fixed payment 218/2 [*OEDO* pension *n*]
- Pentecostes, -es** *n f* Pentecost, Whitsunday, Sunday fifty days following Easter 11/16
- percipio, -cipere, -cepi, -ceptum** *v tr* to receive, get (something due one) 216/6
- peregre** *adv* *literally* abroad, *by extension* on pilgrimage 4/4
- peritus, -i** *sbst m* person skilled or knowledgeable in a certain field, expert 217/18
- pernisiosum** *for* perniciosum [*OLD* perniciosus]
- perpetuus, -a, -um** *adj* perpetual, lasting, *hence* lifelong, lasting for life; *see prior, -oris*
- persona, -e** *n f* *literally* dramatic mask, *hence* a person, individual 215/32, etc; *idiom in persona* + *gen* indicates the individual through whom one acts by proxy 221/3
- personaliter** *adv* in person, personally 215/15
- pertinencia, -orum** *sbst nt* appurtenances 216/3
- pincerna, -e** *n m* butler 26/20
- placitum, -i** *n nt* judicial plea or suit 128/35
- plectrum, -i** *n nt* *literally* a pick for plucking a lyre, *here by extension* one used to pluck a harp 13/4, etc
- plegius, -ii** *n m* guarantor, one who acts as a pledge for another's performance of a task or obligation 129/2, etc
- plenarie** *adv* fully, completely 216/9
- pluries** *adv* many times: **quam pluries** on very many occasions, quite often 216/17 [*cp OLD* quampluries]
- poeta, -e** *n m* *literally* poet 10/6; used to render w 'bardd' 8/32, etc; **poeta familia**, household poet, renders w 'bardd teulu' 12/18, etc, and **princeps poetarum**, chief among poets, renders w 'pencerdd' 13/31; *see also bardus and wg bard, penkerd*
- populus, -i** *n m* people: 1. crowd of people 3/13, etc; 2. a people, nation 10/1, etc; 3. lay people as opposed to clergy 4/8; 4. the people as opposed to kings or rulers 43/41, etc
- posterior, -ius** *compar adj* later (in time), farther back (in position), *hence* farther away, farther 12/18, etc
- potestas, -atis** *n f* power, control exercised over a subordinate 22/15, etc
- praedicatio, -onis** *n f* preaching 80/22
- prandium, -ii** *n nt* dinner, the second and most elaborate of the three main meals of the day 50/35
- preangustus, -a, -um** *adj* quite narrow, rather constricted 220/12
- precentor, -oris** *n m* *literally* leading singer, *here* a singer going in the lead 57/22
- preceps, -ipitis** *adj* *literally* headlong, *hence* fast-paced, quick 8/9, etc
- preco, -onis** *n m* *literally* announcer, crier, auctioneer, *by extension* flatterer 60/10
- preconizatus, -a, -um** *pfp pass* summoned formally to appear in a church court 236/29, etc
- predico, -are, -auī, -atum** *v tr* 1. to say before or above, *hence pfp pass as adj* aforesaid 215/13, etc; 2. to say in the presence of, proclaim, *hence* preach 80/21
- premitto, -ittere, -isi, -issum** *v tr* 1. to mention before 215/14, etc; 2. *nt of pfp pass as sbst* what has gone before, the foregoing, the premisses 215/31, etc
- premunicio, -onis** *n f* forewarning, notice in advance 215/21, etc
- presbyter, -eri** *n m* priest, member of the second of the three major orders of clergy, the other

- two being bishop (episcopus) and deacon (diaconus) 3/7
- presencia, -e** *n f* presence: **in presencia** + *gen* in the presence of 289/9, etc
- presento, -are, -aui, presentum** *v tr* 1. to present as in violation of canon law, used of churchwardens, sidesmen, and/or parish clergy 235/29, etc; 2. *in imper pass* to make presentment, used of a secular jury 127/7
- presto, -are, -iti, -itum** *v tr* to furnish, provide 247/21, etc; *in idiom sacramentum prestare* to swear or take an oath 4/9–10
- princeps, -ipis** *n m* prince: 1. ruler of a principality 247/10, etc; 2. title of emperor in the early Roman Empire (the Principate), *hence* referring to a king 223/4; 3. leader, person in the first rank or position 220/6, etc; *see also poeta*
- principalis, -e** *sbst m* chief, leader; *see menestralus*
- prior, -oris** *n m* prior, the head of a priory 217/24, etc; **prior dativus** prior dative, one serving at the pleasure of a superior 215/19; **prior electivus** prior elect, one who has been chosen but not yet taken office 216/37; **prior perpetuus** perpetual prior, one who serves for life rather than at the pleasure of a superior 217/22
- prior, prius** *compar adj* earlier, previous 9/26, etc; *hence comm pl as sbst* the former (of two groups) 10/23
- prioratus, -us** *n m* priory: 1. a Benedictine religious house dependent upon another monastery, usually a founding house 215/11, etc; 2. cathedral priory, a monastery or house of canons regular serving a cathedral 217/29, 217/33
- processus, -us** *n m* (legal) process, proceedings 217/19
- proclamacio, -onis** *n f* announcement, especially the required public prior announcement of one's intention to seek to clear oneself of a charge in a church court by compurgation 236/28, etc, *or* the text thereof 230/5
- proclamo, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to announce, make public (used especially of court orders or decisions) 254/9m, etc
- proculdubio** *adv phr* for procul dubio [*OLD* procul 6]
- procurator, -oris** *n m* proctor, one who acts as counsel for another in a church court 215/20
- professus, -a, -um** *ppf* having made monastic profession to (a given order), having professed in 217/33
- profunditas, -atis** *n f* depth (of water or other liquid) 222/22
- propalo, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to say openly, declare, make known 3/9, etc
- proportio, -onis** *n f* proportion, balance 8/13
- prouentus, -us** *n m* proceeds 216/7
- prouideo, -idere, -isi, -isum** *v tr* 1. to supply, provide 216/9, etc; 2. to make provision of (a candidate for ecclesiastical office) to (a church or other body) *with de + abl of the person and dat of the institution* 217/33; **prowisa** 87/10m (*in sense 1*)
- prouincia, -e** *n f* province, district 53/21, etc
- psalmus, -i** *n m* psalm, one of the 150 liturgical songs, attributed to David in the biblical Book of Psalms and incorporated into Christian worship 3/22
- publicus, -a, -um** *adj* public, common, generally known 217/12; *see also edictum, strata*
- puer, -eri** *n m* boy, youth: 1. *used literally* 9/25, etc; 2. *hence by extension* referring to a servant 11/23?, 79/4
- purgacio, -onis** *n f* *literally* cleansing, clearing, *hence by extension* compurgation, a form of proof used in church courts whereby the accused demonstrated innocence by an oath supported by the oaths of others of the same sex and status called compurgators 230/5
- purgo, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr in refl sense* to clear oneself from an accusation by means of an oath, often supported by compurgators 236/28, etc; the number of compurgators is expressed by **manus** in the *abl sg* with an ordinal or distributive number, eg, **ad purgandum se cum 3 manu** 236/37
- purificacio, -onis** *n f* *literally* (ritual) purification, especially referring to the ritual purification of women after childbirth in the OT; *see dies*

Quatuor Tempora *n phr* *see tempus*

queror, -ri, -stus *v tr* 1. to complain 264/25;
2. to make a legal complaint (about), bring a
suit (against): *with uersus* 128/35, etc, or *de*
237/8; *prp as sbst querens* plaintiff, complainant
in a suit 238/1

rapacitas, -atis *n f* rapidity, speed 8/9, etc

realiter *adv* really, in fact 216/10

recognosco, -oscere, -oui, -otum *v tr* to acknow-
ledge, used especially in bonds to acknowledge
that a given amount of money has been posted:
recognoscere se debere (+ a sum of money)
to acknowledge that one is bound (for a given
amount) 111/25

rector, -oris *n m* rector, priest having responsibility
for and authority over a parish and entitled to
enjoy its tithes 215/29

redditus, -us *n m* rent 216/7

refectorium, -ii *n nt* refectory, dining hall 216/23

reformacio, -onis *n f* reform, reformation 215/11

refugium, -ii *n nt* literally refuge, shelter, *here*
rendering w 'naud,' 'protection' 11/37, etc; *see*
WG *navd*

regina, -e *n f* queen: 1. a monarch 129/17, etc;
2. wife of a king 11/8, etc

regirans, -antis *prp* literally wheeling about: *here*
in idiom lora regirans pulling on the reins (so
as to turn a horse) 223/13

regnum, -i *n nt* 1. reign 158/3, etc; 2. kingdom,
realm 11/27; *see also annus*

regularis, -e *adj* regular, in accordance with a rule,
here of a monastery, with reference to the
Benedictine Rule 216/15, etc; *hence m pl as sbst*
regulars, monks living under a rule 215/38, etc
[ODCC]

religio, -onis *n f* religion, Christian religious
practice or devotion 216/16

religiosus, -a, -um *adj* pious, devout 217/16, etc

reliquia, -e *n f* 1. that which is left behind, remains
220/8; 2. *hence* (religious) relic (eg, of a saint)
3/12, etc

Rennus, -i *n m* Rhymni, name of a river 222/20

resideo, -ere, resedi *v intr* to reside, dwell, stay
215/21, etc

rethor *var form of* rhetor [OLD rhetor]

rethorice *var form of* rhetorice [OLD rhetorice]

rethoricis *var form of* rethoricis [OLD rethoricus]

retroactus, -a, -um *ppp pass* literally having moved
back in time, *hence* (of time) having passed,
past; *see tempus*

reuoco, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* literally to bring
(something) back into place, *hence* (of thread)
to wind back 54/12

rex, regis *n m* king: 1. a monarch 53/23, etc; 2. *by*
extension eternus rex the eternal king, ie, God
53/24; 3. a royal household ranking, now
restricted to heralds, but formerly also applied
to minstrels and other household officers 289/7

rithmicis *var of* rhythmicis [OLD rhythmicus]

rosnidaturus, -a, -um *adj* moist with dew, damp,
wet 60/10

Sabrina, -e *n f* Severn, name of a river 219/29

sacerdos, -otis *n m* priest, member of the second of
the three major orders of clergy, the other two
being bishop (episcopus) and deacon (diaconus)
3/14; **sacerdos familiaris** 12/27 or **familie**
26/19 household priest, priest serving a royal
household

sacerdotalis, -e *adj* of or pertaining to a priest,
priestly, *hence ordo sacerdotalis* the priestly
order 217/30

sacramentum, -i *n nt* oath; *see presto*

saeculum, -i *n nt* literally the present generation,
the present age, *by extension* the world, worldli-
ness 78/22

saluo, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to save, make safe,
make healthy: at 80/9 a play on the two senses
of physical and spiritual safety is certainly
intended

salus, -utis *n f* literally in *CL* health, well-being,
in Christian usage salvation 80/2, etc

sanctitas, -atis *n f* holiness, sanctity 53/19

sanctus, -a, -um *adj* holy or blessed 80/9, etc;
with names as a title Saint 78/21, etc; *m or f as*
sbst holy one, saint 79/22, etc

scandalosus, -a, -um *adj* discreditable, scandalous
237/37, etc

scandalum, -i *n nt* scandal, discredit 216/20, etc

scematis *var of* schematis [OLD schema]

- scena**, **-e** *n f* stage: 1. stage, a platform upon which plays are enacted; *used metaphorically* 44/8; 2. *by extension* scene, subdivision of an act 43/42
- schedula**, **-e** *n f* schedule, a set of penitential procedures or formulae to be imposed on those guilty of canonical offences (apparently setting out a form of confession for lesser, or duly penitent, offenders and more severe punishments for the contumacious or other serious offenders) 229/36, etc
- Scotia**, **-e** *n f* Scotland 4/8
- secta**, **-e** *n f* (law) suit 238/26
- semino**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v tr* *literally* to sow, *hence by extension (with reference to Lk 9.5–15)* to preach 247/11
- Septuagesima**, **-e** *sbst f* *literally* seventieth (day): Septuagesima Sunday, the Sunday seventy days before Easter 216/34
- sericum**, **-i** *sbst nt* silk; *see pannus*
- seruitium**, **-ii** *n nt* the condition of a household servant, service 13/21, etc
- sigillum**, **-i** *n nt* seal (*here properly* the impression of a seal, used to authenticate an official document) 218/6
- signaculum**, **-i** *n nt* sign, symbol, device 247/12
- signum**, **-i** *n nt* sign, symbol: 1. an action that is the sign or indication of some deeper meaning or purpose 80/21; 2. personal sign used by an illiterate person instead of a signature; in some cases these signs may be initials or attempted initials 184/27, etc
- Siluestris**, **-e** *adj* of or pertaining to the forest; *see Merlinus Siluestris*
- simphonicus** *see symphonicus*
- solidus**, **-i** *n m* shilling, one-twentieth of a pound 218/3
- sollempnis**, **-e** *adj* solemn, ceremonious, partaking of religious rites; *see dies*
- sollempnitas**, **-atis** *n f* solemn festival 54/1
- sonitus**, **-us** *n m* sound, especially that of a musical instrument 223/12, etc
- sono**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v tr* 1. to sound an instrument 3/13, etc; 2. to make a sound, speak, tell 44/4; 3. (of a word or phrase) to mean 222/25
- sonoritas**, **-atus** *n f* agreeable sound, euphonious sound 4/15, etc
- specialitas**, **-atis** *n f* special characteristic, peculiarity 10/21
- spectaculum**, **-i** *n nt* spectacle, show of some kind 216/28; *used metaphorically* 78/30
- spiritualia**, **-ium** *sbst nt pl* spiritualities, the rights, revenues, and powers of a religious house or its head considered to belong exclusively to their spiritual authority and position 216/40, etc
- statutum**, **-i** *n nt* statute, regulation, law 158/8, etc
- sterlingi**, **-orum** *n m* sterling, used of currency 215/36, etc
- strata**, **-e** *n f* street, road: **publica strata** highway 222/24
- stupha**, **-e** *n f* hypocaust, a hollow passage or box beneath the floor heated by means of hot air from a furnace 220/11
- subditus**, **-a**, **-um** *adj* under the authority of, subject to (some person or authority) 12/13, etc; *m as sbst* a subject, one under the authority of a person or institution 129/24, etc
- submurmuro**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v intr* to sing or chant softly on a continuous note 10/18 [*cp OLD* murmur, submurmuro, *OEDO* murmur *n and v*]
- subticeo**, **-ere**, **-ui**, **-itum** *v tr* to be silent about (something), keep quiet about 216/34
- super** *prep with acc or abl* 1. (with verbs of pouring and the like) over 80/15; 2. about, concerning 247/11, etc; 3. upon, by virtue of 4/9, etc; 4. on, upon (of location) 222/20
- supporto**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v tr* to bear, support (here referring to debts) 215/39
- supradictus**, **-a**, **-um** *ppf pass* said earlier, stated above 215/25, etc
- supranominatus**, **-a**, **-um** *ppf pass* named above 111/22, etc
- suspensio**, **-onis** *n f* suspension, *here* suspension of parish officers from their positions 235/25m, etc
- suspensus**, **-a**, **-um** *ppf pass* suspended (from), temporarily removed from a position or privilege, usually as a punishment 235/25, etc
- suspiro**, **-are**, **-aui**, **-atum** *v intr* to sigh, *hence with inf* to long (to) 79/11

Suth Wallia, Suth Wallie *n f* South Wales 247/10
symphonicus, -a, -um *adj* harmonious, tuneful
 10/17; **simphonicus** 10/9

talamo *for* thalamo [*OLD* thalamus]

tangens, -ntis *prp* literally touching, *hence* touching
 on, having a bearing on 217/2

Tartarus, -i *n m* Hell 60/12

taxillus, -i *n m* ('talus' + diminutive suffix) knuckle-
 bone, a small die or playing piece in the shape
 of a die 216/27

tediosus, -a, -um *adj* wearisome, tedious 8/26

temporalia, -ium *sbst nt pl* temporalities, the
 secular business or material possessions of a
 religious house or its head 216/40, etc

tempus, -oris *n nt* 1. time, occasion 216/38, etc;
*often with specification defining the nature of the
 occasion, eg, nocturnum tempus* night-time
 216/18, etc; 2. period of time 79/11, etc; 3.
 season of the year, *hence Quatuor Tempora*,
literally the four seasons, the Ember Days,
 periods of fasting and penitence observed at
 the four seasons of the year, on the Wednesday,
 Friday, and Saturday after the first Sunday in
 Lent, Pentecost, Holy Cross Day (14 Septem-
 ber), and St Lucy's Day (13 December) 216/24;
 4. *in various idioms: futuris temporibus* in
 the future 216/2; *nostris temporibus* in our
 times, recently 222/29; *retroactis temporibus*
 in the past 216/15

tenementum, -i *n nt* tenement, freehold interest
 other than in land 111/26, etc

tergiuersacio, -onis *n f* evasion 217/14

theatralis, -e *adj* literally of or pertaining to the
 stage, dramatic, theatrical, *however loca*
theatralia in 220/8 apparently refers to amphi-
 theatres rather than theatres; *see also* p cxliv

theatrum, -i *n nt* stage, platform upon which
 drama is performed 44/4

topographia, -e *n f* topography, *here* in the title
 of a work by Gerald of Wales **Hybernica**

Topographia *The Topography of Ireland* 3/8, etc

tragoedia, -ae *n f* tragedy, a serious drama having
 an unhappy outcome, *here* a modern work
 imitating ancient tragedy at least in form 43/39

transgressio, -onis *n f* (charge of) trespass
 128/36, etc

transgressor, -oris *n m* violator, wrongdoer 4/13

transmeabilis, -e *adj* capable of being crossed,
 passable 222/23

trumparis, -is *n m* trumpeter, one who plays
 upon the trumpet (probably any player upon
 a straight, end-blown wind instrument having
 neither a reed nor a fipple) 289/7

tubicen, -inis *n m* trumpeter, one who plays the
 'tuba' (probably one who plays a straight, end-
 blown wind instrument having neither a reed
 nor a fipple) 223/8

Tullius, -ii *n m* Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43
 BC), Roman orator and philosopher 10/4 [*OLD*
 CICERO]

tybia, -e *n f* pipe, reed-pipe 8/26

tyro, -onis *n m* literally a (military) recruit, *hence*
by extension Christi tyrones Christ's recruits,
 ie, monks 60/7

uacabundia, -ae *n f* state of being a vagabond or
 vagrant, vagrancy 237/18

uacabundus, -i *n m* vagabond, vagrant, wanderer
 158/6 [*Black's Vagabond*]

uaco, -are, -aui *see* uago

uado, -ere *v tr* to wage; *see* lex

uago, -are, -aui *v intr* to wander as a vagrant,
 roam 158/6 (*in form uacauerunt*), 186/7

uagrans, -ntis *prp* wandering as a vagrant, roaming
 237/18; *as sbst* a vagrant 129/22 [*see OEDO*
vagrant n and a]

ualencia, -e *n f* value, price, worth (+ *gen of price*
or value) 238/25

ualitudo *var of* ualetudo [*OLD* ualetudo]

ualor, -oris *n m* value, worth (*often* + *gen of price*
or value) 215/35, etc

uaticinalis, -e *adj* of or pertaining to a prophecy,
 prophesied 223/7

uendicare *var of* uindicare [*OLD* uindico]

uerbum, -i *n nt* 1. *literally* word 80/17, etc, *hence*
uerbum Domini the word of the Lord, ie, the
 Bible 247/11; 2. *by extension* act of speaking,
 discourse 247/13, etc

uerisimiliter *adv* likely 215/31

uersus *prep* 1. to, toward 223/2; 2. against. 128/35, etc

uersus, -us (*acc pl appears as -us and -os*) *n m* a verse (of poetry) 238/1, etc

uia, -e *n f* 1. way, route 220/12, etc; 2. way, manner: *in idiom uiis et modis* by ways and means, the name of a citation issued when a summoner was unable to serve the original citation personally, apparently authorizing him to use any appropriate means to deliver the citation 221/35

uicarius, -ii *n m* vicar: 1. one who acts as a deputy for a rector who cannot discharge his duties in a parish 215/30, etc; 2. *shortened from uicarius generalis* vicar general, an official appointed by a bishop to act as his deputy in all matters pertaining to the spiritualities of the diocese, including his oversight of the diocesan courts 221/3

uicis (*gen*) *n f* (*nom sg lacking*) 1. occasion, time 217/35; 2. one's part or function (by implication, a part filled in rotation or turn): *hence uices suas iniungere* to order (someone) to be one's deputy (+ *dat of person ordered*) 247/11; **uisibus** (*abl pl*) 158/5 (*in sense 1*)

uidua, -e *n f* widow 112/38 [OLD uiduus¹]

uilla, -e *n f* town 11/42

uillanus, -i *n m* villen 12/11, etc

uillata, -e *n f* vill, township 127/7

uiolaris, -is *n m* one who plays the viol, viol player 289/7

Virgilius, -ii *n m* Publius Vergilius Maro, a Roman epic and pastoral poet (70–19 BC), author of the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* [OCD VIRGIL]

uis, uis *n f* 1. power, strength 4/10; *in pl* (military) forces 222/28; 2. force, violence 129/1; *see also armum*

uisibus *see uicis*

uisito, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to visit formally, possibly to inspect 216/13

uncia, -e *n f* ounce, unit of weight 14/3, etc

uniformiter *adv* uniformly, without diversity in manner or form 10/10

Waia, -e *n f* Wye, the name of a river 219/28

Walensicus, -a, -um *adj* Welsh 247/23

Wallensis, -e *adj* Welsh 288/8

Wallia, -e *n f* Wales 57/17; *see also Suth Wallia*

Wallicus, -a, -um *adj* Welsh 238/4

Wygorniensis, -e *adj* of or belonging to Worcester, site of a cathedral and its priory 217/29, etc

zabuli *var of* sabuli [OLD sabulum]; *see organum*
zelotipie *var of* zelotypie [OLD zelotypia]

English Glossary

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aboutes *prep* about 225/21, etc; **abouth** xxxi/35;
abouts 242/28

accustume *n* custom 197/37 [*OED* Accustom *sb*]

acerteninge *vb n* ascertaining 31/30

acquennting *prp* acquainting 226/38

adge *n* age 201/36

alsor *see* p 398 (endnote to BL: Cotton Domitian
A.1 ff 120v-1, 121v-3)

andiers *n pl* andirons 204/36

anthymnes *n pl* anthems 47/1

apon *prep* upon 219/9

asseigne *pp* assigned 153/23

atcane *vb n* recite, declaim 32/13; *see also* **wg**
atgan

atcaneiad *n* reciter, declaimer 31/5; **atcaneaid**
31/34; *see also* **wg atkeiniad**

atchive *v* achieve 93/31

att aunt *adv* ataunt, completely, to the full number
149/7

atwite *see* p 398 (endnote to BL: Cotton Domitian
A.1 ff 120v-1, 121v-3)

backe *n* back-plate, *here apparently* of a fireplace
203/35, 210/5

bailives *n pl* bailiffs, town officers 59/2; **baillives**
58/39

bandora *n* a wire-strung plucked instrument
used as a bass to the cittern 256/30; *see further*
p 441 (endnote to AN: Syon MS. Y III 1, box 2,
envelope 4 ff [2, 8])

barthes *n pl* bards 170/27, 171/15; **beirdh** 30/32;
beyrdes 83/10; **byrdh** 31/31; *see also* **wg bard**

bassen *n* basin 204/31

bearing bill *n comp* a long staff fitted with a
concave blade or an axe head, with or without
a spike, used as a thrusting weapon 231/17,
233/28 [*OED* Bear *v* 1 29 and Bill *sb* 2]; *see also*
forrest bills

bedlems *n pl* madmen, *here* former inmates dis-
charged from an asylum as fit to be at large and
licensed to beg 41/6, 41/15 [*OED* Bedlam *sb* 5]

bedstyd *n comp* bedstead xx/3

bed tyls *n comp pl* quilts(?) 71/30 [*EDD* bed-twilt
under Bed *sb*']

beirdh *see* **barthes**

bellice *n* bellows 204/6

bequeth *v pr 1 sg* bequeath 182/18

beyrdes *see* **barthes**

bing *prp* being 52/39, 53/2

blind tiplings *n phr pl* clandestine or unauthor-
ized acts of retailing strong drink 40/23-4

blodd *n* blood 101/30

bludd sucker *n comp* blood-sucker 238/8

boathier *n comp* boat-hire, fee to hire a boat 254/38
bo3th *adj* both 248/36

brallars *n pl* brawlers 31/11

brigons *n pl in phr* **paire of brigons** iron holders
for pots, shaped like collars or fetters and
attached by chains to the sides of a chimney(?)
204/2 [*EDD* Breggan *sb*]

broume *n* broom plant 154/24

Bruttaen *n* Britain 34/37; **Bryttaen** 34/20

Bruttish *adj* British, ie, pertaining to ancient
Britain 34/20

Bruttons *n pl* the ancient Britons and the Welsh
regarded as their descendants 34/38

bushop *n* bishop 59/39; **bushope** 59/20;
bushoppe 202/19; **Bushopps** *poss* 292/13
buten *n* button 154/31; **bvtens** *pl* 249/13
byddinge spinninge *vb n comp* a kind of working party where wool or other fabric was spun for presentation to a newly-wed couple(?) 137/11, 137/28; **byddinge spininge** 138/13; *see further* pp 418–19 (endnote to NLW: Great Sessions Gaol Files 4/23/1/20 single sheet)
bydills *n pl* beadles, town officers 249/21
byrdh *see* **barthes**

carring *prp* carrying 263/23
chaen *n* chain 207/8
cheff *n* chief 171/5
childerne *n pl* children 29/31, 267/35; **childers** *pl poss* 70/39
chollour *n* choler, anger 205/29
cloath *n* cloth 263/9
close stoole *n comp* close-stool, a chair or stool enclosing a chamber pot 140/11
coet *n* coat 248/27, 248/28; **coettes** *poss in phr a* **coettes cast** a coat's cast, as far as one could throw a coat 225/31; **coetes** *pl* 248/36; **cootes** 250/13, 250/17; **coottes** 251/1; **cottes** 249/5, etc
cole *v pr 1 sg* call 154/3
colestaff *n comp* cowl-staff 139/15, 139/18
controyle *v* control, ie, reprove 97/22
contynewid *v pa t 3 sg* continued 242/11
cooler *n* colour 128/13
cooledred *see* **meddle**
coople *n* couple 205/25m; **cople** 205/25
coosin *n* cousin 296/31, 296/32
cootes, coottes, cottes *see* **coet**
coubort *n* cupboard, ie, cabinet 204/19, etc
coullour *n* colour, appearance 97/19
countreys *n pl* counties 40/16
coveine *n* covin, deceit 268/24
cowl *n* colt 120/37
cowydd *n* a Welsh verse form 151/23, 151/24; **cowydh** 206/5; *see further* p 434 (endnote to Merthyr Mawr House ff 13v–14) and **wg**
cowydd
crowth *n* crwth 30/38, etc; *see also* **wg** **cruth**

crowther *n* crwth player 248/8; as a name(?) 182/18; **crowthers** *pl* 29/33
crowthinge *vb n* playing the crwth (*see* **crowth**) 32/13
cucked *pp* put in a cucking-stool (*see next entry*) 86/5, etc
cuckinge stoole *n comp* cucking-stool, a chair in which an offender was fastened and exposed to the jeers and insults of the bystanders, or carried to a pond or river and ducked there, as a punishment 86/5; **cuckinge stole** 86/28
cunsail *n* council 170/26
curtance *n pl* curtains 140/4
cushing *n* cushion 204/25; **cushinges** *pl* 204/23, 204/39

dantyes *pl* dainties 142/32
darinckes *n pl* lengths of dornick: silk, worsted, woollen or partly woollen fabric used for carpets, tapestries, cushions, etc 152/19, 152/20
darringe *prp* daring 97/21
defraed *v pa t 1 pl* defrayed 130/19
dexcended *v pa t 3 sg* descended 261/26
disgest *v* digest xxxvi/13
distreitt *n* distress 189/18 [*OED* *Distrait sb*]
dossen *n* dozen 250/1, etc
doubt *v* fear 73/2
doust bed *n comp* dust bed, a bed with a mattress stuffed with chaff rather than feathers or heather 204/22–3 [*EDD* *Dust-bed under Dust sb and v 2*]
dyssing *vb n* dicing, playing at dice cxliv/1

eidell *adj* idle 111/38
emongest *prep* amongst 31/35, 32/1
englyn *n* a Welsh verse form 206/5; *see further* p 434 (endnote to Merthyr Mawr House ff 13v–14) and **wg** **englyn**

fane *adj* fine 68/23
fearth *v pr 3 sg* feareth, fears 101/35
fedler *n* fiddler 106/21, 106/23; **ffedler** 106/26
feighting *prp* fighting 226/26
ffrind, ffrindes *see* **frind**
ffrise, ffryse *see* **frise**
fildbierds *n pl* filberts 156/2

flapes *n pl* pratfalls(?) 154/38 [EDD Flap *v*¹ and *sb*¹ 12]
forenoon *n* forenoon 242/9
forrest bills *n comp pl* forest bills: tools consisting of a concave blade mounted on a long shaft, used for pruning trees and cutting brushwood but also as weapons 95/1; *see also* **bearing bill**
framminge *vb n* framing, making 98/28
free *n* fray 190/1
frind *n* friend; **ffrind** 201/29; **ffrindes** *pl* 92/41; **fryndes** 228/27
frindship *n* friendship 267/7
frise *n* frieze, a kind of coarse woollen cloth with a nap, usually on one side only 249/28, etc; **ffrise** 116/25, etc; **ffryse** 248/35; **fryce** 249/20; **fryse** 249/39; **frysse** 248/26
froude *n* fraud 268/24
fryndes *see* **frind**
furth *adv* forth 171/17, etc; **furthe** 118/14, 225/32
ga' *v pa t 3 pl* gave 147/13
gamen *see* p 398 (endnote to BL: Cotton Domitian A.1 ff 120v–1, 121v–3)
gedere *see* to **gedere**
geve *v* give 29/28, etc; **geave** 32/1, 189/6; **geue** 153/5; **geave pr 1 sg** 268/22; **geeve** 58/29, 59/26; **geve** 182/18; **geaving prp** 171/28; **gevinge** 97/5; **geaven pp** 32/14, 171/6; **geiven** 32/23; **geuen** 141/12; **geven** 210/23, etc; **gevn** 52/23, 52/35; **yeven** 171/38
glace *n* glass 96/30
glaystafe *n comp* glaive staff: a weapon consisting of a blade fastened to a long shaft, or else the shaft without the blade 204/5 [OED Glaive *sb* 2 and Glay]
glives *n pl* glaives, weapons consisting of a blade fastened to a long shaft 244/34
godis *see* p 398 (endnote to BL: Cotton Domitian A.1 ff 120v–1, 121v–3)
gredierne *n comp* gridiron 204/40
grettly *adv* greatly 226/10
Grine Slifes *n comp* 'Greensleeves,' title of a well-known tune 154/5
Gristmas *n* Christmas 52/23

guess *n pl* guests 261/1; **guesse** 266/12 [phonetic simplification]
guyser *n* guiser, one who goes about in disguise or masquerade dress 137/37; **guyssers** *pl* 137/32
halbart *n* halberd 131/3, etc; **halbert** 263/20; **halburt** 132/33; **holbardes** *pl* 94/7
hale *n* hall 209/14
Halfe Haniking proper *n phr* 'Half Hannikin,' title of a tune 154/29
halt *see* p 398 (endnote to BL: Cotton Domitian A.1 ff 120v–1, 121v–3)
hampier *n* hamper 72/30
harraldes *see* **herehaut**
hatharne *n comp* hawthorn 154/3
haulff *n* half 248/38; **havfe** 249/10
haultbois *see* **hoboyes**
heard *adv* hard 266/6m
heir *v* hear 75/15
hensfurth *adv* henceforth 38/21
herehaut *n* herald 205/35; **harraldes** *pl* 156/30; **herehaughtes** 205/26m; **herehautes** 205/25
hoboyes *n pl* hautboys, ie, shawms 255/29, 256/19; **haultbois** 261/24
holbardes *see* **halbart**
holling *vb n* holing, piercing 208/8
houese *n* house 111/35; *in comp* **howserowme** house-room, lodging in a house 202/16
houle *n in phr* **tooke houle in** took hold of 188/24–5; *cp* 'in whom this Deponent tooke hold' 191/3
iavelinges *n pl* javelins 94/7, 96/12
isaid *see* p 398 (endnote to BL: Cotton Domitian A.1 ff 120v–1, 121v–3)
kittle *n* kettle 204/27, 204/28
Klobes *see* **Shifling the Knave of Klobes**
krooe *n* crow 154/2
Lady-prest *n comp* Lady-priest, a priest retained chiefly to say masses of the Virgin Mary, but who might also assist the incumbent of the parish at other services and teach school 433/14 (endnote to NLW: NLW Additional MS 466E f 1)

laute *n* lute 71/31

le def art *F* used in *L* text to introduce a vernacular noun 194/27

leafte *adj* left 229/8

lenght *n* length 29/35

lest *adj* *superl* least 264/19, 266/20

leven taffita *n phr* Levant taffeta, taffeta from the eastern Mediterranean or in a similar style(?); or corruption of 'linen taffeta' (?) 250/2, etc;

levantaffita 248/38; **leven tafyta** 249/10

liffes *n pl* lives 134/16

liste *see* p 398 (endnote to BL: Cotton Domitian A.I ff 120v–1, 121v–3)

listi *adj* lusty 154/40; **lysty** 55/18

lip̄er *see* p 398 (endnote to BL: Cotton Domitian A.I ff 120v–1, 121v–3)

loadge *v* lodge 111/38

loffe *adj* loath 54/32

longwished *v pa t 3 sg* languished 227/8

loude *v pa t 1 sg* loved 71/10

lue *n* lieu 268/25

madingall *n* madrigal 156/15

maurice daunce *n comp* morris dance 230/24

meately *adv* meetly, ie, fairly, moderately lv/18

meddle *n* medley 154/1; *in comp* **medlaye**
coolered *ppl adj comp* medley-coloured,
made of cloth woven with different colours
or shades 297/15

meery *adj* merry 116/33

mocado *n* mockado, wool velvet, usually of inferior quality 250/15, 250/37; **mocadoe** 250/4

Motle *n* 'Motley,' as title of a tune 154/35

mussicions *n pl* musicians 251/3; **mvsyssions**
249/21

mynie *n* meinie, household 227/31

mystrelles *n pl* minstrels 106/18

nacked *adj* naked 114/33, etc

ne *see* p 398 (endnote to BL: Cotton Domitian A.I ff 120v–1, 121v–3)

nocht *see* p 398 (endnote to BL: Cotton Domitian A.I ff 120v–1, 121v–3)

nutmckes *n pl* error for 'nutmeckes,' nutmegs
154/36

nwe *adj* new 154/21; *in phr* **Nwe Antes Vp** New
'Hunt's Up,' as title of a tune 154/21; **Nwe**
Moten 'New Mutton,' as title of a tune 154/19
Nywieris *n comp* *poss* New Year's 52/24

oastler *n* ostler, stableman, groom 151/16

ob *abbrev for L* obulum, used in *E* context for
halfpenny 250/15(2)

odle *n* a Welsh verse form 206/5; *see further* p 434
(endnote to Merthyr Mawr House ff 13v–14)
and WG **owdl**

of *adv* off 33/12, 68/32, 298/25

on *adj* one 52/25, etc

one *prep* on 243/37

ons *adv* once 38/25

owtfalle plank *n comp* a plank to carry the flow
of blood away from a bull-ring (?) 207/10

pafeing *vb* *n* paving 208/17

parsons *n pl* persons 218/14

pauine *n* pavane, a slow, stately dance, *here* a tune
for such a dance 55/22

pelfer *v* pilfer 127/39, 128/22

pencars *n pl* chief bards or minstrels 29/27; *see*
also WG **penkerd**

pettegrees *n pl* pedigrees 205/31, 206/6; **petegrees**
30/36; **petigres** 29/35; **pettidegrees** 31/30;
pettiedegrees 31/40; **pettigrees** 205/26

phancy *n* fancy 272/2

piber *n* piper 67/5

pinsinge *prp* pinching 154/2

pleing place *n comp* playing place 225/33

pocillator *n* cup-bearer 261/21 [OLD]

practisoner *n* practitioner 234/38

pryduides *n pl* poets 262/9; *see also* WG **prydydd**

pryst *n* priest 38/21; *see also* **Lady-prest**, **unprystly**
pwtt *pp* put 44/22

queere *n* choir 59/15

quest-men *n pl* sidesmen, churchwardens'
deputies 39/7

rather *adv* rather 104/25

rap *see* p 398 (endnote to BL: Cotton Domitian
A.I ff 120v–1, 121v–3)

- receyte** *n* receipt, ie, reception 210/27
recive *v* receive 62/30
red *see* p 398 (endnote to BL: Cotton Domitian A.I ff 120v-1, 121v-3)
rid *v pa t 1 sg* rode 48/32, etc; **ridd** *pa t 3 pl* 259/35, 264/6
riffe *adj* rife, abundant 42/2
ripp vpp *v phr* disclose, bring to light 29/35 [*OED* Rip *v*² 4]
risse *v pa t 3 sg* rose 115/19; **rissed** 114/21
rithmers *n pl* rhymers 170/27, 171/15
roge, rogges *see* rouge
Romane hand *n phr* italic hand (as opposed to 'gothic' secretary) 74/35
rome *n* room 242/12
rooe *v imper pl* row 154/7
rouge *n* rogue 246/29, etc; **roge** 248/9; **rogges** *pl* 112/3
rowle *n* roll 238/11

sad *adj* grave, severe 46/30
sagbutes *n pl* sackbuts 256/18; **shackbutes** 255/28
saied *pp* said 118/25
Sasnet *n* 'Sarcenet,' name of a very fine, soft silk material, *here* as title of a tune 154/20
sclatte *n* slater 113/17
scutcheons *n pl* heraldic banners 48/5
selyffes *see* them selyffes
Setterday *n* Saturday 227/9
seyences *n pl* sciences, trained skills 171/25
shackbutes *see* sagbutes
shere time *n comp* shearing-time, the season for shearing sheep 247/36-7; **sheare tymes** *pl* 251/21
Shifling the Knave of Klobes *vb n phr* 'Shuffling the Knave of Clubs,' as title of a tune 154/31
shirif *n* sheriff 130/15, 130/20; **sherief** 91/32; **shirryffes** *poss* 117/14; **sherieffes** *pl* 91/39; **shirrieffes** *pl poss* 91/23
side-men *n pl* sidesmen, churchwardens' deputies 39/7
Slifes *see* Grine Slifes
Soing of Weetes *vb n phr* 'Sowing of Wheats,' as title of a tune 154/10
somons *n* summons 29/28

sor *see* p 398 (endnote to BL: Cotton Domitian A.I ff 120v-1, 121v-3)
soresmus *n* macaronic composition 139/21 [LL(?)]
sorghe *see* p 398 (endnote to BL: Cotton Domitian A.I ff 120v-1, 121v-3)
soueringne *adj* sovereign 112/2
spetches *n pl* speeches 226/10
stadg *n* stage 207/24
statplaiers *n comp pl* stage players 209/13
steed *n* stead, place 91/33
stoke *v* stab 131/4 [*OED* Stoke *v*¹ 1]
stoullen *pp* stolen 295/19
streingthe *n* strength 9/19; **strenght** 30/7; *see* p 398 (endnote to BL: Cotton Domitian A.I ff 120v-1, 121v-3)
stricke *v* strike 226/15, etc; **strick** 233/34; **strik** 199/17; **strake** *pa t 3 sg* 119/21; **stroke** 200/30, 200/31; **stroock** 114/34; **stroocke** 114/35, etc; **strook** 115/16, 120/21; **striking** *prp* 233/30, etc; **stricken** *pp* 38/36, 119/22; **striken** 95/12
strookes *n pl* strokes 134/33
surcesse *v* surcease, temporarily stop 59/24
sutes *n pl* lawsuits 91/33; *in comp* **sute court** court for trying lawsuits 51/15
symposiastes *n properly* member of a drinking-party, *but here probably a malapropism for* 'symposiarch,' host or leader of a drinking party 267/4

thafternewn *n phr* the afternoon 242/10
than *adv* then 30/6
thatgennid *n* reciter, declaimer 52/27; *see also* WG **datganiad**
them selyffes *pron pl* themselves 106/18
thether *adv* thither, to there 241/29; **theether** 195/13
theym *pron* them 219/14, etc; **theim** 171/28
thire *adv* there 62/30, 63/18
throwlie *adv* thoroughly 30/9
tipplings *see* blind tipplings
to *adj* two 207/41
to gedere *adv* together 9/14; **together** 65/32
toich *v* touch 242/17
to it *prep phr* to wit 61/30, etc [phonetic simplification]

toms *n pl* tomes, volumes 71/29
tongues *n pl* (pair of) tongs 204/2, 204/36
tother *adj* other 186/27 [*OED* *Tother pron and a B 1*]
towpens *n comp* twopence, a small silver coin worth 2d 153/41
towtching *quasi-prep* touching, regarding 225/17;
towtching 227/17
tripetts *n pl* trivets 204/22
truke bottle *n comp* a bottle mounted on wheels for easy transport(?) 140/9
trwmpeters *n poss* trumpeter's 128/26
tyls *see* **bed tyls**

pene *conj* than 9/19

unprystly *adv* unpriestly, in a way not befitting a priest 38/24

vacabound *n* vagabond 267/33; **vacaboûndes** *pl* 171/31; **vaccaboundes** 112/4; **vagabounds** 31/10; **vakabondes** 106/18

vayetes *n pl* waits, musicians hired by a town corporation 248/36; **waytes his** *pl poss* 249/10–11; **wayts is** 249/5

viall *n* viol 77/14; *in phr* **viall di gambo** viol da gamba, a viol (usually bass) held between the player's legs 76/21

virginholles *n pl* virginals 255/27; **virgynolles** 255/3

vsadge *n* usage 76/10

vzt. *abbrev for* *L* videlicet, *used in E text for* namely 65/5

wacke daie *n comp* wake-day, day of a revel 111/42;
wacke daies *pl* 111/40

Walsche *see* **Welch**

wanscoate *n* wainscot, normally panelling for a wall or ceiling, *here* wood for furniture, perhaps oak 152/12; **wanscott** 152/18 [*EDD* *Wainscot sb*]

wanscoted *ppl adj* wainscoted, panelled 152/18

warld *n* world 154/35

wascoate *n* waistcoat 138/14; **wascot** 128/13;

wascote 137/32; **wascott** 128/15

waytes his, wayts is *see* **vayetes**

wekke *n* week 75/4

Welch *adj and n* Welsh 267/7, etc; **Walsche** 197/41

Welsh hookes *n phr pl* Welsh hooks; a kind of bill-hook, ie, a heavy, thick knife or chopper, often mounted on a long staff, used for pruning, cutting brushwood, and similar tasks but also as a weapon 94/7, etc; **Welch hookes** 100/42

weomen *n pl* women 137/29, 150/1

whither *conj* whether 184/6, etc

whither *pron* whether, ie, which (normally used of two persons or things, but here of three) 206/5

Wite a Westemaster *n phr* 'Wit of Westminster,' as title of a tune 154/33

wite *v imper* blame 154/40

withon *prep phr* with one 242/10

without that that *conj phr* not admitting that 56/13, 122/38; **without yat that** 123/24

woulle *n* wool lviii/34

woullen *adj* woollen lviii/34

wretinge *vb n* writing 227/11; **writtinges** *pl* 293/38

wrotte *v pa t 3 pl* wrote 35/15

wyar *n* wire 210/22; **wyars** *pl* 210/24

yearne *n* yarn lviii/34

yard brode *adj comp* yard-broad, a yard wide 249/20

yeve *n* eve, day or evening before a festival 258/26, 258/31; **yeves** *poss* 258/26

yeven *adv* even 226/27, 228/28

yeven *pp* *see* **geve**

ymmeadiadly *adv* immediately 132/6

yowman *n* yeoman 113/5

ysterday *n comp* yesterday 245/13

Welsh Glossary

Aberffraw *n f* Aberffraw, Ang, the bardic province of Aberffraw 160/30; **Aberffrau** 22/37; **Y berffertho** 168/33

abl *adj* able, competent 162/37, etc

aguedi *see* **hegŵedi**

angharedigawl *adj* unpleasant, unlovely 161/10

agheneu *n m pl* needs, necessities 21/1

anghvmec *adv* further 276/16

Alban, Yr *n f* Scotland 81/17, etc

allan *adv* outside, beyond, further 87/34, etc; **o hynny allan** (t)henceforth, from then on(ward) 161/16, etc

alldut *n m* exile, foreigner 23/9

amigenach *adv* (*minim error for amgenach*) over and above 160/27

amledd *n m* multitude 166/12, etc; **amled** 240/19

amober *n m* the fee paid to a woman's lord at her first marriage, originally for the loss of her virginity 20/12 [*The Law* 311]

amrauaelyon *adj pl* various 81/12; **amryuaelon** 82/1; **anryfaelion** 282/1

amrysson, amrysoneu *see* **ymrysson**

anfadwalit *adj* having messy/withered hair 239/10

anferthol *adj* heinous 174/12

anglynion *see* **englyn**

anhepcor *subst* necessity, indispensable thing 12/26, etc

anhvddiedig *adj* uncovered, not hidden, conspicuous 173/39

anllyfodraeth *n f* misrule, disorder, anarchy 174/32

anrydedawd *v pf 3 sg* honour 81/13

anryfaelion *see* **amrauaelyon**

ansyberwyd *n m* discourtesy, dishonour 162/12, etc

anvono *v pr subj 3 sg* accompany, send 161/36

anwyldlws *n m* valuable jewel, treasure 161/36, etc

aplaf *superl adj* most able 162/35, etc

ardyrchauael *n m* ascension, elevation 19/4; **ardyrchauel** 23/5

ariandlws *n m* silver bardic prize or medal 160/17, etc; **aryandlws** 163/1; **ariandlwsav pl** 162/34

arwain *vb n* carry, wear, receive 240/8, etc;

arweyn 19/11; **harwaîn** 162/39

arweniawdr *n m* wearer, holder (of an office or prize) 167/7

arwyddfardd *n m* herald-bard 176/11, etc

assv *adj* left 16/8, etc

atkeiniad *n m* reciter, declaimer 163/18, etc;

atkaniad 164/11; **atkeniaid** 163/17; **atgeiniad** 164/12; **atgeinid** 163/21

atgan *vb n* recite, declaim, perform 160/6, etc;

atkan 164/2, etc; **atken** 163/38

athrawaidd *adj* learned 160/23, etc

aulonedo *v pr subj 3 sg* disturb 18/13

avrifed *see* **hafrifed**

awdl *see* **owdl**

awdvr *see* **owdvr**

awenyddgar *adj* poetic 159/28, etc

awenyddiaeth *n f* poetic ability 161/24

bard *n m* bard, poet 5/4, etc; *in phr* **bard teulu** household poet 4/25, etc; **bardd** 159/14, etc; **beird pl** 81/11, etc; **beirdd** 82/28; **beirddion** 213/15; **beryd** 19/2

bardoni *n f* bardism, poetic craft 25/1, etc; **bardony** 21/12

bargweiriadav *n m pl* principal tunings 282/30

berffertho, Y *see* **Aberffraw**

bieu *v pr* 3 *sg* belongs to 28/5, etc; **beiaŷ** 172/22; **beihav** 164/19; **byeu** 18/11; **byeyffo** *v pr subj* 3 *sg* 18/10, etc

bowyd *see* **bywyd**

bragod *n m* bragget, a drink of ale fermented with honey 275/24, etc

brecchan *n m/f* a large piece of cloth that served as a cloak, a blanket for sleeping, and, eventually, as a shroud 12/30

brehyrion *n m pl* gentlemen, noblemen 160/33

brethenwysc *n m* woollen clothing 17/3;

brethynwysc 15/16

brysyr *n m* hasty, busy person 214/26

bwadav *n m pl* bows, bow-strokes (music) 275/17

bwyall *n f* axe, *figuratively* a bard's poetic skill 211/18

bysweyl *n m* dung, manure 19/19

bywyd *n m* life, existence, living, income 162/29, etc; **bowyd** 28/41

kadair *n f* 1. chair, especially as a bardic distinction 82/27, etc; **cadeir** 5/9, etc; **cadeir** *pl* 81/13, etc; 2. a type of musical composition in 'cerdd dant' 160/8, etc; **kadeiriav** *pl* 167/20; **cadeirie** 278/8; **kederie** 285/20

kadarnhav *vb n* strengthen, confirm, certify 162/25; **cadnhav** (*error for kadarnhav, abbreviation mark missing?*) 162/37

kadeirfardd *n m* chaired poet 87/26

cadeyryawc *adj* having the right to a chair, chaired (bard) 15/22, etc; **kadeirioc** 167/28; **cadeiriog** 88/4

kadwedigaeth *n f* preservation 274/5

cadwynvyr *n m* a metre in Welsh 'cerdd dafod' consisting of alternately rhyming lines with further rhyme between the ends of odd numbered lines and the syllable preceding the caesura of even numbered lines 159/38 [*CD* 351–2]

caill *n f* testicle 212/16, etc; **keilliav** *pl* 211/36, etc

kainck *n f* 1. branch **cangav** *pl* 239/20; **ceinciau** 241/2; 2. one of the compositional forms of 'cerdd dant' 280/25, etc; **ceinkae** *pl* 182/34; **keinciau** 276/9, etc

kanhiadv *vb n* accept, admit 167/33

canhŷllyd *n m* candle-bearer 6/4, etc; **cannuylyt** 11/11

canhyat *see* **cenad**

caniad *n m* one of the commonest composition forms of Welsh 'cerdd dant,' consisting of a sequence of 'ceinciau' and 'diwedddau' 239/18, etc; **caniadav** *pl* 160/9, etc; **kaniade** 281/29, etc; **canidav** 160/10; **canniadav** 283/24

kanu *vb n* sing 5/19, etc; **caner** *v pr impers* 18/11, etc; **kanet** *v pr imper* 3 *sg* 5/17, etc; **cenit** *v pa t impers* 281/15; **canod** *v imperf* 3 *sg* 82/39, etc; **canodd** 158/27; **cant** *v pa t* 3 *sg* 239/8, etc; **canassyn** *v ppf* 1 *sg* 90/18

canu *n m* song, poem 5/17, etc; **canueu** *pl* 25/15

keghellaur *see* **kyghellavr**

celera *see* **clera**

keluy *n m pl* furnishings, screen in hall or row of columns 16/4, etc

kemwt *n m* commote, traditional Welsh land division 11/38; *see also* *Editorial Procedures* p cxlvii

cenad *n f* permission 174/18, etc; **canhyat** 21/10

kenadv *vb n* order, command, permit 160/40, etc

kerdaŷr *n m* minstrel 20/10, etc; **kerdoryon** *pl* 82/15, etc; **kerddorion** 214/27, etc; **kerdorion** 27/15; **kerdoryonn** 26/11

kerdd dafod *n comp* *literally* tongue music, *hence* poetry 82/25, etc; **kerdd dafawd** 105/35, etc; **cerd tauawt** 82/4–5; **cerd tavot** 82/14

kerdd dant *n comp* *literally* string music, *hence* music, especially of harp and crwth 82/26, etc; **cerdd ... danav** 172/9; **kerdd dannav** 274/5, etc

kerdho *v pr subj* 3 *sg* travel, especially on a bardic circuit 19/2

cler *n f pl* *literally* flies, minstrels 162/7, etc; *see also* **kyff**

clera *vb n* travel, make a bardic circuit 164/12, etc; **celera** 175/2; **kylera** 157/26; *see also* **kwr**

cleryr *n m* minstrel 88/19, etc

clym, clymav, klyme *see* **cwlwm**

clymor *n m* musician, harper 279/1

coethlas *subst* fine greenery 239/17

cof *n m* memory, memorial, remembrance, that which must be remembered 34/19, etc

kolofn *n f* 1. column, pillar: **colouyn** 16/1, etc; **colouen** 16/5; 2. one of the advanced forms of composition in Welsh 'cerdd dant' 160/11, etc; **colon** 286/15, etc; **colofne** *pl* 278/8; **kolofnav** 167/20

komussiwnol *adj* commissioned, sanctioned by commission 177/11

corbedw *adj* dwarf birch tree 241/1

coryf *n m* column, bar; as an architectural feature of the early medieval Welsh hall, it may refer to a screen 15/22, etc [*The Law* 224]

cowair, **cower** *see* **cywair**

cowndan, **kowndant** *see* **cyweirdant**

cowydd *n m* a Welsh verse form 239/8, etc; **kowyd** 179/21; **cywyd** 90/13, etc; **kywydd** 159/28, etc; **kowdday** *pl* 203/7; **cywyddav** 159/32; **kywydd devair hirion** verse in couplets with seven syllables to a line 159/28; **kowydd devair hirion** 172/16; **kowydd ... devair fyrion** verse in couplets with four syllables to the line 172/16–17; **kowyd llosgyrniog** *n comp* one of the canonical measures of Welsh poetry, distinguished by a recurring tail-rhyme 172/21 [*CD* 328–30]

cowyll *n m* a gift payable to a virgin on her wedding night from her husband; similar to the Germanic 'morning gift' 6/10, etc; **cowil** 14/4 [*The Law* 240]

kreiriav *n m pl* relics, *in phr* **dydd Sul y kreiriav** Relic Sunday 164/28–9

cromicke *subst* hunchback 127/22

cruth *n m* traditional instrument of Welsh music, a bowed lyre; the few surviving instruments have six strings, two of them off the fingerboard to be used as bowed or plucked drones; earlier iconography, however, shows instruments of from three to six strings 23/12, etc; **crythav** 274/7

krychiad *n m* literally wrinkling, a musical figure in 'cerdd dant' described as completing the combination of 'cyweirdant' and 'tyniad' 277/3; **crychiadav** *pl* 275/11, etc

crythor *n m* crwth player, crowder 82/29, etc;

cruthor 155/15, etc; **cryxor** 152/30; **krethorion** *pl* 168/33; **crythoryon** 81/11, etc; **krythorion** 169/30, etc

cwlbren *n m* cowlstaff 139/30

cwlwm *n m* literally knot, tie, a form of composition in Welsh 'cerdd dant' 276/30, etc; **clym** 173/23; **cwlwm** 160/8, etc; **clymav** *pl* 160/10, etc; **kwlwav** 163/13, etc; **klyme** 167/19, etc
kwrs *n m* course, circuit, *in phr* **kwrs clera** bardic circuit 165/30, etc

kydgerdd *n m/f* literally ancillary music, *the phr* **clymav kydgerdd** may represent accompaniment figures, though it is possible that they may be technical exercises 160/18; **clymav kydkerdd** 160/13; **clyme kydgerdd** 173/33; **clyme kytgerdd** 173/29; **gwlm kydgerdd** 275/31; *see also* **cwlwm** and *Appendix 2 p 273*

cydseiniol *adj* harmonic 172/40

kyfrwyddyd *n m* ability, experience 274/13

kyff *n m* stock, chest, *in phr* **kyff kler** 'butt of bards,' a mode of entertainment common at weddings of the gentry in which a senior bard is 'roasted' in verse by his students and junior colleagues, then allowed to reply 165/5, etc; an example of a series of 'cyff clêr' poems appears on pp 210–14

cynganed *n f* in Welsh verse a system of internal rhyme, consonance, and assonance 89/30, etc; **cyngangedd** 172/32; **kynganheddion** *pl* 87/24; **kynganheddon** 159/37 [*CD* 143–52]

cynganeddawl *adj* in the 'cynganedd' style, *in phr* **croes gynganeddawl** in a style marked by the double repetition of a sequence of consonants within a single line 160/3; **croes gangenheddol** 173/1

kyghellavr *n m* a local administrative official, not related to E chancellor or L cancellarius 16/2; **keghellaur** 23/3 [*The Law* 331–2]

cynghoriaid *n m* counsellors 177/2, etc

cylch *n m* circuit, circle 4/23, etc

cylchwy *n m* circuit, compass 165/9

cylchwyl *n f* circuit 162/31, etc; **cylchwwyl** 164/12

kylera *see* **clera**

cymeriadav *n m pl* a variation of the 'cywydd' or 'awdl' verse form in which lines are linked by alliteration or rhyme at the beginning of each line, or by extending the sense from one line to the next 160/4, etc [*CD* 290–3]

kynhwysiad *n m* inclusion, contents 173/37;

kynhwysiad 160/22; **kynwysiad** *pl* 173/35

cynulleidfa *n f* assembly, populace 160/39, etc

kynnuttey *n m* fueller, fuel-collector 20/1

cyntan *adj* first 279/5

cyrwydrad *sbst* wanderer 174/40

kyssylltiad *n m* literally joining, conjunction, a musical figure in 'cerdd dant' that unites 'cyweirdant' and 'tyniad' in a single expression 275/13; **kyssylltiadav** *pl* 275/12

cystadl *adj* as good, comparable 164/17

kytennyll *n m* mutual profit, gain 20/9

cyuoethoges *n f* wealthy person 82/2

kyvreidiol *adj* necessary, needful, requisite 165/5

kyvreithlawn *adj* legal, lawful 161/26, etc;

kyvraithlawn 130/36, etc; **cyfrathlawn** 160/31;

kyfreithlon 174/15; **cryfrethlon** 275/36

kyureythyaöl *adj* legal, lawful 19/11, etc

cywair *n m* literally adjustment, tuning of a harp or crwth 275/21, etc; **cowair** 280/6 (*in form gowa*(..)), etc; **cower** 282/31, etc; **cyweir** 277/9; **cyweiriav** *pl* 275/22, etc; **kywiriav** 275/20.

There were five standard tunings, with a number of variations on them: **isgywair** 275/27 or

isgowair 280/9 or **iskywair** 275/23 (low tuning);

cras gywair 277/10, etc, or **kras gowair** 280/8,

etc, or **kras gower** 284/31 (harsh tuning);

lleddf gywair 275/23, etc, or **lleddf gowair**

Gwyddyl 285/34 or **lleddf gywair y**

Gwyddil 286/8 (retuning or Irishman's

retuning); **gogywair** 275/24, etc, or

gogowair 280/7, etc, or **gogower** 285/33

(sharp tuning); and **bragod gywair** 275/24,

etc, or **bragod gowair** 280/21, etc (mixed

tuning); see also *Appendix 2 p 273*

kyweirdant *n m* the principal of two repeated

harmonic units in a piece of 'cerdd dant,'

implying resolution and stability, also a note or

musical event which occurs during such a unit

275/8, etc; **cowndan** 279/1, etc; **kowndant**

279/1; **cywairdant** 160/22; **cywirdant** 275/18;

cowirdanav *pl* 173/38; **cywairdannav** 275/7,

etc; **kywirdannav** 275/18; see also *tynniad* and

Appendix 2 pp 273–4, 277

cywiriad *n m pl* honest and loyal persons 162/25

cynwyssdannau *n m pl* notes on harp or crwth that are part of the accepted tunings, but are produced by stopping the string with the fingers 276/26

chwaneg see **gwaneg**

chwarav *n m pl* game, sport, play 162/16; **chware** 174/22

chwarythieth *n f* game of chance, gambling 174/23

datganiad *n m* reciter, declaimer 174/19, etc;

dadganiad 176/22; **datcaniad** 88/31;

datcanniad 89/10; **datceiniad** *pl* 91/10;

datgeiniad 182/33, etc

datgan *vb n* recite, declaim, perform 173/3, etc

defnyddgar *adj* useful, serviceable 160/4, etc

deosparth see **dosbarth**

desgybl see **disgybl ysbas**

devfwy *adj* twice as much 211/11

devheidir *n f* South Wales 286/6

devnyddfawr *adj* important, weighty, useful, substantial 173/1

didramgwydd *adj* unfaltering 275/4

dieithrach *compar adj* more unusual, stranger 275/5

difr *n m/f* a piece of music derived from one of the canonical measures 274/16; **difyr** 276/11;

deifr *pl* 173/34

difradwy *adj* faultless, perfect 213/22

difyra *superl adj* most entertaining 173/3

digyfreith *adj* outside the law, not bound by the law 7/6, etc

dilys *adj* set, prescribed 275/4

disgreio *vb n* describe 176/15

disgybl *n m* apprentice, pupil 159/24, etc; **disgybyl** 88/27, etc; **disgyblion** *pl* 87/28, etc; **disciplion**

276/13; **disgyblon** 165/20

disgybl disgyblaid *n comp* instructable apprentice, pupil whose course of instruction in the bardic

schools is no longer temporary, ie, probationary

159/24, etc; **disgybl disgyblaidd** 279/6;

diskybl diskyblaidd 169/15, etc; **diskybl**

disgyblaidd 168/24; **disgybl disgybliadd**

159/30, etc; **disgybl dissgybliadd** 177/32,

etc; **dysgybl desgyblaidd** 183/14; **disgyblon**

disgyblaidd *pl* 180/10, etc; **disgiblion**

- disgybliaidd** 167/36, etc; **disgyblion**
dyssgybliaidd 177/30; **disgyblion**
disgybliaidd 178/37, etc
- disgybl pennkerddiaidd** *n comp* apprentice of the master craft, pupil pursuing a course of instruction in the bardic schools for the degree of 'pencerdd' or master poet, having mastered the two lower grades 160/2, etc; **disckybl penkerddiedd** 279/3; **disgybl penkerddiedd** 279/3–4; **diskibyl penkerth(.)ed** 168/14; **diskybl penkerthiaith** 168/17, etc; **disgybl penkerddiaidd** 159/24, etc; **disgybl pennkeirddiaidd** 106/6; **disgybl penkeirddieidd** 106/8; **disgybl penkerdd** 175/38; **disgybl pennkerdd** 175/31; **disgybl pennkerddiaidd** 177/22, etc; **disgyblion pennkerddiaidd** *pl* 178/11, etc; **disgyblionn pennkerddiaidd** 167/34; **disgyblon ... pencerddiaidd** 180/28; **disgyblion pennkerddiaidd** 177/21
- disgybl ysbas** *n comp* temporary apprentice, pupil pursuing a basic course of instruction in the bardic schools 159/24, etc; **desgybl ysbas** 183/15; **diskybl ysbas** 169/8, etc; **disgybl yssbas** 177/36; **disgyblon yspas** *pl* 180/14, etc; **disgyblion yssbas** 177/35, etc; **disgyblion yssbas** 178/22; **disgyblon ysbas** 180/33
- disgybl ysbas graddol** *n comp* temporary apprentice with degree, pupil, who having pursued a basic course of instruction in the bardic schools, has gained a degree of proficiency 159/27, etc
- disgyblaidd** *adj* literally disciplined, *by extension* pertaining to, or having the status of, an instructable apprentice (**disgybl disgyblaidd**) 159/34, etc; **disgybliaidd** 161/30
- disgybliaeth** *n f* apprenticeship 164/38
- disiml** *adj* gentle, dignified; simple, artless, naive 241/13
- dom** *see* **tom**
- dosbarth** *n m* classification, standard, rule 159/36, etc; **deosparth** 21/1; **dosparth** 276/5
- douot** *n m* gain, prize 23/15
- drychael** *n and vb n* augmentation (legal), ascension 6/8, etc; *hence* **dydd ... Drychavael** Ascension Day 164/28
- drylliwr** *n m* destroyer 238/6
- dychmvgv** *vb n* imagine 174/28; **dychmygv** 162/20
- dylyedus** *adj* privileged 24/2
- dyrin lleden** *n comp* flat-fish nose, as a term of contempt 127/20
- dyvaliadav** *n m pl* descriptive poems 162/5, etc
- dywydedic** *adj* aforementioned 160/39
- ebediŵ** *n m* a tax payable upon succeeding to one's inheritance 6/8, etc; **ebedyv** 23/10 [*The Law* 340–1]
- eglevrvawr** *adj* brilliant, splendid, eminent 213/9
- eglyredig** *adj* clear, bright, lucid 173/2
- englyn** *n m* a short verse form usually of four lines 89/32, etc; **ynglyn** 159/28, etc; **englynion** *pl* 89/35, etc; **anglynion** 214/22 [*CD* 319–27]
- enghwaneg** *see* **gwaneg**
- ehelaeth** *adj* spacious, ample, full 81/13
- eisteddle** *n m* place, location; site for an eisteddfod 165/18
- eisteddfod** *n f* bardic meeting 88/5, etc; **ysdeddfod** 87/28; **ysteddfod** 183/10, etc; **eisteddvodav** *pl* 163/35, etc
- eisteddwyr** *n m pl* organizers or judges of an eisteddfod; audience of an eisteddfod 162/34, etc
- enllyn** *n m* literally relish, elaborate, sophisticated version 278/8
- enw** *see* **henw**
- erw rydd** *n comp* literally free acre; the five 'free acres' represented symbolically the perquisites available to a licensed bard, including the times at which he could make a bardic circuit 164/27, etc
- esmwytha** *superl adj* smoothest 160/6
- estynno** *v pr 3 sg* extend, offer 23/10; **ystynno** 28/5
- etivedd** *n m* heir 211/1; **tifedd** 173/14
- evrair** *n m* a golden word, refined utterance 240/27
- ffansi** *n f* liking, fancy 161/7
- ffansiol** *adj* imaginative 161/5
- ffvrfeiddiad** *n m* fashioner, former 239/18
- garddblas** *n f* garden 240/9

gefaill *n m* pair, twin 212/28
geldingiad *n m* gelding, castration 212/35
geldingodd *v imperf 3 sg* he castrated 211/38
gellach *n f dim* little leech, as a term of abuse 127/22
gener *n f* fishing rod 212/39
gloision *n m pl* pain, torture 212/26
glowyRDD *adj and sbst* bright green 239/19
gobyr *n m* fee, often identical to 'amober' (see **amober**) 6/9, etc; **gobreu** *pl* 25/12
gogynwysiadav *n m pl* previous contents 173/35
golchuryes *n f* laundress 20/2
gorffwysiad *n m* pause, rest 173/38
gorffwysle *n m* resting place 163/11; **gorffwysle** 166/37
gorhwyntfa *n f* great or excessive length 160/22
gostec *n f* literally silence, in verse a connected sequence of englynion; a compositional form in 'cerdd dant' 281/14, etc; **gosdeg** 173/28, etc; **gostegion** *pl* 160/9, etc [*CD* 296–7]
gostegwr *n m* silentary, person who calls for silence in court 11/9; **gostecgŵr** 6/3, etc; **gostegŵr** 15/6
graddolion *adj pl* holding a degree 165/20; see also **disgybl ysbas graddol**
griff *n m* tadpole, spawn 214/15
gwaneg *sbst* additional, more, extra 176/26; **chwaneg** 176/31; **enghwaneg** 172/21 or **ynghwanec** 175/23 in the form of [*GM* **chwaneg**]
gwann *adj and sbst* weak, weak beat (in poetry) 275/8, etc; **gwan** 160/21; **gweiniaid** *pl* 276/25; **gweinied** 276/25 [*CD* 276]
gwarantedic *adj* recognized, guaranteed 160/5, etc; **gwarantedig** 28/40, etc
gwawdodyn *n m* a strict metre verse form of nine-syllable couplets followed by a 'toddaid,' using a single end-rhyme 159/32, etc [*CD* 340–2]
gwigas *n m* serious hatred 212/40
gwagedddda *n f pl* gentlewomen 164/1
gwrhao *v pr subj 3 sg* marry 25/13
gwrthtrychyat *n m* heir apparent 23/25
gŵryaŵc *adj* married, previously married 26/2
gŵyllwr *n m* watchman 19/20
gwyrthwyneb *n m* opposite, contrary 278/42
hadnav *vb n* deposit 167/13

haeddedic *adj and sbst* deserving, meritorious 160/35; **haeddedigion** *pl* 160/37
haeddigawl *adj* merited, deserved 159/23
hafrifed *adj* endowed, extensive, innumerable 28/30; **avrifed** 161/25
harwaîn see **arwaîn**
havant *v pr 3 pl* assert 211/33
hegil *vb n* trip, fall, in *phr yn hegil* died 168/9
hegŵedi *n f* the share of common matrimonial property to which a woman would be entitled if her marriage did not last a statutory seven years; after seven years she would be entitled to half. Often used as a measure of social status 6/10, etc; **aguedi** 14/5 [*The Law* 310]
henban *n m* old fur 240/29
henw *n m* name 105/38, etc; **enw** 214/17, etc; **henŵ** 88/33; **henwaw** *pl* 28/29, etc; **henwae** 168/33; **henwe** 278/14, etc; **henweu** 281/14
hitrwm *adj* having a broken testicle 213/26
hvdol *n m* magician 176/24; **hydol** 183/1
hwyaf *superl adj* longest 160/7, etc
hyddychlawn *adj* peaceful 175/10
hysbys *adj* known, evident 159/9, etc; **yspys** 181/27
îangaf *adj* youngest 161/22
ieithydd *n m* linguist 213/19
lvsenaws *adj* charitable 159/23
llaceirwydd *n m* looseness, laxity 162/12
llanw *n m* in 'cerdd dant,' a note stopped with the fingers that is within the acceptable tunings 276/29, etc
llathrut *n m* a secret or clandestine marriage, not approved by kin; rape 6/11, etc
lleddf *adj* minor (key) 277/12, etc; see also **cywair**
lleddfon *adj* retunable, adjustable 275/26, etc
lledn see **dyryn lledn**
llosgyrniog see **cowydd**
llyeynwysc *n m* linen clothing 15/16, etc
llyverydd *n m/f* speech, voice 163/23
machnio *vb n* provide a deposit, surety 163/11
maeleres *n f* trader, shopkeeper 240/26

marwnad *n f* elegy 282/36, etc; **marwnadav** *pl* 162/5

medyanus *adj* powerful, authoritative 28/12;
medyannûs 23/18

meinlef *n f* shrill voice, treble 240/18

mesvrddig *adj* metrical, measured 28/30

mesvrol *adj* metrical, measured 28/39

missic *n m* music 274/15; **mvssig** 163/21

mwchl *n f* literally mixture, in *phr tri mwchl* the most difficult and advanced type of 'cwlwm' in Welsh harp music 167/19, etc; **tre mwch** 278/5, etc; **tri mwchwl** 160/20, etc

mwiniant *n m* pleasure, delight, enjoyment 211/38

mwynlan *adj* lovely, pleasant 240/18

mynagvys *n m* index finger 275/23

navd *n m* refuge, protection, an individual's ability to offer protection from legal process either within a specified location or for a specified period of time 16/16, etc [*GPC* nawdd]

nifferthyn (*ni + perthyn*) *neg + v pr 1 sg* it is not fitting 164/12

odl, odlav, odlay *see* **owdl**

oerni *n m* cold, coldness, chill 241/8

ofergerdd *n f* vain, worthless music/poetry 176/24, etc

offer *n m* instrument, especially musical 23/11

ordr *n m/f* order 159/15, etc; **ordyr** 175/16

orithr *conj* except 160/26 [*GM* oddieithr]

ouertlesseu *n m pl* gew-gaws, trinkets 17/10

owdl *n f* song, poem, stanza; a Welsh verse form employing a single rhyme throughout; any poem in one of the twenty-four traditional metres 172/21; **awdl** 164/2; **odl** 172/15; **odlav** *pl* 159/32; **odlay** 203/7 [*CD* 232–53; *GM* awdl]

owdvr *n m* poet 241/7; **awdvr** 174/2

palla *v pr 3 sg* fails 275/35

parhao *pr subj 3 sg* last, extend 162/8

penaithioed *n m pl* chiefs, leaders, aristocracy 28/31

pengwastraut *n m* chief groom 11/7, etc;

pennguastraut 24/10

penhebogyd *n m* chief falconer 15/9, etc

penkeirdyaeth *see* **pennkeirdaeth**

penkerd *n m* 1. chief poet 6/1, etc; **penkert** 21/26, etc; **penkerth** 23/4; **pencherd** 14/19; **pennkerd** 24/1, etc; **penceirddiaid** *pl* 90/13; 2. master poet or musician 28/7, etc; **penkerth** 168/7, etc; **pennkerd** 159/25, etc; **penkerddiaid** *pl* 166/34, etc; **penceirddiaidd** 180/17; **penkerddieyd** 203/8; **pennkerddiaid** 159/17
penkynynd *n m* chief huntsman 15/7, etc; **penkynynt** 23/3; **pennkynynd** 24/10
pennaf *adj* principal, foremost 161/3, etc; **penna** 176/5

pennkeirdaeth *n f* office or status of a master poet or musician; learning or craft of the master poet or musicians 28/5; **penkeirdyaeth** 7/4; **pennkeirddiaeth** 164/37

pennkerd *see* **penkerd**

pennkerddiaidd *adj and sbst* pertaining to a master poet or his poetry, qualified as a master poet or musician, pursuing a course of instruction for the degree of master poet or musician *hence as sbst* poetry, the composition of traditional verse 87/34, etc; **penkerddiaidd** 173/3, etc; *see also* **disgybl pennkerddiaidd**

pennkerddiaid *see* **penkerd**

pennkynynd *see* **penkynynd**

pentyylu *n m* captain of household, head of warband 11/6, etc; **pennteulu** 24/6; **penteulu** 4/23, etc

phalla *see* **palla**

pibeu *n f pl* pipes (musical) 28/6; **pibav** 282/32; **pibe** 281/31

pibydd *n m* piper, pipe player 283/21, etc;

pibydyon *pl* 81/12, etc

pilori *n m* pillory 240/12

plethedig *adj* plaited, woven 203/15

plethiadau *n m pl* literally plaits, intertwinings, braids, musical figures in 'cerdd dant' that begin a 'cyweirdant' or 'tyniad' as an ornament to create tension 275/11, etc; **plethidav** 164/8

pobath *n m* everything 176/20

poburyes *n f* baker 20/1

porth moneth *vb n* deal in cattle 240/25 [*GPC* porthmona]

posfeirdd *n m* poets who compose riddles 176/7

proviad *n m* a compositional form in 'cerdd dant'

- that seems to exhibit increased freedom and complexity, the name may suggest a test piece 164/8; **proffidiav** *pl* 275/10
- prydydd** *n m* poet 88/12, etc; **prydyth** 169/17, etc; **prydydyon** *pl* 81/24, etc; **predyddion** 168/5
- prydyddiaeth** *n f* poetry 164/2, etc
- prynsipa** *adj* principal 281/37; **principal** 281/29
- pynkiaiv** *n m pl* literally subjects, topics, a form of composition in 'cerdd dant,' possibly a passage intended to serve as the basis for improvisation 164/25, etc
- pyttain** *n f* prostitute, harlot 203/19
- rhaglyddedigion** *sbst pl* literally deserving, deserving ones, hence bachelors, holding a preliminary degree 160/38
- ragor** *n m* precedence, superiority 90/4, etc
- ragoriaeth** *n f* precedence, superiority 91/1, etc
- ragwan** *n m* the caesura in the first line of a 'toddad,' or the syllable preceding it 160/21; **ragwahan** 173/37 [*CD* 276]
- reolaeth** *n f* rule, regulation, jurisdiction 161/1
- reoledigaethav** *n f pl* rules, regulations 159/37
- retraethassam** *v ppf 1 pl* we had spoken 19/17, etc
- roddwr** *n m* giver, donor 165/4
- roddyn** *n f dim* small gift 162/9
- rydaer** *adj* very daring 241/1
- ryghyll** *n m* serjeant 19/20 [*The Law* 232–3]
- rimynav** *n m pl* rhymes 174/27
- sarhaet** *n m* derived from the verbal noun 'sarhau,' insult, refers both to the act of 'iniuria' and to the compensation which is to be paid for such an act; as such it is an indication of an individual's status 6/7, etc [*The Law* 379–80]
- segvryn** *n m* idler 166/37
- seiffyr** *n m/f* cipher, zero (especially as a notational symbol in 'cerdd dant') 279/2
- seigiav** *n m pl* courses (at a meal) 213/33
- sersiant** *n m* serjeant 179/26, etc; **sarssiant** 177/10
- serten** *adj* certain 279/10
- sialens** *n f* challenge, demand 163/1, etc; **sialaens** 164/6
- sialenssio** *vb n* challenge 167/6, etc
- ssokan** *adj* soaking, dripping wet 213/27
- stopio** *vb n* stop, pause (especially musical) 275/15, etc
- tadawl** *adj* paternal, hereditary 165/1
- tadidad** *adv in phr o dadidad* patrilineally 176/12
- taer** *adj* fierce, insistent: **kyn daered** so fierce 203/17
- tafod** *n m* tongue 91/10, etc; see also **kerdd dafod**
- tagiad** *n m* literally choking, a musical figure in 'cerdd dant' that creates a rest or stop between 'cyweirdant' and 'tyniad' 274/14; **tagiadav** *pl* 275/12
- tal** *n m* front, end 16/7
- talaith** *n f* province (especially bardic) 88/10, etc; **taleithiav** *pl* 105/35; **taleithiev** 105/38
- talaithiawc** *adj* pertaining to a (bardic) province 160/32
- talbren** *n m* (hearth)stone, cooking stone 12/31
- taldrys** *n m* door at the lower end of the hall 16/8 [*The Law* 8]
- tant** *n m* string 160/34, etc; **tannav** *pl* 164/11, etc; **tanav** 173/38; **tanne** 182/34; see also **kerdd dant**
- taölbvrd** *n m* the board on which a game is played 17/9, etc; **taölbort** 22/25 [*The Law* 385]
- tekav** *vb n* embellish 275/18
- telyn** *n f* harp 6/1, etc; **telynnav** *pl* 274/7; **telynnv** 160/17
- telynior** *n m* harper, harp player 164/21, etc; **telynnior** 274/13; **telynor** 160/20, etc; **tylnior** 278/42; **tylynior** 169/10, etc; **telynnoryon** *pl* 81/11, etc; **telynnoryon** 82/16; **tylenorion** 28/29; **tylynorion** 168/13
- tesdyngar** *adj* entertaining, eloquent; satirical 172/40
- tifedd** see **etivedd**
- tinkerddiaeth** *n f* dabbling, tinkering 164/38
- toddad** *n m* one of the twenty-four traditional metres of Welsh poetry, consisting of couplets in which the final syllable of the first line rhymes with an internal syllable of the second line and vice versa; the couplets are normally paired so that lines two and four rhyme 159/32, etc [*CD* 339–40]

tolkadav *n m* a term in 'cerdd dant,' defined in NLW: Peniarth MS 147, p 199, as pauses or rests that serve instead of bowings 275/12, etc
tom *n f* dunghill, heap of dung, *here in idiom*
cler y dom inferior poets, *literally* dunghill bards 162/7

towddgrych kadwyog *n comp* one of the twenty-four canonical measures of Welsh verse 172/33

treftadauc *n m* inheritor 23/9

troedyavc *n m/f* footholder, person who holds the king's feet 16/3, etc; **troedaŵc** 6/5; **troydyauc** 11/13

trovav *vb n* walk, wander, meander 213/27

tryan *sbst* wretch 213/27

tywssogawl *adj* princely, noble 177/2; **tywyssogawl** 181/37

tybiwr *n m* supposer, conjecturer, imaginer 275/30

tylenorion, **tylnior**, **tylynior** *see* **telynior**

tylevoid *adj* domestic, pertaining to family 176/16

tylodion *sbst pl* the poor 174/25

tynniad *n m* attraction, drawing out, the secondary or weaker of two harmonic units in 'cerdd dant,' a note or musical event in such a unit 275/15, etc **tyniad** 160/22, etc; **tynniadav** *pl* 275/7, etc; **tyniadav** 275/33; **tynniadiau** 276/27

vnbais *n f* simple, single petticoat 240/29

vnbeinyaeth *n m* sovereignty 5/16, etc; **vnbeinaeth** 21/23; **vnbeynayth** 12/9; **unbeinniaeth** 18/16; **unbeinniaeth** 13/12, etc

vwchaf *superl adj* highest, loudest 163/24, etc

vwchder *n m* highness, loudness 163/23, etc

vwchelvraint *n m/f* high honour, privilege 163/32

fakabwnt *n m* vagabond 175/3; **vakbwns** *pl* 162/7;

fagabwns 174/40

vilaein *n m* villein, serf, peasant 25/1; **vilaeineit** *pl* 26/11

ynglyn *see* **englyn**

yingwanec *see* **gwaneg**

ymddiffynnwr *n m* defender 167/10

ymrysson *n m* competition, contention 81/10, etc; **amrysson** 81/24; **ymryson** 82/25; **amryssoneu** *pl* 82/2

ysbas *n m* space of time 159/18, etc; **ysbass** 178/24; **yssbas** 177/37, etc; *see also* **disgybl**
ysbas and disgybl **ysbas graddol**

ysdeddfod *see* **eisteddfod**

ysdigrwydd *n m* diligence 163/16

ysgobdy *n m* episcopal seat, abbey 176/32

ysmvdiaid *n m* movement, modulation (musical) 173/38 [*GPC symudiad*]; **ysmvdva** 160/22 [*GPC symudfa*]

ysmwythra *n m* ease, relief 280/8, etc [*GM esmwythdra*]

yspeit *n m/f* period of time 7/6, etc

yspylywr *n m* spoiler, destroyer 238/6

yspys *see* **hysbys**

ystatus *n f and n pl* statute(s) 159/16, etc

ystatyd *n f* statute 182/38, etc; **ystadud** 176/28; **ystatvd** 106/4; **ystatut** 177/3

ysteddfod *see* **eisteddfod**

ystopiadav *n m pl* pauses, stops, rests; notes that are produced by stopping the string of a harp or crwth with the fingers 275/12

ystynno *see* **estynno**

Index

The Index combines subjects with names, places, and book or play titles in a single listing. When identical headwords occur in more than one category, the order is as follows: names of individuals, titles of nobility, names of places, subjects, and titles of books or plays. Often items are grouped under broad topics such as 'animals' or 'guilds and occupations' to aid research. The pertinent members of these classes are then given as subentries or referred to by cross-reference.

Place-names and surnames appear in modern form where that could be ascertained (see below), and titles and family names of nobility and other public figures in forms commonly used by historians. Names are regularly followed in parentheses by any variant spellings, but these are given for titles only where clarity requires them. Nobles are entered under their family name with cross-references from any titles that occur in the text or apparatus; succession numbers follow the absolute sequence given in *The Complete Peerage* rather than the relative ones that begin afresh with each new creation. Royalty are entered under their regnal or given names. Saints' names are indexed under the abbreviation 'St,' alphabetized as if spelt out. In many cases (eg, 'David, Thomas,' 'Gruffudd ap Rheinallt') it has been necessary to assign numbers to different individuals of the same name to distinguish them; those numbers are in parentheses following the names. Ellipsis dots are used in cases where a person's given name is not known. Occupations, places of origin, or titles of office are given when considered relevant or to assist in distinguishing individuals of the same name.

There is wide variation in the records in the spelling of Welsh personal names, in part because many of the documents were written originally by court clerks with limited familiarity of the Welsh language. For the purposes of the Translations, Endnotes, and Index the following system has been adopted. The spelling of names in this collection conforms to standard sources for those listed therein, such as the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [ODNB], H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds), Lawrence Goldman (ed) (online edition, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>>) (Oxford, 2004; online edition, June 2005); G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, 6 vols (London, 1910–59; rpt Gloucester, 1982); the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*; the *Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales*; S.T. Bindoff (ed), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509–1558*, 3 vols (London, 1982); and P.W. Hasler (ed), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558–1603*, 3 vols (London, 1981) – among these the ODNB is preferred, then the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* followed by the *Oxford Companion*. For the purpose of the Index persons listed alphabetically by given name in these sources, as well as persons with Welsh patronymics (ap/verch) without surname, are alphabetized by their given names; others are alphabetized by surname. When certain performer terms appear as the by-names or epithets of individuals otherwise referred to only by their given names, the spelling of their names has been normalized and those elements have been retained as part of the name without translation. I have treated

Crythor (crwth player), Datkeiniad (reciter), Dawnsiwr (dancer), Prydydd (poet), and Telyniwr (harper) in this way, and persons distinguished by these epithets are indexed under their given names. Persons with adjectival epithets such as Bach or Goch have generally been treated the same way, although when such epithets became surnames (Vychan/Vaughan, for example) the surname has been taken as the headword form for indexing. Also consulted were C.R. Cheney (ed) and Michael Jones (rev), *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History* (Cambridge, 2000); E.B. Fryde et al (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd ed (Cambridge, 1986; rpt 1996); and E.G. Withycombe (ed), *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names*, 3rd ed (Oxford 1977; rpt 1979). Surnames of individuals not found in these sources are given in the most common form occurring in the Records text except that capitalization and the use of 'i/j' and 'u/v' have been assimilated to modern usage.

Similar criteria have been used to establish some consistency in the spelling of Welsh place-names, also highly idiosyncratic. In the first instance names have been spelled according to the usage of Elwyn Davies' *Gazetteer of Welsh Place-Names* (Cardiff, 1967). Operating on similar principles to Davies' work and far more extensive is Melville Richards' *Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units* (Cardiff, 1969), which has been used for place-names not noted in Davies. For locations appearing in neither of these sources recourse has been made to the typescript index of Welsh place-names prepared by G. Ellis from the six-inch Ordnance Survey maps. Copies of this index are deposited in the National Library of Wales as well as in most of the county record offices.

English place-name spellings are based on the spellings provided in Eilert Ekwall (ed), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed (Oxford, 1960; rpt 1980) and Oliver Mason (comp), *Bartholomew Gazetteer of Britain* (Edinburgh, 1977).

Details of events featuring patronized performers in Wales, with biographical data for their patrons (see 'Devereux' and 'Puckering'), are available on the REED Patrons and Performances Web Site at <http://link.library.utoronto.ca/reed/>.

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